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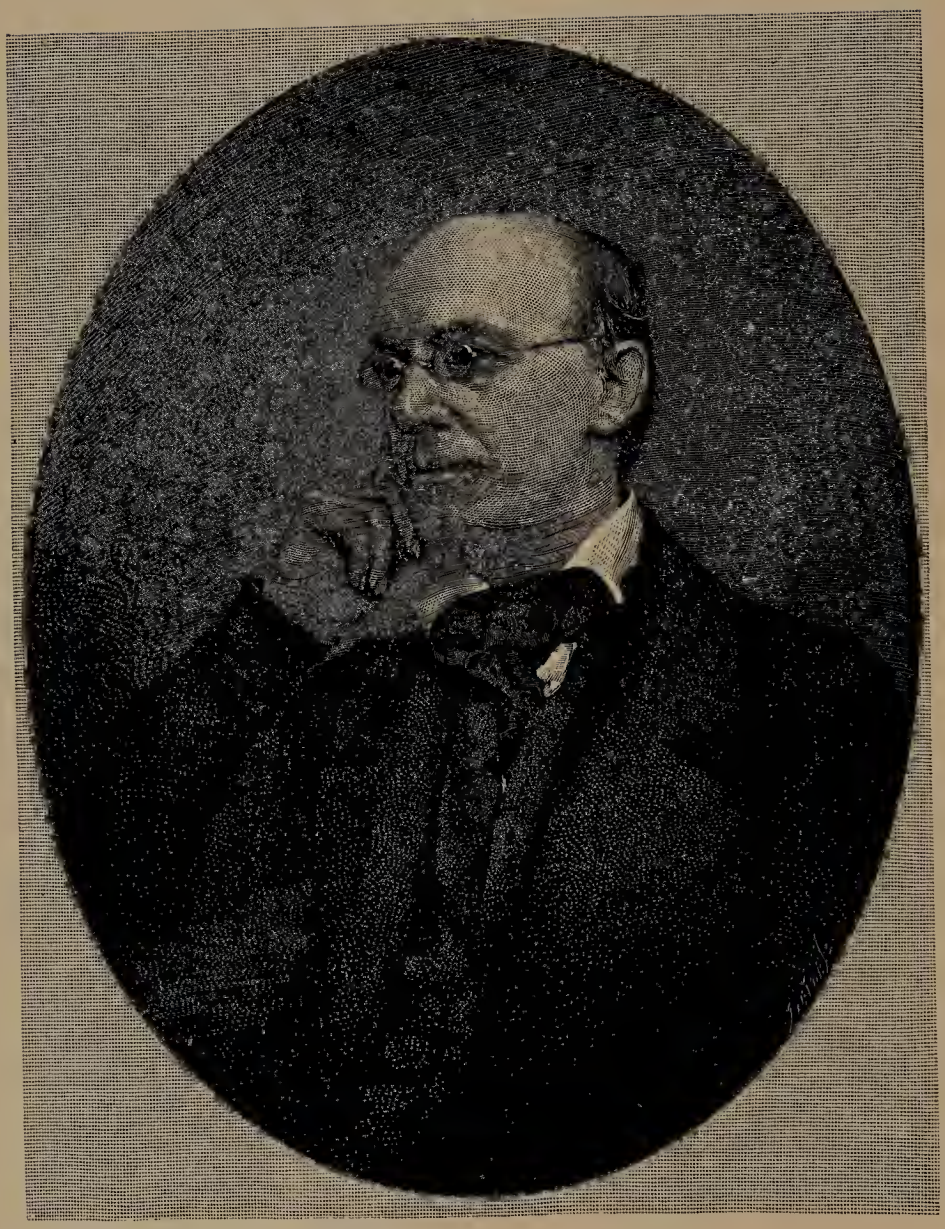

Wm. Lloyd Garrison

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON

1805-1879

THE STORY OF HIS LIFE TOLD BY
HIS CHILDREN

IN FOUR VOLUMES

VOL. III. — 1841-1860

My Country is the World
My Countrymen are all Mankind

BOSTON AND NEW YORK
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VALEDICTION.

THE fears of critics, and our own apprehensions, have happily been disappointed: the second volume of this work has *not* determined the scale of the succeeding portions. That volume was, on the whole, the most important, the most needful to be written, whether with reference to the subject of this memoir, or to the history of the abolition cause, the political anti-slavery organization, and the woman-suffrage movement. A greater fulness of detail, a more ample exhibition of the documents, was therefore imperative. Here, as before and afterwards, our material was the rudder that steered us, and we close our labors with the conviction that each period has received a proportionate treatment. Moreover, while not a page has been written wilfully to swell the total, neither has anything been omitted which we were anxious to insert.

If we have succeeded in our endeavor to efface ourselves, we have produced what may justly be regarded as an Autobiography — but one guarded from the defects of reminiscence by constant employment of and reference to the contemporary records in print and in manuscript, and by a thousand disinterested illustrations, corrections, and criticisms, from which the truth can hardly fail to emerge. This method, deliberately adopted for the first two volumes, we had the plainest indication for pursuing to the end, since not a material error of fact has been pointed out in a narrative furnishing abundant grounds for controversy,[1] and our candor has everywhere passed unchallenged. For this we are devoutly thankful, having proposed to

[1] We have done the best we could to make up a Table of Errata, which will be found at the end of the fourth volume, preceding the Index.

ourselves no other aim than a faithful exhibition of our father's life and character. "It was truly a sublime life," wrote the late Elizur Wright, on receipt of a copy of the first half of the present work. "The details you have thrown into and around it show the history of the period with an electric light, and cannot but bless the future." "For simplicity, straightforwardness, openness, and fulness, without any explanation or smoothing down, you give the world," wrote the late Mrs. Abby Kelley Foster, "a biography worthy of its subject." These testimonies, which have for us a peculiar value, we shall, we trust, be pardoned for quoting here.

After all, the work has a formidable length — no one is more conscious of this than we who fashioned it. Can we hope that anybody, in this busy and superficial age, will read it consecutively, and not merely consult it as a book of reference? We can say of it what Sylvester Judd did of his 'Margaret,' that it "was never designed for railroads; it might, peradventure, suit a canal-boat"; or, again, what Mr. Pepys said of William Penn's tract against the Trinity, that "it is a serious sort of book"— yet without adding, "and not fit for everybody to read." Rather are we of opinion that no one can read it without profit, for it is not more the history of a man than of an age. It will at least serve as a corrective of that spurious patriotism which consists in concealing, or shutting our eyes on, the barbarous past of our country, as if contemplation and frank confession of it were not the surest means of promoting the national evolution to a yet higher civilization. In short, those who study history not for amusement, but for its practical bearing on conduct in the formation of principle, may well linger over these pages.

We must again acknowledge our indebtedness to many friends for varied assistance, and above all to Samuel May, Oliver Johnson, and Elizabeth Pease Nichol for their careful scrutiny of manuscript or proofs. To the New York Historical Society we are under great obligation for its courteous accommodation of a file of the *Liberator*. Nor can we ever be sufficiently

grateful to our publishers for their trustful participation in our enterprise, and their unstinted liberality in the manufacture of these admirable specimens of the printer's art, which only the highest literary excellence could parallel. But in this particular we offer to posterity (like that veracious church front in German Bückeburg) *exemplum religionis, non structuræ.*

WENDELL PHILLIPS GARRISON, New York.
FRANCIS JACKSON GARRISON, Boston.

THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF
OUR FATHER'S DEATH,
1889.

LIBERATOR FILES.

We subjoin a revised and extended list of the completest public files of the *Liberator*, based upon that already given in the Preface to Volume I. (p. ix). Of the private files there named, that of the Misses Weston has been given to Yale College, as below.

Maine.
Portland, Public Library.
Massachusetts.
Boston, Public Library.
Athenæum.
Cambridge, Harvard College Library.
Malden, Public Library.
Worcester, American Antiquarian Society.
Rhode Island.
Providence, Rhode Island Historical Society.
Connecticut.
New Haven, Yale College Library.
New York.
New York City, Astor Library.
Brooklyn, Long Island Historical Society.
Ithaca, Cornell University Library.
Pennsylvania.
Philadelphia, Library Company.
Ohio.
Cincinnati, Public Library.
Illinois.
Chicago, Newberry Library.
Kansas.
Topeka, Kansas Historical Society.
District of Columbia.
Washington, Library of Congress.
England.
London, British Museum.

"The future historian of the abolition of American slavery, on being furnished with the files of the *Liberator*, will find nearly all the materials he can require to complete his history, on both sides of the question" *(Wm. Lloyd Garrison in Lib.* 17 : 6).

"The establishment of that Museum [the department of selections labelled "The Refuge of Oppression"], we believe, was a strictly original idea with Mr. Garrison. We apprehend that he was the first man who ever set up for show the caricatures which were made of himself, and the stones and dirt with which he had been pelted, and who kept on hand a gibbet on which anybody that pleased might hang him in effigy. . . . The *Liberator* is one of the few papers which will remain a standard historical authority as to the matter of which it treats, and which will be the substance of our current history. . . . The *Liberator* will be permanently valuable as containing 'the very Age and Body of the Time, its Form and Pressure,' as to the controlling element of our destiny, . . . will hold its place on the shelves of public libraries as one of the authentic sources of the history of this day and generation" *(Edmund Quincy)*.

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WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

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CHAPTER I.

Re-formation and Reanimation.—1841.

IF a man's reputation were his life, the scene of this biography would now properly shift once more to England. Collins's mission to raise funds for the support of the *Standard* encountered the obstacles for which Mr. Garrison had prepared him "in consequence of the introduction of the new-organization spirit . . . in England," in connection with and as a sequel to the World's Convention. The defence of the old organization was imposed upon him from the start, and this, of course, involved a special vindication of its leader—a task made doubly difficult after Colver's slanders had been industriously put in circulation under the official cover of the Executive Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. "The Sabbath [Chardon-Street] Convention," wrote Collins to Mr. Garrison, from Ipswich, the home of Clarkson, on January 1, 1841, "has completely changed the issue. Woman's rights and non-governmentism are quite respectable when compared to your religious views." In a recent interview, procured with much difficulty, and only in an unofficial capacity, with

Ante, 2:415.

Ante, 2:417.

Ante, 2:353, 368, 370, 431.

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Lib. 11:174; *MS. Mar.* 2, 1841, *Collins to E. Quincy.*

MS.

CHAP. I. 1841.

Clarkson, his family were unwilling to have Collins touch on the subject of the division among the American abolitionists. Allusion to this or to Mr. Garrison led the venerable philanthropist to speak of the evils resulting from destroying the Sabbath or religion, and of the dangerous influence of Owenism. "It required no sagacity," adds Collins, "to see his design in referring to Owen, etc. . . . Owenism, in Great Britain, is considered double-distilled infidelity. Your views are being considered of the Owen school.[1] You are the *Great Lion* which stands in my way." Likewise, on February 3, Collins writes to Francis Jackson: "Garrison is a hated and persecuted man in England. Calumny and reproach are heaped upon him in the greatest possible degree." And, in a letter to Mr. Garrison himself, Richard D. Webb, on May 30, reported that Joseph Sturge, the weightiest member of the London Committee, regarded the mere defence of Garrison and Collins by Elizabeth Pease and William Smeal "as a species of persecution directed against himself, and as a gratuitous giving up of the slave's cause." When Miss Pease had obtained from America a truthful statement of Mr. Garrison's part in the Chardon-Street Convention, at the hands of the Quaker James Cannings Fuller, the London Committee refused her request to give it the same currency which they had given to Colver's libel.

Robert Owen. Ante, 2:390.

MS.

MS.

MSS. Jan. 14, *Mar.* 17, 1841, *E. Pease to Collins.*

Ante, 2:425.

MSS. Apr. 27, *E. Pease to J. Scoble (May ?)*, 1841, *to Collins.*

W. L. Garrison to Elizabeth Pease, Darlington, England.

MS.

BOSTON, March 1, 1841.

I am very much obliged to you for your letter by the *Britannia*, and do not regret, on the whole, that bro. Collins has concluded to remain until the sailing of the steamer of the 4th inst., though I trust he will not miss coming at that time, for his presence here now is indispensable. In whatever he has been called to encounter, on your side of the Atlantic, by the evil spirit that reigns there, as well as here, in the anti-slavery ranks, I deeply sympathize with him. The

[1] "Socialism is thrown upon us both" (MS.—1841, Collins to W. L. G.).

attempt of Nathaniel Colver to injure his character is exciting among all the true-hearted friends of our cause among us an intense feeling of indignation and abhorrence; and in the sequel it will be sure to recoil upon the head of that unhappy man. CHAP. I. 1841.

Equally abortive will be the effort of N. C. to affect my religious character by his absurd and monstrous statement to Joseph Sturge, that I have headed an infidel convention. Even supposing the charge were true, I should like to know by what authority British *abolitionists*, as such, undertake to judge me, for this cause, *on the anti-slavery platform*. I need not say to you, that the charge is both groundless and malicious; that my religious views are of the most elevated, the most spiritual character; that I esteem the holy scriptures above all other books in the universe, and always appeal to "the law and the testimony" to prove all my peculiar doctrines; that, in regard to my religious sentiments, they are almost identical with those of Barclay, Penn, and Fox; that, respecting the Sabbath, the church, and the ministry, Joseph Sturge and I (if he be a genuine Friend) harmonize in opinion; that I believe in an indwelling Christ, and in his righteousness alone; that I glory in nothing here below, save in Christ and him crucified; that I believe all the works of the devil are to be destroyed, and our Lord is to reign from sea to sea, even to the ends of the earth; and that I profess to have passed from death unto life, and know by happy experience that there is no condemnation to them who are in Christ Jesus, who walk not after the flesh, but after the spirit. *N. Colver.*

The truth is, N. Colver has a mortal antipathy to all the distinctive views of Friends, and he regards them all as infidel; yet he writes to Joseph Sturge as though he fully agreed with him as to the nature of the Sabbath, and as though I held purely infidel views on this subject!! Why does not Joseph Sturge, as an honest man and a sincere friend to the anti-slavery cause (I will not refer to his former professions of personal friendship for me), inform me by letter of what he has received from N. Colver and others, touching my religious character? Why does he not express a wish to hear what I can say in self-defence? I confess, I am grieved and astonished at his conduct, and am forced to regard him much less highly than I once did. By the next packet, I hope to be able to address a letter to him on this subject.

I am sorry, very sorry (and very much surprised, too), that bro. Collins should have applied to the London Committee for *Lib.* 11:37, 42.

Lib. 11 : 26; *cf. Free American*, 3 : 2.

aid or approbation. It was an error of judgment, simply; but, after what we, who sent him out, have said of that Committee, it looks upon the face of it like an imposition.[1]

Lib. 11 : 53.

We supposed he would make his appeal to the abolitionists at large and take his chance accordingly. I fear, also, that he may not have been so guarded at all times in his language as could have been desirable, respecting the transfer of the *Emancipator* — a transfer that was certainly very dishonorable, and wholly unworthy of the character of those who participated in it.[2]

Ante. 2 : 342, 343, 351.

Yet I doubt not that the mission of J. A. C. will do much for our persecuted enterprise.

Collins.

For what you have done to aid him, we all feel under the deepest obligations. May Heaven reward you a hundred-fold! Fear not that truth shall not triumph over falsehood, right over wrong, and freedom over slavery.[3]

[1] Miss Pease did not so judge the application (MS. Dec. 10, 1840, to Collins); and there can be little doubt that it was ultimately of great advantage to the cause. It at once forced the discussion of the merits of the American schism, and the shamefully partisan action of the London Committee determined many to side with the old organization who might else have remained either indifferent or deceived. See Collins's letter to E. Quincy, Mar. 2, 1841 (MS.). The attempt of the Executive Committee of the Glasgow Emancipation Society, under the influence of Captain Stuart, to follow suit in rebuffing Collins and disavowing the old organization, led to a division and reconstitution by which that important body was saved to the cause in America, at the cost of the resignation of a few members like Dr. Wardlaw (*Lib.* 11 : 77, 89, 93, 149; MSS. Feb. 23, 1841, R. Wardlaw to J. A. Collins, and May 2, 1841, Collins to W. L. G.; and Collins's letter to the Glasgow *Argus*, April 26, 1841). Finally, Harriet Martineau took her stand with Mr. Garrison, Collins, and their associates in the most pronounced manner (*Lib.* 11 : 51; MS. Feb. 20, 1841, Miss Martineau to Collins). George Thompson's open adhesion came later (*Lib.* 11 : 145, 201). The result was in all respects, pecuniary and moral, disastrous to the British and Foreign A. S. Society.

[2] "Gerrit Smith says the transfer of the *Emancipator* was a great outrage — told Burleigh so — not publicly" (MS. Feb. 10, 1841, J. S. Gibbons to W. L. G.). "The transfer of the *Emancipator* was indefensible" (MS. Nov. 26, 1870, Gerrit Smith to W. L. G.).

[3] No one can read the private advisory correspondence of Miss Pease with Collins without feeling admiration for her sagacity, sound judgment, practical business talent, and unfailing grasp of principles. She was the Mrs. Chapman of the British agitation. "What mistakes people make! They think Victoria Queen of England, when it is Elizabeth Pease; and know not that the Allens and Webbs [of Dublin] are the Lords Spiritual and Temporal" (MS. Jan. 30, 1841, E. Quincy to Collins). "What more of royalty has England's queen?" asked Mr. Garrison in his sonnet to Elizabeth Pease (*Lib.* 12 : 4).

Colver was efficiently seconded by Torrey, temporarily conducting the *Massachusetts Abolitionist*, who brought the most cruel accusations against Collins's integrity and manhood; and by Phelps, who dressed up Mrs. Chapman's report of his own remarks at the Chardon-Street Convention, and gave his personal coloring to what was said by others — all to prove the Convention's infidel character and Mr. Garrison's complicity. This he first ventilated in the *New England Christian Advocate*,[1] and then despatched abroad through the sectarian channels controlled by the London Committee. Mr. Garrison's reply was prompt, and warmed with a natural indignation, for to the charge of infidelity were added fresh insinuations of "no marriage" doctrines, calculated to horrify still more the English mind. In fact, Phelps's "priestly candor and magnanimity" proved more injurious than Colver's and Torrey's combined defamation, and caused great temporary damage abroad.

Lib. 11 : 11; *MS. Mar.* 2, 1841, *J. A. Collins to W. L. G.*

Lib. 11 : 23, 55, 79; 14 : 31; *MS. Feb.* 1, 1841, *J. W. Alden to London Committee.*

Lib. 11 : 79.

Lib. 11 : 43.

Ante, 2 : 289.

MSS. Apr. 3, 1841, *J. A. Collins to W. L. G.*, *May* 2, 1841, *E. Pease to Collins.*

Colver's effrontery was equal to a reaffirmation of his falsehoods on the platform of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society at its ninth annual meeting, where they had come up for emphatic condemnation.

Lib. 11 : 22, 23, 26.

Edmund Quincy to J. A. Collins, in England.

DEDHAM, Jan. 30, 1841. *MS.*

The annual meeting is just over, and went off in the best possible manner. . . . *Lib.* 11 : 22.

The morning of the first day (Wednesday, 27th) was taken up by Garrison's report,[2] which, for a marvel, was finished and printed (!) before the meeting. . . .

In the afternoon (Thursday) we passed a severe resolution on Colver's letters to the London Committee — he being present. Bradburn was down upon him in his usual tomahawk and scalping-knife style. Colver then made a most demoniacal speech, saying but little on the subject-matter, but wandering over the

Geo. Bradburn.

[1] Edited in Lowell, Mass., by the Rev. Luther Lee.

[2] This document, to be found in the regular series of reports, is an elaborate review of the origin of the Mass. Abolition Society and the schism in the American Society, with a brief glance at the Third Party.

CHAP. I. 1841.

whole universe of abuse which the New Organization have created for their delectation. I never saw a man who seemed to be more possessed with a devil. One of the Westons well said, that the Society might now be thought to have done something to justify his denunciation of it as a Non-Resistance Society, as an ordinary assembly of men of the world would have thrown him out of the window on less provocation. Bradburn and Garrison replied briefly, and the matter ended by the passage of the resolution.

We cannot nowadays understand the superstition formerly attached to the stigma of infidelity, both on the part of those who sought to fasten and of those who sought to avoid it. In the popular imagination it belonged in the category of self-operative curses, and was conclusive of all argument. Hence it availed little for Mr. Garrison to reason that if the Chardon-Street Convention was infidel because some infidel addressed it, it was Orthodox because Phelps, Baptist because Colver, and Methodist because Father Taylor, did likewise. Nor could he hope to escape the imputation of being a double and treble dyed infidel for his attendance at the adjourned second and third sessions of that Convention, which fell in the year now under consideration. Convicted, too, of having "headed" this ungodly gathering in the beginning, the head and front of its offending he must remain to the bitter end. True, Edmund Quincy, who actually headed it, declared that the first suggestion of such a convention was made at Groton, where Garrison was not; that when he heard of it at a private dinner-table, he did not encourage it, and refused to be one of the committee to call it, and even urged Mr. Quincy (in vain) to strike out a strong passage in the call. But, continues the latter —

Lib. 11 : 43.

Ante, 2 : 427.

Lib. 11 : 47.

Ante, 2 : 421, 426.

Ante, 2 : 422.

Lib. 11 : 47.

"But, then, these new ideas were first started by you, and therefore you are accountable for this development of them! My dear friend, they who say this, do you honor overmuch. You have but obeyed, you have not created, the spirit of the age, which is busy with old ideas, and will in due time change them, and with them the institutions which are their outward manifestations."

CHAP. I. 1841.

However, it could not be denied that the Convention which assembled for the second time at the Chardon-Street Chapel on Tuesday, March 30, 1841, had met in pursuance of Mr. Garrison's motion, at the previous session, to discuss the origin and authority of the Ministry. The participants and combatants were much the same as before, and a preliminary skirmish again took place over a clerical attempt to restrict discussion within the lines and sanction of the Bible. The defeat of this movement was the only positive action of the Convention, which then freely took sides individually for or against the proposition, "That the order of the ministry, as at present existing, is anti-scriptural and of human origin." In this discussion Mr. Garrison appears to have said nothing, being unable to attend except for a few hours during the three days; but he forestalled fresh clerical misrepresentation of the Convention by moving a committee to prepare resolutions explanatory of its nature and doings, and these resolutions were from his pen. He also prevented any notice being taken, by way of reply, of a Sabbatarian letter from Clarkson, which Nathaniel Colver had craftily procured, and introduced at the earliest moment. The snare was too obviously meant — on the one hand for Mr. Garrison himself, on the other for the Convention, whose members sought, as Emerson well said, "something better and more satisfying than a vote or a definition."

Lib. 11 : 58.

Lib. 11 : 55.

Lectures and Biog. Sketches, ed. 1884, *p.* 354.

This peculiar body met once more and finally on the 26th, 27th, and 28th of October, 1841, taking for its last topic the Church. Various causes kept away its main clerical antagonists, but they were represented by Phelps, who found it as infidel as ever. Mr. Garrison's resolutions are all of the proceedings that can be noticed here:

Lib. 11 : 175, 178, 179.

"Resolved, That the true church is independent of all human organizations, creeds, or compacts.

Lib. 11 : 179.

"Resolved, That it is not in the province of any man, or any body of men, to admit to or to exclude from that church any one who is created in the divine image.

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"Resolved, That it is nowhere enjoined as a religious duty, by Christ or his apostles, upon any man, that he should connect himself with any association, by whatever name called; but all are left free to act singly, or in conjunction with others, according to their own free choice."

While the glow of this truly spiritual occasion was still on him, Mr. Garrison produced four sonnets, which contain the pith of his contributions to the theological interchange of the Chardon-Street Convention. They appeared in successive numbers of the *Liberator*, under the titles, "The Bible," "Holy Time," "Worship," "The True Church." As poesy, none deserves to be quoted entire. As landmarks, they may yield a line or two. From the first, "The Bible":

Lib. 11:179, 183, 187, 191.

Lib. 11:179.

O Book of Books! though skepticism flout
Thy sacred origin, thy worth decry;
Though transcendental[1] folly give the lie
To what thou teachest; though the critic doubt
This fact, that miracle, and raise a shout
Of triumph o'er each incongruity
He in thy pages may perchance espy, . . .
Thy oracles are holy and divine. . . .

[1] This adjective was changed to "atheistic" in the edition of Mr. Garrison's 'Sonnets and Other Poems,' published in Boston in 1843 (p. 64), showing the liberalizing effect upon himself, unsuspected at the time, of those "memorable interviews and conversations, in the hall, in the lobbies, or around the doors," of which Emerson tells ('Lectures and Biographical Sketches,' ed. 1884, p. 354). On the appearance of Theodore Parker's epoch-making ordination sermon on "The Transient and Permanent in Christianity," preached May 19, 1841 (Frothingham's 'Life of Parker,' p. 152, Weiss's 'Life,' 1:165), Garrison said gravely to his friend Johnson, "Infidelity, Oliver, infidelity!" So thought most of the Unitarian clergy; and the denomination first gave it official currency, as at once respectable and conservative doctrine, in 1885 (see the volume, 'Views of Religion,' a selection from Parker's sermons). In reviewing, in January, 1842, a volume of religious poetry by Mrs. Sophia L. Little, of Pawtucket, Mr. Garrison said: "Whatever goes to exalt the character of the Saviour is at all times valuable; but never more than when, as at the present time, attempts are made to decry his mission, to associate him with Socrates and Plato, and to reject him as the great mediator between God and man" (*Lib.* 12:7). The reference is to a letter of Christopher A. Greene's in the *Plain Speaker* (1:22): "And we felt . . . that we were the brothers and equals of Socrates and Plato and Jesus and John — of every man who had written or spoken or walked or worked in the name of God."

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We may perhaps detect in this sonnet a squint at a movement made, during a pause in the last session at Chardon Street, to hold a convention "to consider the authority of the Scriptures, and the extent of their obligation on men," in which the Transcendentalists Emerson and Alcott were united as a committee with Edmund Quincy and Mrs. Chapman. That Mr. Garrison was not in sympathy with it seems likely from his disclaimer of responsibility for Quincy's justification of it, which was allowed to be copied from the *Non-Resistant* into the *Liberator*, and in which one remarks not only Mr. Quincy's emancipation from the supernatural sanction of the Bible, but his exposition of the way in which the question of its authority was forced on thoughtful minds by clerical opposition to reform.

Lib. II: 178; 12: 3, 51.

Lib. II: 183.

Lib. II: 183.

Cf. ante, I: 463, *note* 2.

The sonnet on "Holy Time" is a reflection of the poem, "True Rest." We cite the close of it:

Ante, 2: 153.

> Dear is the Christian Sabbath to my heart,
> Bound by no forms, from times and seasons free;
> The whole of life absorbing, not a part;
> Perpetual rest and perfect liberty!
> Who keeps not this, steers by a Jewish chart,
> And sails in peril on a storm-tossed sea.

Lib. II: 183; *Writings of W. L. G.*, *p.* 98.

From "Worship" let us take the first half:

> They who, as worshippers, some mountain climb,
> Or to some temple made with hands repair,
> As though the godhead specially dwelt there,
> And absence, in Heaven's eye, would be a crime,
> Have yet to comprehend this truth sublime: —
> The freeman of the Lord no chain can bear —
> His soul is free to worship everywhere,
> Nor limited to any place or time. . . .

Lib. II: 187; *Writings of W. L. G.*, *p.* 115.

In lieu of Mr. Garrison's metrical apostrophe to "The True Church," we shall do better to seek a prose definition of that entity in the following profession of faith, which was calculated for private circulation by the friend to whom it was addressed:

Lib. II: 191; *Writings of W. L. G.*, *p.* 115.

W. L. Garrison to Elizabeth Pease, Darlington, England.

MS.

BOSTON, June 1, 1841.

I am an "infidel," forsooth, because I do *not* believe in the inherent holiness of the first day of the week; in a regular priesthood; in a mere flesh-and-blood corporation as constituting the true church of Christ; in temple worship as a part of the new dispensation; in being baptized with water, and observing the "ordinance" of the supper, etc., etc., etc. I am an "infidel" because I *do* believe in consecrating all time, and body and soul, unto God; in "a royal priesthood, a chosen generation"; in a spiritual church, built up of lively stones, the head of which is Christ; in worshipping God in spirit and in truth, without regard to time or place; in being baptized with the Holy Spirit, and enjoying spiritual communion with the Father, etc., etc. If this be infidelity, then is Quakerism infidelity.

With regard to the "Church, Sabbath, and Ministry" Convention, it should be understood that it was called not to determine what is or is not inspiration, or whether the Bible is or is not the only rule of faith and practice, but simply to hear the opinions of "all sorts of folks" in relation to the Church, the Sabbath, and Ministry — leaving every one free to appeal to that standard which, in his judgment, might seem to be infallible. Hence, the Convention could not have properly entertained or decided upon any "extraneous" question. It was a trick of priestcraft, to induce the Convention to cut off free discussion, that led to the introduction of the Bible test by Colver, Phelps, Torrey, St. Clair, etc. These disorganizers and defamers resorted to this device merely to make capital for New Organization, and to bring a false accusation against the leading friends of the old organization, some of whom happened to be in the Convention. All who were present saw at once the spirit that animated this band of priestly conspirators; so that they took the cunning in their own craftiness, and carried the counsels of the froward headlong. . . .

Have you attentively read the little work I left with you, by J. H. Noyes? If you have done with the file of the *Perfectionist* which I left in your care, I will thank you to send it to me by a private conveyance whenever perfectly convenient.

Cf. ante, 2 : 206.

The difference between Noyes's Perfectionism and Mr. Garrison's was soon to be illustrated in a very signal

manner. President Mahan and the Rev. Charles G. Finney, of Oberlin, who belonged to the same school with Noyes and (nominally) the editor of the *Liberator*, assumed an attitude of hostility to non-resistance very afflicting to the last-named. Finney held, in a Fast sermon, "that circumstances may arise, not only to render fighting in defence of liberty a Christian duty, but also to justify Christians in actively supporting despotism." Noyes's society at Putney, Vt., some months afterwards, discussed the question: "Is it according to Scripture and reason that women should act as public teachers in the Church, in large assemblies, except in cases of special inspiration?" and unanimously sided with Paul in the negative.[1] Their organ, the *Witness*, for the same reason, pronounced the doings of Boyle, the Grimkés, and Garrison against the same Apostle "acts of flagrant sedition against God," and spoke of "the whole phalanx of Massachusetts Ultraists, with Garrison at its head." This outburst served a useful purpose in ridiculing the attempts to connect Mr. Garrison with the marriage views of the Perfectionists because he was in agreement with some other part of their doctrine. It was a poor rule that would not work both ways, and the identification of Noyes with Phelps, Torrey, and Colver on the woman question was sufficient to prove that these clergymen, therefore, thought lightly of the marriage institution.

Ante 2: 285, 286.

Lib. 11: 151, 176.

Lib. 11: 183.

Ante, 2: 286.

Lib. 11: 183, 195, *and see* 191.

All this did not prevent Mr. Garrison from coming to the rescue of the Perfectionists against attacks from ecclesiastical bodies all over the country on "the doctrine of sinless perfection, or entire sanctification in the present life."

Lib. 11: 167.

[1] The assumption of the headship of the male is curiously involved in the Putneyite affirmation "that there is no intrinsic difference between property in persons and property in things; and that the same spirit which abolished exclusiveness in regard to money, would abolish, if circumstances allowed full scope to it, exclusiveness in regard to women and children. Paul expressly places property in women and property in goods in the same category, and speaks of them together, as ready to be abolished by the advent of the Kingdom of Heaven" (Noyes's 'American Socialisms,' p. 625; and *cf. ante*, 2: 289). See, on the other hand, Adin Ballou's scriptural defence of the equality of the sexes as maintained by his community (*Lib.* 12: 16).

Lib. 11:167. "Now, what," he asked, "is the point in controversy? Not, who is a Christian, or whether this or that individual has attained to a state of 'sinless perfection'; but whether human beings, in this life, may and ought to serve God with all their mind and strength, and to love their neighbor as themselves! Whether 'total abstinence' from *all* sin is not as obligatory as it is from any one sin! . . .

"We feel authorized to refer to this subject, not only as a public journalist, but also because it has a very important connection with the righteous reforms of the day. Holiness is incompatible with robbery, oppression, love of dominion, murder, pride, vainglory, worldly pomp, selfishness, and sinful lusts. But these ecclesiastical bodies are determined to make a Christian life compatible with a military profession, with killing enemies, with enslaving a portion of mankind,[1] with the robbing of the poor, with worldliness and ambition, with a participation in all popular iniquities. Hence, when abolitionism declares that no man can love God who enslaves another, they deny it, and assert that man-stealing and Christianity may co-exist in the same character.[2] When it is asserted that the

[1] "Twenty years have passed since the abolition of serfdom [in Russia], and no one has taken the trouble to strike out the phrase which, in connection with the commandment of God to honor parents, was introduced into the catechism to sustain and justify slavery. With regard to the sixth commandment, '*Thou shalt not kill*,' the instructions of the catechism are from the first in favor of murder. . . . The Christian Church has recognized and sanctioned divorce, slavery, tribunals, all earthly powers, the death penalty, and war. . . . The world does as it pleases, and leaves to the Church the task of justifying its actions with explanations as to the meaning of life. The world organizes an existence in absolute opposition to the doctrine of Jesus, and the Church endeavors to demonstrate that men who live contrary to the doctrine of Jesus really live in accordance with that doctrine" (Count Leo Tolstoi's 'My Religion,' New York, 1885, pp. 214, 215, 221).

[2] On Aug. 30, 1841, Henry C. Wright wrote to Edmund Quincy: "I once met *Rev.* Francis Wayland, D. D., President of Brown University, in the presence of several friends, to converse on the subject of slavery. The conversation turned on the question — *Can a slaveholder be a Christian?* To bring it to a point, addressing myself to the Doctor, I asked him — 'Can a man be a Christian and claim a right to sunder husbands and wives, parents and children — to compel men to work without wages — to forbid them to read the Bible, and buy and sell them — and who habitually does these things?' 'YES,' answered the Rev. Dr. and President, 'provided he has the spirit of Christ.' 'Is it possible for [a man] to be governed by the spirit of Christ and claim a right to commit these atrocious deeds, and habitually commit them?' After some turning, he answered, 'Yes, I believe he can.' 'Is there, then, one crime in all the catalogue of crimes which, of itself,

forgiveness instead of the slaughter of enemies is necessary to constitute one a Christian, they affirm that to hang, stab, or shoot enemies, under certain circumstances, is perfectly consonant with the spirit of Christ. Thus they make no distinction between the precious and the vile, sanctify what is evil, perpetuate crime, and honor what is devilish. They are cages of unclean birds, Augean stables of pollution, which need thorough purification.

"We affirm that this is not a question of sectarian theology, but of sound morality and vital godliness. As men who are conscious of guilt should not attempt to excuse themselves, so should they not countenance sin in others. If they are forced to exclaim, 'Who shall deliver us from the body of this death?' let them not revile those who feel prepared to say from joyful experience, 'There is now no condemnation to them which are in Christ Jesus, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit. For the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus hath made us free from the law of sin and death.' If a man has passed from death unto life, how much of death is attached to him? If he has crucified the old man with his lusts, how corrupt is the new? If he has the spirit of Christ, how can he have, at the same time, the spirit of Satan? If he has put on Christ, what of iniquity has he not cast off?

Rom. 8 : 1, 2.

"Instead, therefore, of assailing the *doctrine*, 'Be ye perfect, even as your Father in Heaven is perfect,' let us all aim to establish it, not merely as theoretically right, but as practically attainable;[1] and if we are conscious that we are not yet wholly clean, not yet entirely reconciled to God, not yet filled with perfect love, let us, instead of resisting the

would be evidence to you that a man had not the spirit of Christ?' I asked. 'Yes, thousands,' said the Dr. 'What?' I asked. '*Stealing*,' said he. 'Stealing what, a *sheep* or a MAN?' I asked. The Doctor took his hat and left the room, and appeared no more" (*Lib.* 11:143).

1 "Then as I read these maxims [of the Sermon on the Mount] I was permeated with the joyous assurance that I might that very hour, that very moment, begin to practise them. The burning desire I felt led me to the attempt, but the doctrine of the Church rang in my ears: *Man is weak, and to this he cannot attain.* My strength soon failed. On every side I heard, 'You must believe and pray'; but my wavering faith impeded prayer. Again I heard, 'You must pray, and God will give you faith; this faith will inspire prayer, which in turn will invoke faith that will inspire more prayer, and so on, indefinitely.' Reason and experience alike convinced me that such methods were useless. It seemed to me that the only true way was for me to try to follow the doctrine of Jesus" (Tolstoi's 'My Religion,' p. 6).

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light and the truth, and denying that freedom from sin is a Christian's duty and privilege, confess and forsake our sins — give no quarter to unrighteousness — put on the whole armor of God, that we may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil — believe with all the heart — exercise that faith which overcomes the world, and therefore that cannot be overcome by anything that is in the world — and be willing to be wholly delivered from the power of darkness, and translated into the kingdom of God's dear Son. 'Whatsoever is born of God overcometh the world' — not half succeeds in the struggle, but wholly triumphs. 'Little children, let no man deceive you: he that doeth righteousness IS righteous [not partly righteous, and partly sinful], even as he [Christ] is righteous.' And how righteous was Christ? Was any sin found in him? Did he not come expressly to do the will of his heavenly Father, and to teach his disciples to pray that that will might be done on earth as it is done in Heaven? 'He that committeth sin is [what? a saint, possibly? no, is] of the devil.' '*For this purpose* the Son of God was manifested [what purpose?], that he might DESTROY the works of the devil.' Therefore, 'Whosoever is born of God doth not commit sin; for his seed remaineth in him: and he cannot sin [what a 'dangerous doctrine,' what a 'delusive error,' and how 'utterly destructive to the life and growth of true holiness'!], BECAUSE HE IS BORN OF GOD. In this the children of God are manifest, and the children of the devil.'"

1 *John* 5 : 4.

1 *John* 3 : 7.

1 *John* 3 : 8.

1 *John* 3 : 8.

1 *John* 3 : 9, 10.

Lib. 11 : 191.

A sentiment attributed to the Rev. Edward Beecher, President of Jacksonville (Ill.) College, in the course of some lectures in Boston, furnished another occasion for the display of Mr. Garrison's magnanimity, towards Noyes in particular. The stanch friend of Lovejoy was reported to have "prognosticated the speedy end of the world by 'the general wickedness which prevailed, the doctrines of the *perfectionists*, NON-RESISTANTS, deists, atheists, and pantheists, which are *all* those of false Christs.'"

Elijah P. Lovejoy.

Lib. 11 : 191.

"With 'perfectionists,' as such," rejoined Mr. Garrison, "we have little or no personal acquaintance. We have never met with more than two or three individuals who bear that name, and then have had no opportunity to converse with them in regard to their peculiar religious views. Some of their writings we have perused, in which we have found (as in other writings) much to approve and something to condemn. We are not their

Ante, 2 : 144.

advocate or expositor; for we choose to be responsible only for what we shall utter or write, and to let every man answer for himself. Doubtless, there are some diversities of views among them; and also some, who profess to be of their number, who do not walk worthily of their profession. 'All are not Israel who are of Israel,' yet the true Israel of God remain loyal. If what we have heard of the sayings and doings of the perfectionists, especially those residing in Vermont, be true, they have certainly turned the grace of God into lasciviousness, and given themselves over to a reprobate mind. So, also, if a tithe of the allegations that have been brought against the abolitionists by their enemies be true, they are a body of madmen, incendiaries, and cut-throats. We know how to make allowance for calumny in the one case, and it leads us to be charitable in the other. . . .

Ante, 2:289; *Noyes's American Socialisms*, *p.* 624.

"Now, whatever may be the conduct of these perfectionists, the duty which they enjoin, of ceasing from all iniquity, at once and forever, is certainly what God requires, and what cannot be denied without extreme hardihood or profligacy of spirit. It is reasonable, and therefore attainable. If men cannot help sinning, then they are not guilty in attempting to serve two masters. If they can, then it cannot be a dangerous doctrine to preach; and he is a rebel against the government of God who advocates an opposite doctrine. No matter how many, who pretend to keep 'the royal law' perfectly, break it in their walk and conversation, and are either hypocrites or self-deceivers: that law should be proclaimed as essential to the recovery of mankind from their fallen condition; and no violation of it by those who profess to observe it, can make it nugatory. What though the American people, while they declare it to be a self-evident truth that all men are created equal, hold in unmitigated thraldom one-sixth portion of their number? Is that truth thereby proved to be a lie? Is it no longer to be asserted in the presence of tyranny? Christianity has been dishonored and betrayed by millions who have assumed the Christian profession; but is it henceforth to be abjured on that account?

"The attempt of Pres. Beecher to associate non-resistants with deists and atheists is not merely absurd — not merely unfortunate — not merely censurable — but it is a flagrant assault upon the character of Jesus, 'who suffered for us, leaving us an example that we should follow his steps.' Non-resistance is based upon the teachings, doctrines, examples, and spirit of Christ. Christ is its pattern, its theme, its hope, its rejoicing,

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its advocate and protector, its author and finisher, its Alpha and Omega. . . .

"It appears that the subject of his [Beecher's] discourse was 'The Last Times,' or the end of the world; and, in order suitably to affect the minds of those who listened to him, and to prepare them for the speedy coming of the Son of Man (an event, by the way, which we believe transpired eighteen hundred years ago),[1] he warns them to beware of those who abjure all stations of worldly trust and preferment; who insist that Christians cannot wield carnal weapons for the destruction of their enemies; who, when smitten on the one cheek, turn the other also to the smiter; and who are willing to die for their foes, as did Jesus for his, rather than to imprison, maim, or destroy them!"

Lib. 13:23, 27.

The doctrines defended in the foregoing extracts continued, as heretofore, to be merely subsidiary to Mr. Garrison's lifework. They were the unfailing feeders of his anti-slavery courage, energy, and persistence. "We have never," said the editor of the *Liberator* in June, "devoted more of our time to the anti-slavery movement than we have for the last three years. We are literally 'absorbed' in that movement. We have yet to deliver our first public lecture on 'the Church,' 'the Sabbath,' or 'the Ministry,' or even on 'non-resistance.' We have been nominally one of the editors of the *Non-Resistant* for a period of two and a half years; and, during that time, we have not devoted *half a day* to the writing of editorial matter for its pages." His activity as an anti-slavery lecturer during the year 1841 is especially notable. The paralysis of this mode of propagandism as a consequence of the hard times, the Harrison Presidential campaign, the schism in the American Society, and the Liberty-Party secession, was lamentably felt at the close of 1840, and Mr. Garrison had done what he could, by taking the field in person, to supply the lack of a full corps of agents. At the ninth annual meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society

Ante, 2:305.

Lib. 11:99.

1839–41.

Ante, 2:326.

Ante, 2:428.

[1] Father Miller, the head of the Second-Adventists, and so-called "end-of-the-world man," was at this epoch preaching in Massachusetts that the "day of probation," preceding the millennium, was no further off than a date somewhere between the vernal equinoxes of 1843–44.

in January, 1841, Abby Kelley moved that he again go forth and meet his detractors. Accepting this commission impersonally, he labored for the cause in a great number of towns in eastern Massachusetts, in Connecticut, in New Hampshire, with the annual May visit to New York, and an excursion, with N. P. Rogers, to Philadelphia. Edmund Quincy made good his editorial delinquencies, and, on the return of Collins, himself also turned lecturer.

Lib. 11 : 23.

Lib. 11 : 191, 211.

Collins's absence was, to the friends at home, unaccountably prolonged, and the most urgent private and official appeals to him to come back to his post, which no one else could fill, were disappointed. Month after month the date of his sailing was postponed; and, what with two visits to Ireland, the publication of a controversial pamphlet,[1] and the confirmation of the Scotch alliance with the old organization, summer overtook him before he felt free to rejoin his associates in America. He crossed in the same steamer with the Phillipses, arriving July 17, 1841, ten days after the Chapmans had returned from Hayti.[2] Great was the rejoicing over this reunion, which was signalized by a formal reception.[3] The family

MS. Apr. 1, 1841, *W. L. G. and E. C. Loring to Collins.*

July 4, 1841 *Lib.* 11 : 119 111.

Lib. 11 : 127.

[1] 'Right and Wrong among the Abolitionists of the United States: or, the Objects, Principles, and Measures of the Original American A. S. Society Unchanged. By John A. Collins, Representative of the A. A. S. S. Glasgow: Geo. Gallie, 1841.' (*Lib.* 11 : 77, 138). This was begun, with the aid of Elizabeth Pease, in the latter part of January, and was out by the third week in March (MSS. Feb. 2, 1841, E. Pease to W. L. G., and Mar. 24, to Collins).

[2] They had embarked for the island on Dec. 28, 1840 (*Lib.* 11 : 3), for the sake of Mr. Henry G. Chapman's health, which was only temporarily benefited.

[3] In the evening there was a collation given by the colored people. "Garrison," wrote Wendell Phillips to Elizabeth Pease (MS. Aug. 26, 1841), "was in fine vein — witty and fluent; his wife's eyes worth a queen's dowry. Miss Southwick and I were tied to a Haytian to speak bad French to him, as he could talk only [to] two beside ourselves. Bradburn and W. L. G. brightened each other by their retorts. Said Himes, alluding modestly to his wish to be always acting, though only effecting a little, 'I am but a cipher, but I keep always on the slate.' 'Yes,' said W. L. G., 'and always on the *right* side.' [S. J.] May, whose extra care to be candid led some new-organized ones to fancy he was going to join *them*, took occasion to explain his position. Said he: 'One asked me the other day if I was

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circle of the abolitionists was now complete; discouragement gave way to hopeful, harmonious action, in which the organizing skill and "Herculean powers of despatch" of the man who had "saved the cause" in 1840 were speedily manifested.[1]

Lib. 11:139. *Ante*, 2:346.

Of the numerous meetings and conventions now instituted, that at Nantucket in August was a conspicuous example of the glad renewal of anti-slavery fellowship (the sectarian spirit having been exorcised), and was otherwise memorable. No report is left of the social delights of companionship between Bradburn (a sort of island host), Quincy, Garrison, and Collins; but the significant incident of the public proceedings has been recorded by the chief actor in them. This was Frederick Douglass of New Bedford, formerly a Maryland slave, and only for three years a freeman by virtue of being a fugitive. His extraordinary oratorical powers were hardly suspected by himself, and he had never addressed any but his own color when he was induced to narrate his experiences at Nantucket.

Aug. 10, 11, 12, 1841; *Lib.* 11:130, 134.

Geo. Bradburn.

S. J. May's Recollections, p. 292.

"It was," he says, "with the utmost difficulty that I could stand erect, or that I could command and articulate two words

Life of F. Douglass, ed. 1882, *p.* 216; *Cf. Anna Gardner's Harvest Gleanings, pp.* 17–19.

going to Chardon-St. Chapel [*i. e.*, to the reception to Phillips and Collins]. —Yes.—Why, Mr. May, I heard you were leaving the old party.—Who told you so?—Many people.—Well,' said Samuel, 'when I *am* going to leave, I 'll be *myself* the first to tell it. When I leave W. L. G., I 'll tell *him* so first.' Good, was it not? You 'd say so if you had seen the noble, calm, whole-souled speaker."

[1] Mr. Garrison wrote to Miss Pease on Sept. 16, 1841 (MS.): "Our anti-slavery struggle is constantly increasing in vigor and potency; and never were our spirits better, or our blows more effective, or our prospects more encouraging, than at present. Our fall and winter campaign will be carried on with unwonted energy. The return of our friends Phillips, Chapman, and Collins infuses new life into the general mass. The people are everywhere eager to hear. I am covered all over with applications to lecture in all parts of the free States. The many base attempts that have been made to cripple my influence, and to render me odious in the eyes of the people, have only served to awaken sympathy, excite curiosity, and to open a wide door for usefulness." Notice the large and harmonious meeting of the Eastern Pennsylvania A. S. Society at Philadelphia in December, 1841, at which, however, the temporary suspension of the *Freeman* in favor of the *Standard* was voted (*Lib.* 12: 2, 3, 7, 8).

without hesitation and stammering. I trembled in every limb. *Lib.* 15 : 75.
I am not sure that my embarrassment was not the most effective part of my speech, if speech it could be called. At any rate, this is about the only part of my performance that I now distinctly remember. The audience sympathized with me at once, and, from having been remarkably quiet, became much excited. Mr. Garrison followed me, taking me as his text; and now, whether *I* had made an eloquent plea in behalf of freedom, or not, his was one, never to be forgotten. Those who had heard him oftenest, and had known him longest, were astonished at his masterly effort. For the time he possessed that almost fabulous inspiration, often referred to but seldom attained, in which a public meeting is transformed, as it were, into a single individuality, the orator swaying a thousand heads and hearts at once, and, by the simple majesty of his all-controlling thought, converting his hearers into the express image of his own soul. That night there were at least a thousand Garrisonians in Nantucket!"[1]

[1] Another eye witness, Parker Pillsbury, reports ('Acts of the A. S. Apostles,' p. 327): "When the young man [Douglass] closed, late in the evening, though none seemed to know nor to care for the hour, Mr. Garrison rose to make the concluding address. I think he never before nor afterwards felt more profoundly the sacredness of his mission, or the importance of a crisis moment to his success. I surely never saw him more deeply, more divinely, inspired. The crowded congregation had been wrought up almost to enchantment during the whole long evening, particularly by some of the utterances of the last speaker, as he turned over the terrible Apocalypse of his experiences in slavery.

"But Mr. Garrison was singularly serene and calm. It was well that he was so. He only asked a few simple, direct questions. I can recall but few of them, though I do remember the first and the last. The first was: 'Have we been listening to a thing, a piece of property, or to a man?' 'A man! a man!' shouted fully five hundred voices of women and men. 'And should such a man be held a slave in a republican and Christian land?' was another question. 'No, no! never, never!' again swelled up from the same voices, like the billows of the deep. But the last was this: 'Shall such a man ever be sent back to slavery from the soil of old Massachusetts?'—this time uttered with all the power of voice of which Garrison was capable, now more than forty years ago. Almost the whole assembly sprang with one accord to their feet, and the walls and roof of the Athenæum seemed to shudder with the 'No, no!' loud and long-continued in the wild enthusiasm of the scene. As soon as Garrison could be heard, he snatched the acclaim, and superadded: 'No!—a thousand times no! Sooner [let] the lightnings of heaven blast Bunker Hill monument till not one stone shall be left standing on another!'"

Compare a similar scene in the Boston State House on Jan. 27, 1842 (*Lib.* 12 : 26).

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Collins, at Mr. Garrison's instance,[1] lost no time in securing Mr. Douglass as an agent of the Massachusetts Society; and the late "graduate from the 'peculiar institution,' with his diploma *written on his back*," as Collins used to say, proved an invaluable accession to the apostles of abolition.

Life of F. Douglass, p. 217. *Lib.* 12:11.

One other glimpse of Mr. Garrison's lecturing at this period must suffice. "We bargained last year," wrote N. P. Rogers in his *Herald of Freedom* for October 1, 1841, "with our beloved fellow-traveller Garrison, in the Scottish Highlands, either on Loch Katrine, on board the barge rowed by McFarlan and his three Highlanders, or else as we rode the Shetland ponies from Katrine to Loch Lomond, through 'Rob Roy's country,' and along his 'native heath,' and when we were gazing upward at the mist-clad mountains, that if ever we lived to get home again to our dear New England, we would go and show him New Hampshire's sterner and loftier summits, her Haystacks and her White Hills, and their Alpine passes."

Writings of N. P. Rogers, p. 167.

Lib. 11:78. *Lib.* 11:75.

Released from the extra care of editing the *Standard* by the consenting of David Lee and Lydia Maria Child to conduct the new organ of the American Society,[2] Rogers in July began to urge his "very brother" to make the trip in question, then far from fashionable or well-known, or well-provided with houses of entertainment. "Forgive me for writing so much," he concluded. "You are the only person, almost, I love to write to well enough to attempt it, and the only one I can't write *anything like a merchantable letter to*." Such warm affection easily found a sentimental reason for a trip up the Merrimac by two friends, of whom the younger was born at the mouth, and the elder near the sources, of that noble river — thus

MS. July 16, 1841, *Rogers to W. L. G.*

Rogers's Writings, p. 158.

[1] *Lib.* 15:75, from the preface to Douglass's Autobiography. But Edmund Quincy wrote: "I believe I was the first person who suggested to him becoming an A. S. speaker" (MS. Dec. 13, 1845, to R. D. Webb).

[2] They reached this conclusion at the close of March, 1841, and it was arranged that both names should appear in the paper, but that Mrs. Child should have immediate charge, removing to New York, while her husband remained on his beet-sugar farm near Northampton, Mass. (MS. Mar. 30, 31, 1841, J. S. Gibbons to W. L. G.).

"native" to both of them. Mr. Garrison, on his part, fully responded to an invitation which was to gratify also his keen admiration for natural scenery. *Lib.* 11:147.

This (in the main) pleasure excursion was the first ever undertaken by Mr. Garrison in his own country, and it made a lasting impression upon his memory. It began at Concord, N. H., on August 23, and ended at Conway on August 30; and in that time the Merrimac was ascended to the Franconia Notch, Littleton was visited, Mt. Washington ascended from Fabyan's, and the return made by way of the Crawford Notch. Rogers, in the *Herald of Freedom*, was the willing and graphic chronicler of the week's jaunt, which was put to anti-slavery account by holding meetings along the route, with little aid and much obstruction from the clergy. In Rogers's native town of Plymouth no meeting-house could be obtained, and recourse was had to a maple grove across the river in Holderness. *Rogers's Writings, pp.* 156, 193. *Cf. Lib.* 11: 147, 167. *Aug.* 24, 1841.

"Semi-circular seats, backed against a line of magnificent trees, to accommodate, we should judge, from two to three hundred, though we did not think about numbers, were filled principally with women, and the men who could not find seats stood on the greensward on either hand, and at length, when wearied with standing, seated themselves on the ground. Garrison, mounted on a rude platform in front, lifted up his voice and spoke to them in prophet tones and surpassing eloquence, from half-past three till I saw the rays of the setting sun playing through the trees on his head. It was at his back—but the auditory could see it, if they had felt at leisure to notice the decline of the sun or the lapse of time. They heeded it not, any more than he, but remained till he ended, apparently undisposed to move, though some came from six, eight, and even twelve miles' distance. . . . *Writings of N. P. Rogers, p.* 160.

"Garrison spoke the better for being driven to the open air. The injustice and meanness of it aroused his spirit, and the beauty of the scene animated his eloquence. We never heard him speak so powerfully; and as he spoke the more earnestly, the people, from like cause, heard with deeper interest. He scarcely alluded to the miserable jesuitry that excluded us from the synagogue." *Ibid., p.* 162.

Rogers's Writings, pp. 184, 190. We cannot dilate here on the wonderful horn at Fabyan's, waking the echoes of the mountains; on the singing — of that air which, along with the name of Rogers, became household in Mr. Garrison's family, "In the *Ibid., p.* 190. days when we went gypsying," or else of psalms, "in good *Aug.* 28, 1841. time and harmony," on the descent of Mt. Washington; or on the visit to the Willey House, where, says Rogers, *Writings, p.* 192. "we wrote brother Garrison's [name] and our own *linked together* on the wall with a fragment of coal." But the *Ibid., p.* 177. following incident is too characteristic of the men and the time to be omitted:

Aug. 25, 1841. *Thos. Parnell Beach, Ezekiel Rogers.* "As we rode through the [Franconia] Notch after friends Beach and Rogers, we were alarmed at seeing *smoke* issue from their chaise-top, and cried out to them that their chaise was afire! We were more than suspicious, however, that it was something worse than that, and that the *smoke* came out of *E. Rogers.* friend Rogers's mouth. And it so turned out. This was before we reached the Notch tavern. Alighting there to water our beasts, we gave him, all round, a faithful admonition. For anti-slavery does not fail to spend its intervals of public service in mutual and searching correction of the faults of its friends. *E. Rogers.* We gave it soundly to friend Rogers — that he, *an abolitionist*, *At Littleton, N. H., Aug.* 26, 1841. on his way to an *anti-slavery* convention, should desecrate his *anti-slavery* mouth and that glorious *Mountain Notch* with a stupefying tobacco weed. We had halted at the Iron Works tavern to refresh our horses, and, while they were eating, walked to view the Furnace. As we crossed the little bridge, *E. Rogers.* friend Rogers took out another cigar, as if to light it when we should reach the fire. 'Is it any malady you have got, brother *E. Rogers.* Rogers,' said we to him, 'that you smoke that thing, or is it habit and indulgence merely?' 'It is nothing but habit,' said he gravely; 'or, I would say, it *was* nothing else,' and he significantly cast the little roll over the railing into the Ammonoosuck. 'A revolution!' exclaimed Garrison, 'a glorious revolution without noise or *smoke*,' and he swung his hat cheerily about his head.

"It was a pretty incident, and we joyfully witnessed it and as joyfully record it. It was a vice abandoned, a self-indulgence denied, and from principle. It was quietly and beautifully done. We call on any smoking abolitionist to take notice and to take pattern. Anti-slavery wants her mouths for other uses

than to be flues for besotting tobacco-smoke. They may as well almost be rum-ducts as tobacco-funnels. And we rejoice that so few mouths or noses in our ranks are thus profaned. Abolitionists are generally as *crazy* in regard to rum and tobacco as in regard to slavery. Some of them refrain from eating flesh and drinking tea and coffee. Some are so *bewildered* that they won't *fight* in the way of *Christian retaliation*, to the great disturbance of the churches they belong to, and the annoyance of their pastors. They do not embrace these 'new-fangled notions' as abolitionists — but then one fanaticism leads to another, and they are getting to be *mono*-maniacs, as the *Reverend* brother Punchard called us, on *every* subject."

Cf. ante, 2 : 423.

George Punchard.

Rogers's light-heartedness was manifested under difficulties. In January the circulation of the *Herald of Freedom* had dwindled to some 900, and, the publisher being unable to sustain it, the New Hampshire Society had to take the paper on their hands again. "J. R. French and two other boys," as Quincy wrote to Collins, "print it for nothing, asking only board and clothes." In July, a frank review of the struggles of paper and editor, made by Rogers in his own columns, showed that very little of his salary had reached him, that much was due him, and that he forgave much.[1] Meantime he had given up the law, in which his career might have been brilliant. He had likewise broken with the church at Plymouth, N. H., — "excommunicated" it, as Quincy said, and as was, indeed, the fashion of a "come-outer" period. He was, furthermore, in sympathy with that spirit of "no-organization" which we have seen manifested at the Chardon-Street Convention, and which had now to be combated by the abolitionists along with "new organization."

MS. Jan. 30, 1841.

Herald of Freedom, 7 : 82, *Lib.* 11 : 118.

MS. Mar. 14, 1841, *Rogers to W. L. G.*

MS. Jan. 30, 1841, *to J. A. Collins.*

No-organization and come-outerism were twin brothers; protests, both, against pro-slavery clerical and ecclesiastical despotism. But the ranks of the disorganizers were swelled by the followers of Channing, whose dread of organization was most acute, and belief in the "superior-

Lib. 15 : 29; *ante*, 2 : 56.

[1] On Sept. 7, 1842, he writes to H. C. Wright (MS.): "To-morrow I must go to my native village to hunt up some means of support, having received only *half-a-dozen chairs* and a *bureau* as my first quarter's salary."

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ity of individual to associated action" almost fatuous;[1] and especially by the Transcendental wing, who pushed individualism to its furthest limits. Finally, some non-

Lib. 11 : 79.

resistants were alarmed for their consistency when submitting to presidents, vice-presidents, and committees. In these currents of opinion Mr. Garrison did not lose his head. At the Middlesex County Anti-Slavery Society's quarterly meeting at Holliston on April 27, 1841, he

Lib. 11 : 70.

drew the resolution which declared "That if '*new* organization' be in diametrical opposition to the genius of the anti-slavery enterprise, *no*-organization (as now advocated in certain quarters) would, in our opinion, be still more unphilosophical and pernicious in its tendencies." Yet a

Lib. 11 : 90. *May* 25, 1841.

like resolution from his hand was staved off at the closely following New England Convention, under the lead of William Chace, who had imbibed most deeply what Abby

MS. Sept. 30, 1841, *to W. L. G.*

Kelley called the "transcendental spirit," and who at Nantucket flatly proclaimed the anti-slavery *organization* "the greatest hindrance to the anti-slavery enterprise, because of its sectarianism," and hence called on abolitionists to shake the dust from their feet against it "when

Lib. 11 : 147.

they called upon others to leave church organizations."[2]

MS. Plain Speaker, 1 : 23.

George Bradburn wrote to Francis Jackson on June 1, 1841: "William Chace has gone to tilling the soil, deeming it a crime against God to get a living in any other way! This seems not less strange than his condemnation of associations." Chace had, however, a partner in

MS. Aug. 15, 1841, *G. W. Benson to W. L. G.*

husbandry, Christopher A. Greene, with whom he lived in a sort of community; and notable in this very year were

[1] His flatterers pretended that the abolition societies had cost him the public ear on the subject of slavery. "Dr. Channing himself," said the *Unitarian Monthly Miscellany*, "has not a tithe of the influence he would have had, had there been no organization. Protest as he may, he will be identified with the organized mass" (*Lib.* 11 : 69). Mrs. Child, on the contrary, asserted in the *Standard* that Channing had intended to preach a sermon on slavery after his return from the West Indies (*ante*, 1 : 466), but never did, and only broke silence after he had caught the glow of associated anti-slavery action (*Lib.* 11 : 93).

[2] N. H. Whiting of Marshfield wrote to Mr. Chace on Aug. 29, 1841: "Old and new organization are alike beneath my feet now" (*Lib.* 11 : 199).

the attempts — in advance of the great wave of Fourierism — to reconcile individualism with association and organization. As Emerson notified Carlyle in the previous autumn, "We are all a little wild here with numberless projects of social reform. Not a reading man but has a draft of a new community in his waistcoat pocket." And on December 31, 1840, Quincy wrote to Collins: "Ripley is as full of his scheme of a community as ever. He has made some progress towards establishing one at West Roxbury, where he lived last summer. The main trouble is *the root of all evil*, as he finds plenty of penniless adventurers and but few moneyed ones. Emerson thought of it but retired. Still, R. is sanguine, and I hope will succeed, for what a residence such a neighborhood would make Dedham!" On January 30, 1841: "Ripley is actually going to commence the 'New State and the New Church' at Ellis's farm . . . in the spring." The idea of "Brook Farm," as it was henceforth to be known, notoriously proceeded from Dr. Channing. In his recent work on West India Emancipation he had even professed to see in the original principles of the abolitionists "a struggling of the human mind towards Christian union," and said he had hoped that this body, purified, would found a religious community. One of their number, the Rev. Adin Ballou, presently set forth, in his *Practical Christian*, the scheme and constitution of Fraternal Community No. 1 at Mendon, Mass., afterwards known as the Hopedale Community, with non-resistance as one of its corner-stones.

CHAP. I. 1841. *Oct.* 30, 1840. *MS. Rev. Geo. Ripley.* *MS. Quincy to J. A. Collins.* *Lib.* II:10. *Lib.* II:1. *Lib.* II:33.

As little as he had been attracted to Noyes's religious community, was Mr. Garrison drawn towards any of these experiments, one of which, yet in the bud, would approach him from the side of his brother-in-law.[1] In the applica-

[1] George W. Benson, early in 1841, having disposed of the family property in Brooklyn, Conn.: "Where do you settle?" asked Mr. Garrison; and, suggesting that he remove to Cambridgeport, "What say you to a little social community among ourselves? Bro. Chace is ready for it; and I think we must be pretty bad folks if we cannot live together amicably within gun-shot of each other" (MS. Jan. 7, 1841).

tion of his peculiar views to the conduct of life, there was nothing utopian or extravagant. He sympathized with every honest motive and effort for the regeneration of mankind, and could make allowance for aberration either of judgment or of intellect. He saw the abolition cause (like other fervid moral movements) unavoidably draw to itself the insane, the unbalanced, the blindly enthusiastic. He remained calm, collected, steadfast; hewing to the line of principle, but tolerant to the last degree of temperament, expression, measures, not his own.

Lib. 13:47.

Ante, 2:428.

Lib. 12:94.

This contrast may be pursued, in the anti-slavery ranks, between their leader and some of his coadjutors who lacked either his breadth, his tact, his humor, his persuasiveness, or his felicitous command of phraseology — qualities which make it doubtful if Mr. Garrison was ever mobbed for words actually spoken in public. Certain strongly marked individualities among the New England field agents of the era succeeding the schism fall under the description just given negatively. As New Organization and the Liberty Party had furnished a cover to parsons and congregations to quit the anti-slavery field, and emboldened them to shut out and to persecute the lecturers of the old organization, the iniquity of the American churches became the chief theme of those whose meetings were disturbed or suppressed, and persons assailed, in consequence. The logic of the picturesque group we have in mind was severe and relentless, their discourse "harsh" and not seldom grim, their invective sweeping; and, in one instance in particular, a deliberate policy of church intrusion brought upon itself physical and legal penalties but little softened by passive resistance. It would be rash if not censorious to deny that these moral ploughshares were fitted for the rough work allotted to them. The self-denying and almost outcast lives they led for the slave's sake compel admiration and gratitude. Their anti-slavery character was tried by all manner of tests short of martyrdom without embittering them, and in private their disposition was singularly

Lib. 11:193; *post*, *p.* 29.

mild, gentle, and amiable. In spirit Mr. Garrison was completely in harmony with them. In details of language, of policy, he was free to differ from them.

Thus, at the New England Convention in May, 1841, Mr. Garrison's resolution in regard to the church read as follows: *May* 25.

"Resolved, That among the responsible classes in the non-slaveholding States, in regard to the existence of slavery, the religious professions [professors], and especially the clergy, stand wickedly preëminent, and ought to be unsparingly exposed and reproved before all the people." *Lib.* 11:90.

To Henry C. Wright, however, it appeared that it should read as follows:

"Resolved, That the church and clergy of the United States, as a whole, constitute a great BROTHERHOOD OF THIEVES,[1] inasmuch as they countenance and support the highest kind of theft, *i. e.*, MAN-STEALING; and duty to God and the slave demands of abolitionists that they should denounce them as the worst foes of liberty and pure religion, and forthwith renounce them as a Christian church and clergy." *Lib.* 11:90. *Ante, pp.* 12, 13.

To this substitute rallied Parker Pillsbury, Stephen S. Foster, and N. P. Rogers, while Mr. Garrison and Charles C. Burleigh contended for the original formula; the debate raging long, with a drift toward the obnoxious expression in capitals, which was at last abandoned.[2]

So in a question of measures. At a quarterly meeting of the Massachusetts Society held at Millbury on August 17, 1841, Mr. Foster moved the following: *S. S. Foster.*

"Resolved, That we recommend to abolitionists as the most consistent and effectual method of abolishing the 'negro pew,' *Lib.* 11:139.

[1] See Mr. Wright's exposition of this expression in his letter to A. A. Phelps entitled, "The Methodist Episcopal Church and Clergy of the United States a Brotherhood of Men-Stealers" (*Lib.* 11:130).

[2] Speaking for himself, however, and not for the Society, Mr. Garrison presently declared "a great brotherhood of thieves" tame language to apply to the action of the Presbyterian General Assembly at Philadelphia on May 20. The Committee of Bills and Overtures unanimously refused to report on the "exciting topic" of slavery, and desired to return the papers on that subject to the presbyteries which had presented them. By an overwhelming vote the whole business was indefinitely postponed (*Lib.* 11:95).

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to take their seats in it, wherever it may be found, whether in a gentile synagogue, a railroad car, a steamboat, or a stage-coach."[1]

This had the approval of Messrs. Pillsbury and Collins, but not of H. C. Wright, or of Garrison, or of Edmund Quincy, and did not prevail. In fact, what J. H. Noyes called "the whole phalanx of Massachusetts Ultraists" had a conservative element of which the editor of the *Liberator* was, paradoxical as it might seem, the head. He was himself a shining example of moderate and calculated utterance, while little disturbed by the want of it in those whose anti-slavery sincerity, courage, zeal, and devotedness he felt to be equal to his own. "There is danger," he wrote in June, 1842, in a fine plea for toleration of idiosyncracies, "of abolitionists becoming invidious and censorious toward each other, in consequence of making constitutional peculiarities virtuous or vicious traits," or, in other words, "on account of the manner in which the cause is advocated" by this person or that. "I see by the *Post*," writes George Bradburn to Francis Jackson, on August 7, 1841, "that friend Loring does not choose to be understood as discussing abolition topics in the style of our friends Wright and Pillsbury.

Ante, p. 11.

Lib. 12:94.

Lib. 12:95.

Boston Post. MS. E. G. Loring.

H. C. Wright, P. Pillsbury.

[1] With the extension of the railroad system, the inhuman prejudice against color was catered to by corporations even in excess of the requirements of average public sentiment. A "Jim Crow" car was provided, in which colored travellers were forced to sit although they had purchased first-class tickets. They were expelled in the most ruffianly manner from white cars, against the remonstrances of white passengers, who not seldom were themselves dragged out for condemning such brutality (*Lib.* 11:175, 180, 182), or for taking seats in the Jim Crow car by way of testimony, in the spirit of Mr. Foster's resolution. Colored servants, on the other hand, were allowed to accompany their employers (*Lib.* 11:132). The Eastern Railroad of Boston, of which a Quaker was the malignant superintendent (*Lib.* 12:35), attained an evil preëminence in these outrages (*Lib.* 11:47, 94, 143, 157, 162, 163, 165, 166, 170). Worst of all, police justices refused to punish the assaults even upon white passengers (*Lib.* 11:127, 128, 180). Yet it was asked, What has the North to do with slavery? And it is even now pretended that the North was peopled with abolitionists until the *Liberator* was founded (*New-Englander*, 45:1, *et seq.*). See in *Lib.* 12:56 the "Travellers' Directory" time-tables of the several railroads, with a caption showing whether they make any distinction in regard to color.

Neither would I, though I am quite a tomahawk sort of man myself." On the other hand, Abby Kelley, writing to G. W. Benson, censures Charles Burleigh for not wanting S. S. Foster sent to lecture in Connecticut, where the new-organized State Society was carrying on an active campaign and the old organization was doing nothing. "His [Burleigh's] manner will do much for a certain class, at certain times; but another class, and the same class, indeed, at other times, need Foster's preaching."[1]

Cf. ante, p. 5.

MS. Sept. 13, 1841.

So far as the preaching was directed against pro-slavery clericalism and denominationalism, the need of it cannot be doubted for the year 1841. Dr. Channing, in his work on West India Emancipation, sorrowfully admitted the pro-slavery character of American "religion"; and Gerrit Smith, speaking to this text, said: "I do not hesitate to make the remark, infidel though it may seem in the eyes of many, that were all the religion of this land — the good, bad, and mixed — to be this day blotted out, there would remain as much ground as there now is to hope for the speedy termination of American slavery." The sooner, added Mr. Garrison, this truth is realized by abolitionists, the better. "When we go into a place," said Wendell

Lib. 11:6.

Lib. 11:7.

Lib. 11:7.

[1] See Cyrus Peirce's protests against Abby Kelley's and S. S. Foster's resolutions at Fall River, Nov. 23, 1841, and against their "style" generally (*Lib.* 12:3, 19), with Mrs. Chapman's comment (*Lib.* 12:23). Miss Kelley offered a resolution in these terms at the tenth anniversary meeting of the Mass. A. S. Society (Jan. 28, 1842): "Resolved, That the sectarian organizations called churches are combinations of thieves, robbers, adulterers, pirates, and murderers, and, as such, form the bulwark of American slavery"—this last phrase being probably suggested by James G. Birney's tract, 'The American Churches the Bulwarks of American Slavery' (published first, anonymously, in London, Sept. 23, 1840; in a second and third [American] edition in Newburyport, Mass., in 1842; and again, in Boston, in May, 1843). Phœbe Jackson wrote from Providence, Nov. 18, 1842, to Mrs. Garrison, of the recently held annual meeting of the Rhode Island A. S. Society: "The *strong* ground taken by Rogers, Foster, and a few others occasions considerable feeling among our friends. By the way, Rogers is not a favorite speaker of mine, but Foster is *deeply impressive*. I do not always agree with him, but he has great power. . . . I do not think it wise in him to disturb the assemblies of others: it appears to me like an infringement on their rights. Neither do I sympathize in the *Christian* (?) course they pursue toward him and others" (MS.).

July 2, 1841; *Lib.* 11:123. Phillips at Weymouth, speaking as an anti-slavery lecturer, "we know, we feel instantly, whether the minister is for or against us. We judge instinctively." But that the presumption was that the minister would be adverse, *Lib.* 11:173. is clear from such a report on the attitude of the clergy as was made for Middlesex, one of the largest counties in Massachusetts, yet within easy radius of Boston, the *Liberator* office, and the engine of the State anti-slavery machinery, and by no means a neglected field.[1] As for the great representative religious bodies, they successfully pursued this year either the policy of silence and suppres- *Ante, p.* 27. sion on the subject of slavery — like the Presbyterian General Assembly; or of satisfying the South by the exclusion of anti-slavery officers from the Board of Mis- *Lib.* 11:86, 87, 97, 105, 109, 113. sions — as in the case of the Baptist Triennial Convention at Baltimore, under Southern threats of turning mission contributions into other channels. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, whose agents among the slaveholding Cherokees, Creeks, and Choctaws *Lib.* 11:158. were themselves slaveholders, met a ministerial petition *Lib.* 11:154. that they should not keep silent about slavery, by replying that they could neither approve nor condemn it, and that they could not scrutinize the source of money contributed to their funds. And this, too, satisfied the South.

Apr. 4, 1841. The great political event of the year was the death of President Harrison and the succession of John Tyler. How much this change of Administration affected the destiny of slavery, either immediately or remotely, can only be matter of speculation. We can, however, affirm with certainty, that whatever legislation the Slave Power might have obtained from Congress, President Harrison

[1] Collins, who, after his return from England, devoted all his spare time to lecturing and recruiting in Massachusetts and the neighboring States, delivering more than ninety addresses in upwards of sixty towns and parishes, and travelling some 3500 miles, reported on Jan. 18, 1842: "All the opposition I have met with in the prosecution of my mission has originated, with scarcely an exception, with clergymen." Still, in all the places above enumerated except two, he was able to obtain a meeting-house from some one of the religious denominations (*Lib.* 12:11).

would have sanctioned with alacrity. His inaugural address, with its sophistical argument for the limitation of the powers of Congress over slavery in the District, had been preceded by a speech at Richmond repudiating, as a native Virginian, the slightest sympathy with abolitionism. Tyler's message, on the other hand, made no allusion to the subject. In the confusion caused by an extra session of Congress, the gag-rule was momentarily relaxed, and John Quincy Adams improved the opportunity to reopen his inexhaustible budget of anti-slavery petitions. At the regular session in December a new gag-rule was promptly applied. Meanwhile, two incidents showed unmistakably the Southern purpose to make "pro-slavery" and "national" (or Federal) synonymous terms. One was the reluctance of the Senate, till the North showed its teeth, to confirm Edward Everett's nomination to the court of St. James, on account of his anti-slavery views.[1] The other (for no game was too small for this inquisition) was the same body's refusal to confirm the postmaster of Philadelphia unless he discharged Joshua Coffin (newly appointed) from his letter-carriers; Coffin's alleged offence being that he had once assisted in ransoming a kidnapped free person of color. The sacrifice demanded was made, and even letter-carriers were taught to know the hand that fed them.

Lib. 11:43. *Lib.* 11:46. *Lib.* 11:62. *Lib.* 11:97, 98, 102, 106, 125. *Lib.* 11:206. *Lib.* 11:146, 149, 150, 154. *Lib.* 11:146, 211.

More significant of the nominal character of the so-called Union were the efforts of Georgia and Virginia, on account of the refusal of Northern governors to surrender as felons citizens charged with aiding slaves to escape, to establish quarantine against the ships of Maine and New York. More desperately unconstitutional was the proposal of Governor McDonald of Georgia, that even packages from New York or any like offending State

Lib. 10:1, 5, 9; 11:14, 54, 57, 183. *Lib.* 11:183.

[1] In response to the abolition catechism of 1837, Gov. Everett had professed his conviction that slavery was an evil, and should be abolished as soon as this could be done peacefully. He asserted the power of Congress over slavery and the slave trade in the District, and opposed the admission of any new slave State. Finally, such progress had he made within two years *(ante,* 2:76), he maintained the right of free discussion *(Lib.* 7:182).

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should be subjected to inspection, and suspicious persons therefrom be obliged to give security for good behavior — in the midst of a contented slave population. The Governor of Virginia declined to honor Governor Seward's demand for the extradition of a New York forger — a piece of retaliation too dangerous to escape the censure of his own Legislature, though it subsequently passed an "inspection law" for vessels destined for New York, as did South Carolina.[1] Referring to McDonald's "bluster," Mr. Garrison said that the South had "long threatened a dissolution of the Union; and she may yet be taken at her word, in an hour when she is least prepared for such an event. The alternative is ultimately to be presented to her, either to put away her diabolical slave system, or to be put beyond the pale of a free republic." Already he had exclaimed, in view of the revived prospect of the annexation of Texas, "Sooner let the Union be dashed in pieces" than that the Northern States should submit to this infamy. A little later, forecasting the doings of Congress at the first regular session —

Lib. II: 54.

Lib. 12: 10.

Lib. 12: 32, 33.

Lib. II: 183.

Lib. II: 179.

Lib. II: 191.

"We expect," he said, "the sacred right of petition to be maintained impartially, and vindicated at all hazards. If this should be done, we are willing to risk all the consequences. The desperadoes from the South, in Congress, will fume and swagger, and threaten to blow up the Union, as a matter of course. Let them retire whenever they choose, if they wish to be alone. We would sooner trust the honor of the country and the liberties of the people in the hands of the inmates of our penitentiaries and prisons, than in their hands, for safe keeping. All that appertains to burlesque, paradox, imposture, effrontery, is embraced in the fact that they are allowed to represent a people professing to believe in the Declaration

[1] These laws could be suspended by the Executive when New York surrendered the alleged fugitives from justice to Virginia, and its Legislature repealed the act of 1840 extending the right of trial by jury to citizens whose freedom was called in question by kidnappers or Southern slaveowners (*Lib.* 12: 32, 33). Noteworthy is the making of common cause with Virginia on the part of South Carolina in seeking to coerce New York, and the justification of the means, viz., a "regulation of commerce" concurrently with that exercised by Congress under the Constitution. For a typical instance of the operation of the Virginia law, see *Lib.* 12: 118.

of Independence! They ought not to be allowed seats in Congress. No political, no religious co-partnership should be had with them, for they are the meanest of thieves and the worst of robbers. We should as soon think of entering into a 'compact' with the convicts at Botany Bay and New Zealand. So far as we are concerned, we 'dissolved the Union' with them, as slaveholders, the first blow we aimed at their nefarious slave system. We do not acknowledge them to be within the pale of Christianity, of republicanism, of humanity. This we say dispassionately, and not for the sake of using strong language. With us, their threats, clamors, broils, contortions, avail nothing; and with the entire North they are fast growing less and less formidable." *Cf. Lib.* 12:31.

Like sentiments began to be heard from others at anti-slavery meetings in Massachusetts,[1] but as yet disunion formed no part of the official creed or programme of the State Society, which did, however, include, as an object to be striven for, an amendment to the Constitution either abolishing slavery, or exonerating the people of each free State from assisting in sustaining it.[2] So far, indeed, the Liberty Party might have gone, though not free, as being a party, to advocate disunion pure and simple. Towards this organization Mr. Garrison maintained a dignified attitude, not denying to his personal friends like Mr. Sewall, or to bitter enemies like Torrey, the moderate use of his columns for Liberty Party notices and reports. He still held, with Channing, that, by such a conversion of their anti-slavery energies, abolitionists would "lose the reputation of honest enthusiasts, and come to be consid- *Lib.* 11:189. *Lib.* 11:166. *Lib.* 11:31, 38, 155, 159, 179. *Lib.* 11:1.

1 Thus, at Hingham, Nov. 4, 1841, Edmund Quincy showed that slavery had already destroyed the Union; and Frederick Douglass, that the Union pledged the North to return fugitives — wherefore, "He is no true abolitionist who does not go against this Union" (*Lib.* 11:189).

2 Noteworthy is the appearance of a book (midsummer madness, one might think it, considering the time of year, the deranged author, and the vain doctrine) by G. W. F. Mellen (*ante*, 2:428), entitled, 'An Argument on the Unconstitutionality of Slavery.' Mr. Garrison, on a hasty reading, judged it to deserve attention (*Lib.* 11:123); but when, at the Millbury quarterly meeting of the Mass. A. S. Society, in August, Mellen, in conjunction with S. S. Foster, attempted to embody this argument in a resolution, they were defeated (*Lib.* 11:139). It will be seen hereafter how the doctrine was forced upon the Third Party.

ered as hypocritical seekers after place and power." Practically, he viewed it as "an attempt to make bricks without straw — to propel a locomotive engine without steam — to navigate a ship without water. As an act of folly, it is ludicrous; as a measure of policy, it is pernicious; as a political contrivance, it is useless. . . . The question is not one that relates to purity of motive, but to the safety and success of the anti-slavery enterprise." Again:

Lib. 11:7.

Lib. 11:159.

"We admit that the *mode* of political action to be pursued by abolitionists is not strictly a question of principle, but rather one of sound expediency. We have never opposed the formation of a third party as a measure inherently wrong, but have always contended that the abolitionists have as clear and indisputable a right to band themselves together politically for the attainment of their great object as those of our fellow-citizens who call themselves Whigs or Democrats. . . . But every reflecting mind may easily perceive that to disregard the dictates of sound expediency may often prove as injurious to an enterprise as to violate principle. It is solely on this ground that we oppose what is called the 'Liberty Party.' . . . The rash, precipitate, almost factious manner in which it was formed, early excited our distrust as to the disinterestedness of the movement; and though we are not disposed to question the honesty of many who support it, we still remain to be convinced that its tendency is good."

Ante, 2: 245, 313.

We cannot follow here the doings or fortunes of the Liberty Party. In spite of its brave words at Albany about maintaining the moral agitation along with the new political movement, the task was impossible in the nature of things. If the anti-slavery organization was to be made partisan, it must be wholly so; otherwise there would have to be two sets of machinery, and two sets of workers promoting different objects on different planes — of pure principle and of half-a-loaf expediency.[1] One or

Ante, 2:434.

[1] Mrs. Child, telling in the *Standard* of the first anti-slavery meeting she ever attended "in which political rather than moral arguments gave a leading tone to the proceedings," relates: "I came from that meeting sad and disheartened. The moral elevation, the trust in God, which had been usu-

other arm must suffer, either by neglect or by the conflict of ideals — the religious becoming the critic of the political, and the political in turn denying and disowning the religious. Such, in fact, became the attitude of the Abolitionists (whose name henceforth is as technical as Whig or Democrat) and the anti-slavery party in its various transformations down to the Rebellion.

CHAP. I. 1841. *Lib.* 12:179.

For like reasons it was impossible that two purely moral agitations could be kept up side by side, as some had fondly imagined who would have let the sectarian seceders from the old organization go their own way, without exposure or refutation. The field from which *one* barely derived sustenance could not have given material support to both, and the weaker must have become, in the mere struggle for existence, less a propaganda of common doctrine than a professional opposition, thriving by the discredit it could throw on its rival and the recruits it could seduce from it. New organization, in short, had but one destiny — to be swallowed up in the Liberty Party. Its nominal head at New York, the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, was a mere mask for Lewis Tappan, who drew up its annual report, and bore the expenses of its single (annual) meeting and of its short-lived organ, the (monthly) *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, which Whittier helped edit.[1] It had no agents in the field; it rendered no financial accounts. Joshua Leavitt, who had been made its

Ante, 2:386; *Lib.* 11:137, 167, 193.

Lib. 11:37; 12:127.

ally inspired by abolition gatherings, was wanting" (*Lib.* 11:109). "It is as impossible," wrote Mr. Garrison, "for men to be moral reformers and political partisans at the same time, as it is for fire and gunpowder to harmonize together" (*Lib.* 12:179).

1 Mrs. Mott writes to Hannah Webb of Dublin, Feb. 25, 1842 (MS.): "Maria W. Chapman wrote me that he [Whittier] . . . was in the [A. S.] office a few months since, bemoaning to Garrison that there should have been any divisions. 'Why could we not all go on together?' 'Why not, indeed?' said Garrison; '*we* stand just where we did. I see no reason why you cannot coöperate with the American Society.' 'Oh,' replied Whittier, 'but the American Society is not what it once was. It has the hat, and the coat, and the waistcoat of the old Society, but the life has passed out of it.' 'Are you not ashamed,' said Garrison, 'to come here wondering why we cannot go on together! No wonder you can't coöperate with a suit of old clothes!'"

CHAP. I. 1841.

secretary, while continuing to edit the *Emancipator*, found that it had no vital or organizing power, and at the close of the year was obliged to seek his living elsewhere. "It

Lib. 11:193. is not necessary," he said in his valedictory, "to recount the causes which prevented an effective meeting [in New York] in May, nor those which have hindered the Society from going into operation in a way to obtain a general sympathy and support of abolitionists. One great cause, doubtless, is that the generality of those who are willing to work and to give are engaged in political action, and in carrying on the State and other local societies. Many think, in fact, there is not, just at present, any very essential service for which a central Board is needed." So much

Lib. 11:37. for the *American* side of the Society. Its *Foreign* department was occupied with calumniating Mr. Garrison and the old organization, in concert with the Rev. John Scoble, who was the Lewis Tappan of the British and Foreign

Lib. 22:9. Anti-Slavery Society, another specious organization.

Extraordinary, we are reminded by Leavitt's unsettling, was the dispersion of those whom hostility to the *Liberator* had momentarily banded together to break it down.

Lib. 11:59. On the occasion of Torrey's valedictory in the *Free American* (as the *Massachusetts Abolitionist* was styled, with

Lib. 11:38, 39. delightful vagueness, on becoming the organ of the Massachusetts Liberty Party), Mr. Garrison inquired:

Lib. 11:59. "Once consecrated to the anti-slavery enterprise — where are they? Stanton has retired from the field, and is said to be aiming for a seat in Congress.[1] Wright is — we scarcely know where; and doing — we know not what.[2] Phelps is a city mis-

H. B. Stanton. Elizur Wright. A. A. Phelps.

[1] Stanton — like Birney, who had gone to rusticate at Peterboro', N. Y. (*Lib.* 12:127) — had prudently declined a secretaryship under Lewis Tappan's *alias* (*Lib.* 11:47), and had betaken himself to the law (MS. Mar. 14, 1841, N. P. Rogers to W. L. G.; *Lib.* 12:127), of which he would begin the practice in Boston the following year (Stanton's 'Random Recollections,' 2d ed., p. 58). He was supposed to be aiming at a seat in Congress (*Lib.* 12:127), and though he never attained it, in spite of a Liberty Party nomination (*Lib.* 14:174), he remained a politician to the end of his days.

[2] Beriah Green knew, though he put the question to Mr. Wright (*Lib.* 11:82), "What are you at? Has La Fontaine led you off altogether from the field of battle?" The preface to Wright's translation bears date Sep-

sionary, and on the most amicable terms with Hubbard Winslow, George W. Blagden, *et id.*, etc. Torrey is engaged in vilifying the old anti-slavery organization and its friends, and manufacturing political moonshine for a third party."[1] *Lib.* 12:127.

More pitiful, if not more picturesque, than any of these dislocations was that of Mr. Garrison's old partner, now, "worse than foe, an alienated friend." The following letter bespeaks at once his outcast condition and his trust in the benevolence of the person to whom it was addressed:

Isaac Knapp to W. L. Garrison.

A. S. OFFICE, Sept. 31 [1841]. *MS. [Boston] The day of the month is copied as written. The year is conjectural.*

LONG DEARLY BELOVED FRIEND:

My circumstances are such that [I] am induced to solicit an interview with you at your earliest convenience. For several reasons I am reluctant to call at the Printing Office, and therefore take this method to make known my desire. I am sincerely sorry to disturb you with my troubles, but for the sake of my dear wife, and *her alone*, I wish to do it.

Wishing you and yours every blessing, I remain your old coadjutor and friend,

ISAAC KNAPP.

The next communication from this unhappy man of which we have any trace, reached Mr. Garrison when his house had for a week "been turned into a hospital." Its formal tone was a menace: *MS. Dec. 17, 1841, W. L. G. to G. W. Benson.*

tember, 1841. Meantime the apologetic, pro-slavery conduct of the *Free American* by a clerical successor of Torrey (*Lib.* 11:82, 91), whom even he had to denounce, forced the Mass. Abolition Society to make a shift of securing Mr. Wright's services as editor once more in June, 1841 (*Lib.* 11:99). He was succeeded by Leavitt as above, and the paper became the *Emancipator and Free American* (*Lib.* 11:191, 203). In 1842 Mr. Wright, in a desperate struggle with poverty, was trying personally to find purchasers for his translation (*Lib.* 12:127).

[1] In June, 1841, Mr. Torrey was active in forming in Boston a Vigilance Committee against kidnapping and for the prompt assistance of fugitives closely pursued by their owners (*Lib.* 11:94). In December he went to Washington as a newspaper correspondent (*Lib.* 12:10; Memoir of C. T. Torrey,' p. 87). Those who are curious as to other leading new organizationists will find the above list extended in *Lib.* 12:127.

Isaac Knapp to W. L. Garrison.

MS.

BOSTON, Dec. 8, 1841.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE LIBERATOR.

SIR: I have this day issued the annexed circular. You, in my opinion, being, next to myself, the most interested, are herewith furnished with the first copy I send forth.

ISAAC KNAPP.

This circular, dated Boston, December 6, 1841, professed to be dictated by "a sense of private wrong alone," and alleged that Knapp had been deprived, "by treachery and duplicity," of his former right and interest in the *Liberator* — by an arrangement, it will be remembered, which would expire on January 1, 1842. All his offers to resume the publication of the paper, giving ample security, had been rejected, "mostly through the influence of one merciless, hard-hearted rich man." "I have even," continued Knapp, "been denied the most humble situation in the *Liberator* office; at a time, too, when Mr. Garrison well knew that I was absolutely suffering for the want of employment"— the same rich man opposing. In order to tell his story, and to show "that, however many inferior causes may have been at work, the great and overshadowing reason why there has been so much division and mutual alienation in the anti-slavery ranks, has been the selfish and deceptive conduct of Mr. Garrison and others at his elbows," he proposed "to start the 'true' *Liberator*" (calling it *Knapp's Liberator*) "as often as there may be a call for it." Garrison's *Liberator* "is no longer a free-discussion paper, but has departed from its original character, and is the organ of a *clique*, always ready to puff and extol all those who will obsequiously bow to and profess the utmost faith in their rescript — and as ready to condemn, as pro-slavery and enemies of virtuous liberty, all who dare express a doubt of its infallibility." A note appended to the circular (in which the hand of the New Organization Esau was manifest) testified to the knowledge and belief of the signers,

Ante, 2: 331, 332.

E. G. Loring; see Knapp's Lib., p. 2.

J. Cutts Smith and Hamlett Bates, in the facts as stated by Knapp, for whom they offered to serve as a finance committee. CHAP. I. 1841.

On the same sheet containing the circular and Knapp's autographic letter of transmission, Mr. Garrison wrote thus to his brother-in-law:

W. L. Garrison to G. W. Benson, at Northampton, Mass.

CAMBRIDGEPORT, Dec. 17, 1841. *MS.*

You will see, by the accompanying Circular, what mischief is brewing, and what a hostile position is assumed toward me, the *Liberator* Committee, and the Massachusetts A. S. Society, by my old, erring, and misguided friend Knapp, and his more crafty and malignant abettors — to wit, Smith, Bates,[1] and Bishop. I have every reason to believe that it was drawn up by Bishop,[2] and that it has been sent to a great number of persons in all parts of the country. A copy was sent to our venerable friend Seth Sprague, at Duxbury (the superscription being in Bishop's handwriting), who, thinking I might not have seen it, promptly and kindly forwarded it to me, with the following characteristic lines:

J. Cutts Smith (ante, 1:278).

"Respected Friend — I received the enclosed Circular, a few days since, by mail; and although I think it most likely that you are informed that it is in circulation, yet it is possible that you may not. I see that there is another storm brewing. If the devil was ever chained, certainly he has been let loose on the old Massachusetts A. S. Society.

"Yours with much respect, SETH SPRAGUE."

Thus far, we have not deemed it expedient to take any notice of the Circular, in the *Liberator*. The committee will probably wait until the first number of the "true" (!!) *Liberator* shall have made its appearance, when it will, doubtless, be necessary for them to make a calm and plain statement of the facts in the case. This, of course, will suffice to satisfy all candid and honorable minds; for nothing can be more absurd, or more untrue

1 A former clerk in the Anti-Slavery Office.

2 Joel Prentiss Bishop had likewise been a clerk in the Anti-Slavery Office, and took advantage of Collins's absence to attack the office accounts (*Lib.* 11:2, 23), and to play into the hands of New Organization. He presently left the Old (*Lib.* 11:99). He was associated with Torrey in his Vigilance Committee (*ante*, p. 37). He was admitted to the bar while a student in Stanton's office (Stanton's 'Random Recollections,' 2d ed., p. 65), and became the author of many well-known legal treatises.

CHAP. I. 1841. (as you well know), than the charges brought against them and myself in the Circular. So artfully, however, is the Circular drawn up, and so widely has it been disseminated, that it will probably do a great deal of mischief, and penetrate where no reply will be allowed to follow. I presume it will be widely disseminated in England, and not unlikely through the agency of the London Committee. Well, I can truly say, "none of these things move me." . . .

You will doubtless be anxious to know what is Knapp's prospect of success in the publication of his new paper. I have no means of knowing; but take it for granted that, among the numerous enemies of the anti-slavery cause in general, of the Massachusetts A. S. Society in particular, of the *Liberator*, and of myself (slavery, pro-slavery, new organization, and priest-craft, all combined), he will not find it a very difficult matter to obtain an amount of funds sufficient to enable him to publish several numbers of the scandalous publication. The editing of the paper will be done, I presume, by Bishop. . . . As soon as the paper is issued, I will send you a copy.

J. P. Bishop.

The receipts of the *Liberator* for the present year will fall short of its expenses to the amount of about $500. This sum will probably be made up by the kindness of friends. If you can obtain any new subscribers for the new year in your region, or any one else, send their names along as a New Year's present.[1]

Bishop, as was expected, filled the entire first page of the first number of *Knapp's Liberator*[2] with his own quarrel with the Massachusetts Board in regard to Collins's accounts. Smith and Bates followed with intended corroborations of the truth of Knapp's circular, which was here reprinted. Knapp had little to say in his own behalf, being the merest tool of his false friends; but there were many anonymous communications aimed at Mr. Garrison and the Board.

Ante, p. 39.

[1] Mr. Garrison wrote to Mr. Benson on January 7, 1841 (MS.), that in the twelvemonth the *Liberator* had lost nearly five hundred subscribers net, and cut off two or three hundred delinquents. Once firm friends had ordered the paper stopped. "The Sabbath Convention has been more than they could tolerate; and to save the formal observance of the first day of the week, they are willing that slavery should be perpetuated."

[2] Dated Boston, Saturday, Jan. 8, 1842. The printed page was about 9¾ x 14½ inches. No subscription price was named, nor any regular date of publication.

The solitary issue of this "paper" being industriously circulated in England by Capt. Charles Stuart, Mr. Garrison was induced to give a very minute account of his entire business relations with Knapp, in a long letter to Elizabeth Pease, from which an extract has been already made. The decisive fact appears, that, in less than three months after the transfer had been made, "Mr. Knapp failed in business, and conveyed all the property in his hands to his creditors," including his half-interest in the subscription-list of the *Liberator*. In the fall of 1841, Mr. Ellis Gray Loring effected a purchase of this interest for the sum of $25, in order to rid the paper of all embarrassment from a divided ownership. The refusal of this offer would have led to the issue of a new paper, on January 1, 1842, with the title of *Garrison's Liberator;* and the creditors, being informed of this, gladly consented to make a legal transfer to Mr. Garrison. Knapp's overtures to buy back his interest were of course not entertained.

MS. Feb. 26, 1842, E. Pease to Wendell Phillips. *MS. May 15, 1842; ante, 2:331.* *Oct. 22, 1841; Lib. 12:3.*

"After we separated," continues Mr. Garrison, in reference to the arrangement of 1839–1840, "I endeavored to stimulate Mr. Knapp to active exertions to retrieve his character, and promised to exert all my influence to aid him, if he would lead a sober and industrious life. I pointed out to him a mode in which I felt certain that he could do well for himself; and I assured him that all my friends were his friends, who would cheerfully contribute to his relief, provided he would only respect himself, and evince a disposition to work for a livelihood. Instead of listening to this advice, or to the friendly suggestions of others, he gave himself up to idleness, the use of strong drink, and even to gambling — often wandering about, not knowing where to find a place of rest at night — leaving his poor wife a prey to grief and shame — and making a complete wreck of himself. For a number of weeks I sheltered him and his wife under my roof — assisted him in other respects — and collected for him between thirty and forty dollars, from a few friends in a distant place; for, kindly disposed as were the anti-slavery friends in this region toward him, it was in vain to solicit aid from them so long as he gave himself to the intoxicating bowl and the gambling table. You perceive what re-

MS. May 15, 1842, to E. Pease.

CHAP. I. 1841.

turns he has made for my kindness; but my heart yearns over him, and I cannot reproach him."

No direct notice was taken of the circular, or of Knapp's publication, in the *Liberator;* but the simple facts of the final transfer were stated by the financial committee on renewing their trust for the twelfth volume.

Lib. 12:3.

Amid all the vexatious cares of this year 1841, Mr. Garrison's health and spirits were at their height. With his verse the *Liberator* volume had opened, and with his verse it closed; the last half being freely sprinkled with sonnets, lyrics, and other forms from the editor's active muse. To the new volume of the *Liberty Bell* he contributed "The Song of the Abolitionist," which, to the tune of "Auld Lang Syne," was sung at countless gatherings in hall and grove for twenty years. A verse or two shall close the present chapter:

Lib. 12:205, *etc.*

Lib. 11:212; *Writings of W. L. G., p.* 134.

I am an Abolitionist!
I glory in the name;
Though now by Slavery's minions hissed,
And covered o'er with shame:
It is a spell of light and power —
The watchword of the free: —
Who spurns it in the trial-hour,
A craven soul is he!

I am an Abolitionist!
Then urge me not to pause,
For joyfully do I enlist
In Freedom's sacred cause:
A nobler strife the world ne'er saw,
Th' enslaved to disenthrall;
I am a soldier for the war,
Whatever may befall!

I am an Abolitionist —
Oppression's deadly foe;
In God's great strength will I resist,
And lay the monster low;
In God's great name do I demand,
To all be freedom given,
That peace and joy may fill the land,
And songs go up to Heaven!

CHAPTER II.

The Irish Address.—1842.

REMOND, landing in Boston in December, 1841, brought among his undutiable baggage a terse Address of the Irish People to their Countrymen and Countrywomen in America on the subject of slavery. It exhorted them to treat the colored people as equals and brethren, and to unite everywhere with the abolitionists. Sixty thousand names were appended,[1] Daniel O'Connell's at the head, as Member of Parliament and Lord Mayor of Dublin, with Theobald Mathew's close by. Great hopes were entertained of its effect on the Irish-American citizen and voter. George Bradburn wrote from Lowell to Francis Jackson :

Dec. 21; *Lib.* 11 : 207.

Lib. 12 : 39.

Ante, 2 : 380.

"What is to be done with that mammoth Address from Ireland? I know it is to be rolled into the Annual Meeting, but is that to be the end of it? Might not the Address, with a few of its signatures, including O'Connell's, Father Mathew's, and some of the priests' and other dignitaries', be lithographed? The mere sight of those names, or facsimiles of them, rather, and especially the autographs of them, would perhaps more powerfully affect the Irish among us than all the lectures we could deliver to them, were they never so willing to hear. It is a great object, a very great object, to enlist the Irish in our cause. There are five thousand of them in this small city. Might not one be almost sure of winning them over to the cause of humanity, could one but go before them with that big Address on his shoulders? I have thought I would like to try the experiment, after our Annual Meeting, and would the more willingly do so from having learned, since coming hither, that

MS. Jan. 15, 1842. *Mass. A. S. S.*

[1] Ten thousand more were subsequently added (*Lib.* 12 : 63).

CHAP. II. 1842.

your friend is '*mightily popular among the Irish of Lowell*,' though he is personally unknown to almost every mother's son of them. They have probably heard of his 'blarney,' let off in their behalf on sundry occasions and in various places."

Jan. 26–28, 1842; *Lib.* 12:23.

The production of this ark of the covenant was certainly among the thrilling incidents of the three days of "high-toned feeling, triumphant enthusiasm, and complete satisfaction," occupied by the annual meeting of the Massachusetts Society.

Jan. 28.

It took place in Faneuil Hall, before a great gathering, in which one seemed to discern large

Lib. 12:18.

numbers of friendly Irishmen in a proper state of excitement. Mr. Garrison, who presided, read the Address — with due emphasis, we may be sure. Colonel Miller spoke to it, alleging Irish blood in his Vermont veins.

J. P. Miller; ante, 2:370.

Bradburn, confessing himself the son of an Irishman, moved a resolution of sympathy with Ireland, then in the throes of the Repeal agitation. James Cannings Fuller, an actual old-countryman, told how he "stood in our

Feb. 5, 1800.

Irish House of Peers when Castlereagh took the bribe for the betrayal of Ireland." Wendell Phillips, with only the credentials of his eloquence, joined in what (but for its sincerity) might be called the "blarney" of the occasion. To no purpose, so far as the immediate object was concerned. On February 27, 1842, Mr. Garrison (whose

Ante, 1:14.

Irish descent might also have been paraded) wrote to

Ante, 2:340.

Richard Webb by the hand of Thomas Davis:

MS.

"Our meeting in Faneuil Hall, to unroll the Irish Address, with its sixty thousand signatures, was indescribably enthusiastic, and has produced a great impression on the public mind. I am sorry to add, and you will be not less ashamed to hear,

Lib. 12:27, 29, 33.

that the two Irish papers in Boston sneer at the Address, and denounce it and the abolitionists in true pro-slavery style. I

Lib. 13:19, 29.

fear they will keep the great mass of your countrymen here from uniting with us."

Lib. 12:43, 47.

Not only was the Irish press everywhere unanimous in this attitude, but the foremost Catholic prelate in the land, Bishop Hughes of New York, impugned the genuineness of the Address, and, genuine or not, declared it the duty

of every naturalized Irishman to resist and repudiate it with indignation, as emanating from a foreign source. All the Irish Repeal associations — at the South particularly — took the same line, with explicit devotion to the existing "institutions" of their adopted country, however much they might deprecate slavery in the abstract. In short, the Address was no more successful than we can suppose a similar one, headed by Parnell in these days, would be, urging the Irish to abjure the "spoils system" and to cling to the civil-service reformers. At a second, widely advertised exhibition of the Address in Boston in April, with Bradburn "trying the experiment" and Phillips assisting, hardly any Irish were visible even to the eye of faith. The instinct of this, the lowest class of the white population at the North, taught it that to acknowledge the brotherhood of the negro was to take away the sole social superiority that remained to it, to say nothing of the forfeiture of its political opportunity through the Democratic Party. When the summer heat had brought the customary tendency to popular turbulence in this country, the Irish rabble of Philadelphia made their inarticulate, but perfectly intelligible, reply to the Address, by murderous rioting, directed in the first instance against a peaceable colored First of August procession, and ending with the burning of a "Beneficial Hall" built for moral purposes by one of the more prosperous of the persecuted — a close parallel to the destruction of Pennsylvania Hall.[1]

Lib. 12:47, 50, 82.

Lib. 12:59.

Lib. 12:123, 126, 130, 138, 139.

Ante, 2:216.

The meeting in Faneuil Hall (for we must return to it) had for its main object to urge abolition in the District of Columbia. As it fell to Mr. Garrison to preside, so to him was intrusted the drawing up of the resolutions.

Lib. 12:18.

1 For instance, the firemen would throw no water on the hall or on a colored meeting-house which was also fired. The day following these scenes (Aug. 3) the Grand Jury presented as a nuisance a new temperance hall for the colored people, because — it had twice been fired; and ordered it torn down to avoid a third attempt! (*Lib.* 12 : 126, 130, 133, 134, 138, 146.) The only Philadelphia clergyman who made this shocking outbreak the subject of a discourse was the Unitarian William H. Furness (*Lib.* 12 : 138).

CHAP. II. 1842.

These asserted once more the power of the Federal Government over the District; noticed the insolent exclusion of memorials on this subject emanating from the Legislatures of Massachusetts and Vermont; and (amid immense applause) returned thanks to John Quincy Adams for his bold and indefatigable advocacy of the right of petition. The following may not be summarized:

Lib. 12:18.

"7. Resolved, That when the Senators and Representatives of this Commonwealth, in Congress, find themselves deprived of the liberty of speech on its floor, and prohibited from defending the right of their constituents to petition that body in a constitutional manner, they ought at once to withdraw, and return to their several homes, leaving the people of Massachusetts to devise such ways and means for a redress of their grievances as they shall deem necessary. (Applause.)

"8. Resolved, That the union of Liberty and Slavery, in one just and equal compact, is that which it is not in the power of God or man to achieve, because it is a moral impossibility, as much as the peaceful amalgamation of fire and gunpowder; and, therefore, the American Union is such only in form, but not in substance — a hollow mockery instead of a glorious reality. (Applause.)

"9. Resolved, That if the South be madly bent upon perpetuating her atrocious slave system, and thereby destroying the liberty of speech and of the press, and striking down the rights of Northern citizens, the time is rapidly approaching when the American Union will be dissolved in form as it is now in fact."

Lib. 12:18.

At the moment alike when these resolutions were prepared and were "adopted by an almost unanimous vote and in the most impressive manner," it is clear from internal evidence that news had not yet been received of closely related proceedings in Congress. That body had, as usual, at its opening, in Edmund Quincy's happy phrase, been "resolved into a national Anti-Slavery Debating Society, with John Quincy Adams as leader"; the petitions of his presenting being (also as usual) flatly not received, or the question of their reception being regularly laid upon the table. On the 24th of January, 1842, however, the ex-President offered a petition from Haver-

Lib. 12:31.

Lib. 12:18.

hill, Mass., praying for a peaceable dissolution of the Union. It was the first of the kind that had ever reached Congress, and, curiously enough, it did not proceed from professed abolitionists: the first signer was a Locofoco (*alias* Democrat) of high standing. Nor were the motives alleged ostensibly anti-slavery, but economic: there were, it affirmed, no reciprocal advantages in the Union; the revenues of one section were drained "to sustain the views and course of another section, without any adequate return." Moreover, Mr. Adams moved the reference of the petition to a committee with instructions to report *adversely*. What followed, therefore, would have been in the highest degree extraordinary but for the Southern consciousness that a *Northern* proposal of disunion was deadly to slavery.

Lib. 12:34.

Wise of Virginia, with a Border State precipitancy, hotly declared that the person who presented such a petition ought to be censured, and his colleague Gilmer lost no time in making a motion to that effect. This was superseded on the following day by resolutions concocted in caucus, and presented in the House by Marshall of Kentucky — again a Border State taking the lead. The preamble is a landmark in the history of Southern opinion of the sacredness of the Union:

Henry A. Wise.

Thos. W. Gilmer.

Lib. 12:18, 21, 25.

Thos. F. Marshall.

"Whereas, The Federal Constitution is a permanent form of Government, and of perpetual obligation until altered or modified in the modes pointed out by that instrument, and the members of this House, deriving their political character and powers from the same, are sworn to support it, and the dissolution of the Union necessarily implies the destruction of that instrument, the overthrow of the American Republic, and the extinction of our national existence. A proposition, therefore, to the Representatives of the people to dissolve the organic law framed by their constituents, and to support which they are commanded by those constituents to be sworn, before they can enter upon the execution of the political powers created by it and intrusted to them, is a high breach of privilege, a contempt offered to this House, a direct proposition to the Legislature and each member of it to commit perjury, and involves

Lib. 12:18.

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necessarily, in its execution and its consequences, the destruction of our country and the crime of high treason."

Lib. 12:18.

The final *therefore* of this tremendous ratiocination was that Adams ought to be expelled; but rather let the House censure him most severely, and turn him over to his own conscience and the indignation of the American people. It was all the worse, said Marshall, in remarks of the same calibre with his resolutions, that Mr. Adams had asked for a committee to report *against* the petition for disunion, since this implied that the proposition was entertainable. The venerable object of this child's-play declined to make any reply till the censure should be voted; but he had the clerk read the first two paragraphs of the Declaration of Independence, enforcing the right and duty to alter or abolish forms of government which had become intolerably oppressive. He desired to tell the petitioners that it was *not yet* time to adopt this mode for the redress of their grievances of the past ten years, though he stood ready to prove, by a review of the recent attitude of certain Southern States toward certain Northern, "a settled system and purpose," on the part of the former, "to destroy all the principles of civil liberty in the free States, not for the purpose of preserving their institutions within their own limits, but to force their detested principles of slavery into all the free States." "If," he continued, "the right of habeas corpus and the right of trial by jury are to be taken away by this coalition of the Southern slaveholders and the Northern Democracy, it was time for the Northern people to see if they could not shake it off; and it was time to present petitions such as he had done." He repeated, it was not time to resort to disunion till other means had been tried.

Ante, pp. 31, 32.

Lib. 12:27.

The attempt at censure failed on a direct vote (by 106 to 93), but at the North it excited indignation where it did not provoke laughter, and increased the disposition in that section to "calculate the value of the Union," and to murmur what Webster termed those "words of delu-

Lib. 12:34.

sion and folly, 'Liberty first and Union afterwards.'" The Southern colleagues of Mr. Adams on the Committee on Foreign Affairs, of which he was chairman, withdrew, and sundry other Southern members refused to take their places — "the precursor of great and important changes which are near at hand," as Mr. Garrison judged. "Nothing can prevent the dissolution of the American Union but the abolition of slavery."

2d speech on Foot's resolution, Jan. 26, 1830.

Lib. 12:31.

This conviction had now complete possession of him.

W. L. Garrison to G. W. Benson at Northampton, Mass.

BOSTON, March 22, 1842. *MS.*

If all be well (and, so mutable are all things here below, we can promise nothing as to the future without prefixing an *if*), I shall go to Albany about the 21st of April, in company with C. L. Remond, to attend an anti-slavery convention which our friends intend to get up in that city, with special reference to the Irish Address.[1] We shall carry that Address along with us. There is a pretty large Irish population in Albany, and an Irish Repeal Association; but the *Argus* has had the effrontery and folly to deny the authenticity of the Address, and, of course, a meeting called with especial reference to it will be pretty sure to be well attended, and to create a wholesome excitement. In going or returning, I shall endeavor to visit Northampton (most probably on returning), and, if practicable, make Remond accompany me. I intend, if I can, to add Wendell Phillips to our company. So, you may make your arrangements, at your leisure, for at least one "incendiary" meeting in your place.

Do not forget to suggest to my friend Child the importance of preparing, without delay, a stirring Address to the friends of the American Anti-Slavery Society, urging them to take prompt and effectual measures to insure a full attendance at the approaching anniversary, from all parts of the free States; and setting forth, in strong terms, the necessity of a large representation on the occasion. For my own part, I avow myself to be both an Irish Repealer and an American Repealer. I go for the repeal of the union between England and Ireland, and for the repeal of the union between the North and the South.

D. L. Child, as editor of the Standard.

[1] This trip did not take place.

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We must dissolve all connexion with those murderers of fathers, and murderers of mothers, and murderers of liberty, and traffickers in human flesh, and blasphemers against the Almighty, at the South. What have we in common with them? What have we gained, what have we not lost, by our alliance with them? Are not their principles, their pursuits, their policies, their interests, their designs, their feelings, utterly diverse from ours? Why, then, be subject to their dominion? Why not have the Union dissolved in form, as it is in fact — especially if the form gives ample protection to the slave system, by securing for it all the physical force of the North? It is not treason against the cause of liberty to cry, "Down with every slaveholding Union!" Therefore, I raise that cry! And, O, that I had a voice louder than a thousand thunders, that it might shake the land and electrify the dead — the dead in sin, I mean — those slain by the hand of slavery.

Cf. ante, *p.* 46.

How marvellously Providence works! The Irish Address, I trust, is to be the means of breaking up a stupendous conspiracy, which I believe is going on between the leading Irish demagogues, the leading pseudo-Democrats, and the Southern slaveholders. Mark three things. First — The Irish population among us is nearly all "Democratic." Second — The Democratic party is openly and avowedly the defender and upholder of the "peculiar institution" of slavery. Third — The cry in favor of Irish Repeal is now raised extensively throughout the South, and sustained by the leading Democratic journals — and why? To secure the aid of the Irish voters on the side of slavery, and to bring their united strength to bear against the anti-slavery enterprise.[1] Also, if possible, by sending over donations to Ireland, to stop O'Connell's mouth on the subject of slavery, and to prevent any more "interference" on that point, from that side of the Atlantic! Hence, I observe, at the Repeal meetings in various parts of the country, resolutions and declarations which amount to sacred pledges, that these "repealers" will stand by Southern institutions at all hazards! Now, by the Address, which will cause every toad to start up into a devil as soon as he is touched, we shall be able to probe this matter to the bottom. If O'Connell and our friends in Ireland remain true to us, and renew their spirited attacks upon American

Lib. 12:42, 43, 98.

Lib. 12:37, 47, 49, 50, 82.

Lib. 12:42, 43.

[1] More particularly — to insure the Southern control of the next Administration in the interest of Texan annexation. The marked increase in the Irish immigration now first began to have a Federal political significance, as would abundantly appear at the Presidential election in 1844.

slavery, and cry out against this unholy and frightful league between Southern slave-drivers and his countrymen in America, then it will put down at the South this pretended sympathy for Ireland, and be the means of advancing our movement still more rapidly.

In this week's *Liberator*, I shall publish copious extracts from O'Connell's speeches, for the last ten years, against American slavery. They will scathe like lightning, and smite like thunderbolts. No man in the wide world has spoken so strongly against the soul-drivers of this land as O'Connell. *Lib.* 12:45, 46, 47.

Is it not heart-cheering to know that the British Government will not give up the slaves of the *Creole?* [1] *Lib.* 12:42.

[1] This action, and the fixed anti-slavery policy of the British nation, account sufficiently for Southern sympathy with Irish revolt, apart from the political interest insisted on (and correctly) by Mr. Garrison. And, *vice versa*, England's anti-slavery professions became one more count in the Irish-American indictment of her. (See the Irish Catholic Boston *Pilot's* article, "The Policy of England — Abolitionism," copied in *Lib.* 12: 41.) The case of the *Creole* was this. The brig, of Richmond, left Norfolk on Oct. 30, 1841, for New Orleans, with a cargo of tobacco and slaves, to the number of 135. On the night of November 7 the blacks rose and took possession of the vessel, killing the second mate in the mêlée, and wounding those who resisted, but otherwise acting humanely. They then had the course turned towards Nassau, in the British island of New Providence, where they arrived Nov. 9. Nineteen of the ringleaders (including one Pompey Garrison) were arrested and held for mutiny and murder, the rest set free (*Lib.* 11 : 206, 210 ; 12 : 34, 37). All efforts to secure the extradition of the prisoners, or of their fellow-slaves, or to obtain indemnity from Great Britain, were futile, and the mutineers were ultimately discharged (*Lib.* 12 : 42). Webster, as Secretary of State, conducted the diplomatic correspondence through Edward Everett at the court of St. James (*Lib.* 12 : 34), prostituting his intellect in support of the Government's right "to demand from the whole human race respect to the municipal law of Southern slavery"—to use Channing's words in review of Webster, in his pamphlet on the 'Duty of the Free States' (*Lib.* 12 : 55, 57, 61, 65, 105). In the Senate, Calhoun led the furious Southern clamor for reparation or war (*Lib.* 11 : 211 ; 12 : 10). In the House, Joshua R. Giddings stood for the North in manly resolutions denying any offence against the laws of the United States on the part of the *Creole* mutineers, or any Constitutional right on the part of the Government to pursue them, or to strengthen the coastwise slave-trade — as the Secretary of the Navy proposed to do by a gunboat patrol (*Lib.* 12 : 30, 31), and denouncing these proceedings as a national disgrace (*Lib.* 12 : 50). This "British argument, and approximation to a treasonable view of the subject," as Caleb Cushing called it, nearly led to summary violence being executed upon Mr. Giddings by Southern colleagues. Without allowing him to be heard in self-defence, the House incontinently censured him by a vote of 125 to 69, and he resigned his seat, successfully appealing to his constituents for a reëlection (*Lib.* 12 : 69, 75 ;

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A month after the date of the above letter, Mr. Garrison addressed his readers on the subject of the approaching anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society at New York. It was time, he said, that milk should give place to meat; and, enumerating questions of policy not definitely settled, he placed first in importance "the

Lib. 12:63. duty of making the REPEAL OF THE UNION between the North and the South the grand rallying-point until it be accomplished, or slavery cease to pollute our soil. We are for throwing all the means, energies, actions, purposes, and appliances of the genuine friends of liberty and republicanism into this one channel, and for measuring the humanity, patriotism, and piety of every man by this one standard. This question can no longer be avoided, and a right decision of it will settle the controversy between freedom and slavery."

The vital force of this programme was at once mani-

Lib. 12:71. fested by the eagerness with which the pro-slavery press of New York city copied the article, and used it to invoke mob violence against the abolition assembly. Mr. Garrison returned to the subject a fortnight later, disclaiming for the American Society any responsibility for his individual utterances, but attacking anew the national idolatry for the Union:

Lib. 12:71. "We affirm that the Union is not of heaven. It is founded in unrighteousness, and cemented with blood. It is the work of men's hands, and they worship the idol which they have made. It is a horrible mockery of freedom. In all its parts and proportions it is misshapen, incongruous, unnatural. The message of the prophet to the people in Jerusalem describes the exact character of our 'republican' COMPACT:

Isa. 28: 14–18. "'Hear the word of the Lord, ye scornful men that rule this people. Because ye have said, We have made a covenant with DEATH, and with HELL are we at agreement; when the overflowing scourge shall pass

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and pp. 117–124 of Buell's 'Life of Giddings'). J. Q. Adams would have voted against Giddings's first and second resolutions, allowing the slave States an exclusive control over slavery in their own borders. He affirmed once more the power of the general government to abolish slavery in case of insurrection or civil war (*Lib.* 12: 85, and *ante*, 2: 75).

through, it shall not come unto us: for we have made LIES our refuge, and under FALSEHOOD have we hid ourselves: Therefore thus saith the Lord God, Judgment will I lay to the line, and righteousness to the plummet: and the hail shall sweep away the REFUGE OF LIES, and the waters shall overflow the hiding-place. And your covenant with DEATH *shall be annulled*, and your agreement with HELL *shall not stand;* when the overflowing scourge shall pass through, then shall ye be trodden down by it.'

"Another message of the same inspired prophet is equally applicable:

"'Thus saith the Holy One of Israel, Because ye despise this word, and trust in oppression and perverseness, and stay thereon: Therefore, this iniquity shall be to you *as a breach ready to fall*, swelling out in a high wall, *whose breaking cometh suddenly*, AT AN INSTANT. And he shall break it as the breaking of a potter's vessel that is broken to pieces; he shall not spare: so that there shall not be found, in the bursting of it, a sherd to take fire from the hearth, or to take water withal out of the pit.' *Isa.* 30: 12–14.

"Slavery is a combination of DEATH and HELL, and with it the North have made a covenant and are at agreement. As an element of the Government it is omnipotent, omniscient, omnipresent. As a component part of the Union, it is necessarily a national interest. Divorced from Northern protection, it dies; with that protection, it enlarges its boundaries, multiplies its victims, and extends its ravages."

In the same number of the *Liberator* the editor printed with "unfeigned surprise, deep mortification, and extreme regret," a circular addressed to the press of New-York by the Executive Committee of the American Society, and signed by James S. Gibbons and Lydia Maria Child. They regretted that the *Liberator* articles on disunion had been "so construed as to commit the Society, in the public view, in favor of an object which appears to them entirely foreign to the purpose for which it was organized, viz., *Dissolution of the Union.*" The Committee had not authorized the reports that disunion would, at the next anniversary, be made a prominent feature of the Society's operations. It was no part of the object of the American Anti-Slavery Society to promote the dissolution of the Union — a measure which the Committee, by implication, condemned as not "strictly consistent with morality and the rights of citizenship." While, however, the Society stood uncommitted as to *Lib.* 12:71.

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its deliberations, and would not be bound by the previously expressed opinions of any of its members, neither would it be deterred from taking action for itself by any threats of violence.[1]

Lib. 12:34, 75.

Mrs. Child's opposition was unexpected, for, only a few weeks before, she had stated in the *Standard* her conviction, of two years' standing, that disunion was the only way out of Northern complicity with slavery. Thereupon she was not surprised when a friend, writing from Boston, informed her: "We launch, this campaign, the great question of repeal of the Union, and mean to carry it through the Commonwealth." A little later she repeated her own readiness for the doctrine, though she deprecated making a test question of it, as did J. S. Gibbons.

Mrs. Chapman?

Lib. 12:57.

Lib. 12:73.

With characteristic delicacy, Mr. Garrison decided to absent himself (for the first time) from the anniversary of the American Society. Public announcement of his intention was made in the *Liberator* of May 13, on which date he wrote as follows to his brother-in-law:

Lib. 12:75.

W. L. Garrison to G. W. Benson.

MS.

BOSTON, May 13, 1842.

You will see, by the *Liberator* of to-day, that I did not go to New York, and the reasons why I remained at home. I regretted to be absent from the meeting on account of the stormy aspect of things, created by the diabolism of the New York daily press; but, in consequence of the peculiar position in which I stood to the Executive Committee, by their unfortunate disclaimer, I deemed it very important that the action of

[1] These newspaper threats were immediately reënforced by the charge of Judge Mordecai Manuel Noah, of the New York Court of Sessions, to the Grand Jury, to wit: that if, in spite of the above circular disclaimer, the convention should actually attempt to discuss "a project embracing a dissolution of our happy form of government" (which discussion "would evidently tend to a disastrous breach of the public peace"), it would be their duty to indict the agitators (*Lib.* 12:71). The Court meant to convince "any body of men making this city the theatre of their deliberations, that their objects and intentions must be strictly legal, rational, and justifiable."

the American Society, at its present anniversary, should be entirely unbiassed by anything that I might say or do; so that it might appear, beyond all cavil, that the Society marked out its own course, and came to its own conclusions, without any aid from me. I hear that the meetings are proceeding in a very quiet manner, and that none of the sons of Belial have rallied either to molest or make afraid. The great question of a repeal of the Union has been boldly and earnestly discussed; but I do not know how the debate terminated. To-morrow morning, all our Eastern delegates will return — about 250 of whom went on in the *Mohegan*, via Stonington — and then all the particulars will be made known. I have not at any time supposed that a majority of old organizationists are prepared openly to go for repeal; for the question is one of recent agitation, and should be carefully examined before a verdict is made up, either *pro* or *con*. Yet I have no doubt whatever, that, in the progress of the discussion, all who mean to be consistent, uncompromising abolitionists will ere long be found on the side of repeal.

As for the disclaimer of our New York friends, I am sorry it was made; not only as it took a false position, but as it was extorted under circumstances that seemed to indicate a lack of self-possession, and an improper dread of mobocratic violence. It was certainly an error of judgment; but how different is this from a dereliction of principle! It need not, and will not, I trust, create any breach of friendship, or lead to personal alienation, in any quarter.

For the annual meeting itself Mr. Garrison had prepared a letter of like tenor with the foregoing:

W. L. Garrison to the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

BOSTON, May 9, 1842. *Lib.* 12:82.

DEAR FRIENDS: After much reflection, I have come to the conclusion not to be present at the annual meeting of the Parent Society in New York. The motives which induced me to forego the pleasure of being with you on that interesting and important occasion, I trust will be accurately understood and duly appreciated. In a recent number of the *Liberator*, I ventured to state (not with the intention of committing the Society to any definite course of action, but merely on my own responsibility),

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that among the topics that would undoubtedly be presented for discussion at the meeting in New York, would be the subject of a repeal of the Union between the North and the South — or, in other words, between liberty and slavery — in order that the people of the North might be induced to reflect upon their debasement, guilt, and danger in continuing in partnership with heaven-daring oppressors, and thus be led to repentance. In behalf of the Society, you have deemed it both necessary and proper publicly to disclaim any such purpose; and have led the country to infer, not only that no such topic will be introduced, but that its discussion would be foreign to the object of the anti-slavery enterprise — that it does not legitimately come within the constitutional sphere of the Society. Under these circumstances, I am most anxious that a free and unbiassed opinion should be expressed by the Society on this point, and that every appearance of personal anxiety on my part, as to its decision, should be avoided. I am determined not to allow it to be said that the Society was influenced by my presence and activity to reverse the position of its Executive Committee — to disclaim the disclaimer — and to occupy new and untenable ground in relation to this great question of repeal. It is for this reason that I remain at home. I think the Executive Committee have seriously erred in judgment, but I do not esteem them any the less, and am as ready to give them my hearty coöperation for the overthrow of slavery as at any previous period of my life. A difference of opinion and an abandonment of principle are heaven-wide from each other. Of the latter, I do not believe the Committee will ever be guilty. I hope nothing will be done hastily, unkindly, or rashly; and that the blessings of the Almighty will be with you all.

With unabated regard, I remain, yours, to the end of the conflict,

WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

Meanwhile, the *Liberator* hoisted its flag in the shape of a declaration first placed at the head of the editorial column on May 13, 1842, and kept standing there for the remainder of the year:

Lib. 12:75.

☞ A REPEAL OF THE UNION BETWEEN NORTHERN LIBERTY AND SOUTHERN SLAVERY IS ESSENTIAL TO THE ABOLITION OF THE ONE AND THE PRESERVATION OF THE OTHER. ☜

The New York meeting proved to be ready not only to discuss disunion, but to adopt unanimously a resolution involving a modified form of it, in these words — "That the Constitution of the Union ought to be altered so as to prevent the national Government from sustaining slavery, as well as from requiring the people of the several States to sustain it."[1] On the naked issue as presented by Mr. Garrison in the *Liberator*, the meeting showed a divergence of opinion. The first resolution offered was in the negative: *May* 10-13, 1842. *Lib.* 12:82.

"Resolved, That inasmuch as the people of the Northern States have been guilty, jointly with the South, of enslaving men; and inasmuch as the people of the Northern States in general, nor even the mass of abolitionists, have ever petitioned for the abrogation of the slaveholding features of the Constitution, nor proved that such petitions, if supported by the free States, would be unsuccessful, therefore we see no reasonable ground, at this time, for asking for a dissolution of the Union." *Lib.* 12:82.

A substitute, moved by Henry C. Wright and seconded by Edmund Quincy, read as follows:

"Resolved, That the provisions of the United States Constitution in relation to slavery, and the history of our Government, which shows that free and slave institutions cannot exist distinct and independent under the same Constitution, both prove that fidelity to our principles as abolitionists, and to the cause of human rights, imperatively demands the dissolution of the American Union." *Lib.* 12:82.

The long and animated debate which ensued, and in which we remark Wendell Phillips and Abby Kelley among the advocates of the Garrisonian doctrine, showed a decided majority in its favor, but no action was deemed advisable, and no vote was attempted. Many of the participants returned to renew the discussion at the New England Convention in Boston. Henry C. Wright was *Lib.* 12:79. *May* 24-26, 1842.

1 Compare Channing's proposed "modifying of the Constitution so as to release the free States from all action on slavery," and "dissolving wholly the connection between slavery and our national concerns," in his pamphlet on the 'Duty of the Free States' (*Lib.* 12:93).

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ready with fresh resolutions, offered on behalf of the business committee:

Lib. 12:87.

"Resolved, That the principles of anti-slavery forbid us, as abolitionists, to continue in the American Union, or to swear to support the Federal Constitution.[1]

"Resolved, That so long as the South persists in slaveholding, abolitionists are bound to persist in urging a dissolution of the Union, as one of the most efficient means 'to establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity.'"

One may still, with Edmund Quincy, prefer this axiomatic formula to the more extended display of motives which Mr. Garrison thought proper in the following resolves from his pen, introduced also through the business committee. They had originally been prepared for

Lib. 12:30.

the Essex County Anti-Slavery Society in February, 1842:

Lib. 12:87.

"Whereas, the existence of slavery is incompatible with the enjoyment of liberty in any country;

"And whereas, it is morally and politically impossible for a just or equal union to exist between Liberty and Slavery;

"And whereas, in the adoption of the American Constitution and in the formation of the Federal Government, a guilty and fatal compromise was made between the North and the South, by which slavery has been nourished, protected, and enlarged up to the present hour, to the impoverishment and disgrace of the nation, the sacrifice of civil and religious freedom, and the crucifixion of humanity;

"And whereas, the South makes even moral opposition to her slave system a heinous crime, and avows her determination to perpetuate that system at all hazards, and under all circumstances;

"And whereas, the right of petition has been repeatedly

[1] "There is," writes H. C. Wright to Mr. Garrison from Philadelphia, Sept. 4, 1840 (MS.), "a short communication in the *Freeman* of yesterday, signed J. D. (Joshua Dungan), Bucks County. A leading abolitionist of the Co., who was for a time carried off with New Organizers at N. Y. Now in his right mind. He takes the ground that no true-hearted *abolitionist* can consistently hold the office of President, because he must swear to support slavery, to put down by arms and blood every attempt of the slave to gain his liberty as our fathers gained theirs. What do you say to this?"

cloven down on the floor of Congress, and is no longer enjoyed by the people of the free States — the liberty of speech and the press is not tolerated in one-half of the Union — and they who advocate the cause of universal emancipation are regarded and treated as outlaws by the South;

"And whereas, by a recent decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, the right of trial by jury is denied to such of the people of the free States as shall be claimed as goods and chattels by Southern taskmasters,[1] and slavery is declared to be the supreme law of the land; from which decision there is no appeal to any higher judicatory, except to the people on the ground of revolutionary necessity;

"And whereas, to reverence justice, to cherish liberty, and to promote righteousness, are the primary duties of every people, from the performance of which they cannot innocently escape by any compact or form of government; therefore,

"1. Resolved, That the consequences of doing right must ever be more safe and beneficial than those of doing wrong; and that the worst thing Liberty can do is to unite with Slavery, and the best thing is to withdraw from the embraces of the monster.

[1] Case of Prigg against the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania (*Lib.* 12: 38, 39, 41, 174, 175; 13: 3, 37). The Court held that, under the Constitution, Congress had exclusive jurisdiction in the matter of fugitive slaves; that State legislation was prohibited unless in aid of the Constitutional provision; that this provision was operative of itself, and required no Congressional legislation to give effect to it. "The enormity of this decision of the Supreme Court," wrote Mr. Garrison (*Lib.* 12: 39), "cannot be exhibited in words. It is in vain for any man to pretend that it is a correct exposition either of the powers of Congress, or the intent of the Constitution. *It is not law* — for the entire system of slavery is at war with the rights of man, with law which 'finds its seat in the bosom of God,' with every dictate of humanity, and with all the principles of republicanism. It is to be spit upon, hooted at, trampled in the dust, resolutely and openly, at all hazards, by every one who claims to be a man, and in whose bosom remains a spark of the fire of liberty. The people of Massachusetts will scorn to regard it. The soil of Massachusetts shall be consecrated ground, and the victim of oppression who flies to it for shelter . . . SHALL BE FREE!" It is easy to see what effect this unlimited license to kidnappers (in which the Massachusetts Justice, Joseph Story, concurred) had in determining Mr. Garrison and his followers to repudiate once for all a Union thus given over to the dominion of slaveholders. The Court's admission that States might prohibit their own magistrates from assisting in the execution of the law, was destined to furnish a basis for such legislation in many Northern States, *e. g.*, the Massachusetts Personal Liberty Law of March 24, 1843 (*Lib.* 23: 66, 74).

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"2. Resolved, That the American Union is, and ever has been since the adoption of the Constitution, a rope of sand (so far as the North is concerned), and a concentration of the physical force of the nation to destroy liberty and to uphold slavery.

"3. Resolved, That the safety, prosperity, and perpetuity of the non-slaveholding States require that their connexion be immediately dissolved with the slave States in form, as it is now in fact."

Lib. 12:86, 87.

Bradburn was the chief opponent of Mr. Garrison, who was again satisfied to have the question freely considered in all its bearings without forcing it to a formal vote. This policy of forbearance was everywhere observed at anti-slavery meetings throughout the year. According to the disposition of each society or assembly, the dis-

Lib. 12:67.

union resolutions were either adopted, or (as commonly) laid upon the table. Disunion was in the air. The first petition to Congress had been followed by others — from

Lib. 12:38, 49, 50, 77, 81.

Ohio, New York, and Massachusetts again (this last, most elaborate, as David Lee Child's compositions were wont to be, and able). But meantime the conspiracy for the annexation of Texas began to rear its head anew.

Lib. 12:49.

Southern State legislatures adopted resolves in favor of it which met with a willing reception in Congress, while

Lib. 12:50.

those in opposition fell under the ban of anti-slavery

Lib. 12:57.

petitions until the inconsistency became too glaring.

Lib. 12:55, 63.

Recruiting for the Texan army (even under clerical auspices) went on openly, at the North as at the South,

Lib. 12:51, 53, 59.

after the invasion of Texas by Mexico in March. When, on April 13, a Representative from New York moved in Congress to suppress the Mexican mission, as being an

Wm. Slade.

instrumentality of annexation, Slade of Vermont sec-

Lib. 12:66.

onded him, declaring that he would not give a snap of his finger for the Union after the annexation of Texas. To

John M. Botts.

Botts of Virginia, offering a preposterous pledge on the part of the South, not to annex Texas if the abolitionists

Lib. 12:67.

would disband, Mr. Garrison replied: "The annexation of Texas will be the termination of the American Union, and

therefore the South will have more to lose than to gain by it." Dr. Channing, in a sequel to his pamphlet on the 'Duty of the Free States,' was ready to make slavery extension (though not slavery itself) a ground of disunion: *Lib.* 12:95.

"Better that we should part than be the police of the slaveholder, than fight his battles, than wage war to uphold an oppressive institution. So I say, let the Union be dissevered rather than receive Texas into the confederacy. This measure, besides entailing on us evils of all sorts, would have for its chief end to bring the whole country under the Slave Power, to make the general government the agent of slavery; and this we are bound to resist at all hazards. The free States should declare that the very act of admitting Texas will be construed as a dissolution of the Union." *Lib.* 12:97.

In the nature of the case, it could not be the Liberty Party that would join Mr. Garrison in his attacks on the Constitution and Union, under which it had undertaken to thrive and prevail. Common prudence dictated that it should avert from itself the odium sure to attach to the doctrine of disunion (however qualified) among a Union-worshipping people; that it should assist in fastening the odium on the Old Organization. This course was promptly pursued by the *People's Advocate* of New Hampshire, which, from being an independent paper under the editorship of St. Clair and others, had shrunk to a department in Leavitt's *Emancipator*. Speaking for the Liberty Party men of Ohio, in distinction from some of their brethren in the East, Salmon P. Chase wrote: *Lib.* 13:27. *Lib.* 12:75, 77. *A. St. Clair.*

"We think it better to limit our *political action* by the *political power*, explicitly and avowedly, rather than run the risk of misconstruction by saying that we aim at *immediate and universal emancipation by political action*. We regard the Liberty Party not so much as an abolition organization as a political party, willing to carry out the principles of abolitionists so far as they can be legitimately attained by political action. We think that all these objects can be accomplished in full harmony with the Constitution, which instrument, as we believe, does not sanction nor nationalize slavery, but condemns and localizes it. *Lib.* 12:177.

CHAP. II. 1842. We seek, therefore, to put an end to constitutional slavery, that is, to slavery in the District of Columbia, in Florida, and in American vessels upon the seas, and to restore the Government to its true constitutional sphere. If we *can* accomplish this, slavery must die; and we *may* accomplish this without insisting on more than the fulfillment of the guarantees of the Constitution."

In other words, Mr. Chase went for the Constitution as it was, and the Union as it was. One of his associates, writing at the same time to the Xenia (Ohio) *Free Press*, even more frankly defined the difference between the political and the moral agitation:

Lib. 12:179. "Abolitionists seek to exterminate slavery everywhere, by all rightful means, religious, moral, and political. Liberty men strive to get rid of slavery, *not everywhere*, BUT *wherever it exists within the proper range of* POLITICAL ACTION; to deliver *the Government* from the usurped control of the Slave Power . . . by imparting energy and activity to the action of all the departments, through the introduction into important offices of a far *larger proportion* of intelligent, non-slaveholding freemen.

"It is obvious that a man *who is not an abolitionist at all* MAY BE A LIBERTY MAN; for he may anxiously desire and zealously labor for these objects, though he may not be prepared to devote himself to the more general objects of universal emancipation."

Mr. Chase's letter was appropriately addressed to the managers of a New York Liberty Party Convention in
Lib. 12:170. Syracuse in October, where for the first time the lines were drawn so as to exclude all but party members from sharing in the proceedings. These managers, annoyed by the activity of the agents of the American Anti-Slavery Society in their preserves, complained that it and its organ encouraged abolition connection with the Whig or Democratic Party. A most voluminous onslaught was
Lib. 12:170, 173. therefore made on the Society and the *Standard* by William Goodell, in an address to the political abolitionists of the State, read at the above convention. Mr. Garrison
Lib. 12:173. gave up a whole page of the *Liberator* to it; so did Torrey

of his *Tocsin of Liberty*,[1] with this emphatic endorsement: "The simple truth is, the American A. S. Society has linked itself to pro-slavery, to get friends — and, like the Colonization Society, it has become an obstacle in the way of progress which must be removed. I trust the address will do the work in this State. We have too much to do to allow us to maintain a long contest over so slight a matter." *Lib.* 12:173.

It seemed desirable to meet this Liberty Party manifesto by sending Mr. Garrison to Central and Western New York, which was virgin soil in his experience, whether as a lecturer or a tourist. He had, since June came in, been extremely active in the field, making a memorable first visit to Cape Cod, together with campaigns in Maine, New Hampshire, and various parts of Massachusetts. His adventures in the Mohawk Valley and beyond — the beautiful region settled by New England emigrants, and popularly known as "the West" even down to the date of this narrative — are related in the following letters, which give a glimpse of the bright and the dark sides of apostolic abolitionism: *Lib.* 12:99, 102, 107, 114

W. L. Garrison to his Wife.

WATERLOO [N. Y.], Nov. 21, 1842. *MS.*

Up to the present time, "all 's well" with me; but, as I anticipated before I left home, I have been so busily occupied in attending meetings and seeing friends, letter-writing has been out of the question. I am now at the dear hospitable home of Thomas M'Clintock, and at this moment am writing in a room crowded with rampant abolitionists, whose tongues are all in motion, and their hearts in joyous commotion. Whether, under these circumstances, I shall be able to write an intelligible scrawl, is at least quite problematical.

"To begin with the beginning." I arrived at the Brighton depot half an hour before the cars came along; from thence I took the train for Albany, where I arrived at 7 o'clock in the *Mass. Nov.* 12, 1842.

[1] Published at Albany, N. Y., Torrey being at this time the salaried editor. The name of the paper was subsequently changed to *Albany Patriot* ('Memoir of Torrey,' p. 104).

CHAP. II. 1842. *Nov.* 13. midst of a cold rain-storm. I might have immediately taken another train onward, and arrived at Rochester (450 miles from Boston) on Sunday afternoon. Wishing to keep my rest unbroken, I concluded to tarry overnight, and went to a Temperance hotel near the depot, and in the morning left for Utica,[1] arriving in that beautiful city at 2 o'clock P. M. Here I concluded to remain until the next morning. On going up Genesee Street, in quest of a Temperance house, I met Alvan Stewart going to church. We shook hands with each other, and he *politely* asked me to go and stop with him overnight. I declined, not wishing to incur any special obligations at that time, or in that quarter; but, on his invitation, I spent the evening with him and James C. Jackson (whose headquarters are now in Utica), and we had a talk on a great variety of topics, not excepting third-party-ism. I spoke very plainly on the last topic, and made them both rather uneasy; for poor James evidently felt that he stood on a sandy foundation.[2]

Nov. 13.

Nov. 14. Early on Monday morning, I left in the cars for Rochester, and arrived at that place in the afternoon, where I met with a most cordial reception from friends Post, Burtis, and others. Dear bro. Collins, to our astonishment, arrived from Buffalo the same evening, in feeble, but improved, health.[3] Abby Kelley did not get along till the next day at noon. She came from Waterloo, in company with friend M'Clintock, wife, and daughter Mary. Our meetings continued in Rochester, three times a day, from Tuesday morning until Friday, 1 o'clock P. M. In consequence of the bad weather, and the very bad state of the travelling, and the uncertainty of my arrival, etc., etc., there were not so many delegates from abroad as were expected;

Isaac Post, Lewis Burtis, J. A. Collins.

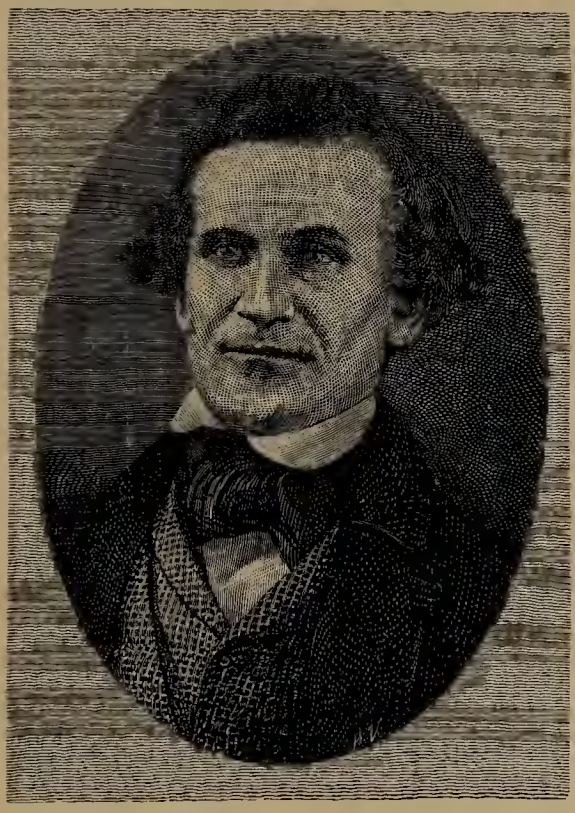
Nov. 15.

Nov. 15–18, 1842; *Lib.* 13 : 2, 17.

[1] Mr. Garrison's scruples about travelling on the Sabbath had apparently vanished.

[2] In company with Luther Myrick, J. C. Jackson founded at Cazenovia, N. Y., in September, 1841, a third-party paper called the *Madison County Abolitionist*. Gerrit Smith had invited him to edit it, and contributed to his support (*Lib.* 11 : 159; MSS. Sept. 29, 1841, J. S. Gibbons to W. L. G., and Oct. 9, 1841, J. C. Jackson to Abby Kelley). Just before Mr. Garrison's arrival, Jackson had publicly advertised a Liberty Party lecturing partnership with W. L. Chaplin, on the independent contract system — *i. e.*, not as agents for any society or organization, and neither salaried nor living off the field; but on special terms for their services in every instance. This was as near as the Liberty Party in New York ever came to the maintenance of the moral agitation against slavery hand in hand with the political (*ante*, 2 : 434).

[3] "Collins is now acting as General Agent, *pro tempore*, of the National Society" (MS. July 8, 1842, W. L. G. to G. W. Benson).



J. A. Collins,

Representative of the A. A. County

CHAP. II.
1842.

though some came a distance of 30 or 40 miles. In the daytime, our meetings were respectably attended in point of numbers, and by some of the choicest spirits in the land. In the evening, they were crowded to overflowing. They were held in the Second Presbyterian Church. The deepest interest was manifested in them from the opening to the close. W. L. Chaplin [1] was present, and endeavored to act the champion for the third party; but he made miserable work of it. On taking the vote on a resolution condemnatory of that party, it was carried by a very large majority, though all persons were allowed to express their views. The result was most unexpected to myself, inasmuch as nearly all the abolitionists in this section of the country have been carried away by this unwise measure. Neither Remond nor Douglass was present, but there was no lack of speech-making. I have had to talk a great deal, of course, for there has been a special curiosity to see and hear me; and it is a satisfaction to me to know that my remarks have been received with much favor generally.

Cf. ante, p. 62.

Ante, 2:415.

C. L. Remond.
F. Douglass.

Nov. 18. 1842.

On Friday afternoon, I started from Rochester for Farmington, in company with J. A. Collins, J. C. Hathaway, and Abby Kelley, in Joseph's team. It was a very blustering and severe day, and we suffered considerably from the cold, but had a warm reception on our arrival at Farmington. The next day, we had two meetings in the Orthodox Quaker meeting-house, which were addressed by Abby and myself — principally by W. L. G. The day was raw and gusty, and the audience in the forenoon not very large; but in the afternoon, the house and gallery were well filled, though very few Quakers were present, owing to a strong prejudice against us, as well as to the weather. In the evening, a large company (chiefly Quakers) assembled at Hathaway's house. . . We talked on phrenology, mesmerism, anti-slavery, non-resistance, etc.

Joseph C. Hathaway.

Nov. 19, 1842.

Hathaway.

Nov. 20.

In the morning, Joseph took his team, and brought us to Waterloo, where we arrived yesterday (Sunday) at 1 o'clock. At 2 P. M., the Court House was crowded by a dense assembly, which was addressed by Collins and myself. Last evening, another crowded auditory convened at the same place, and were addressed by Abby, Jacob Ferris (a splendid young orator), and myself — I occupying the greater part of the time in blowing up the priesthood, church, worship, Sabbath, etc., as

Abby Kelley.

[1] A grandson of Colonel William Prescott, who commanded at Bunker Hill. For his subsequent prominence as a victim of the Slave Power, see *Lib.* 21:66; Wilson's 'Rise and Fall of the Slave Power,' 2:80-82.

they now exist. A very deep impression was evidently made.

Nov. 21, 1842. This evening, I am to deliver a lecture on slavery in the same place; and at 12 o'clock at night shall leave in the cars for Syracuse to attend the conventions to be held in that place,

Nov. 22, 1842. commencing to-morrow forenoon. This is pretty close work, and draws upon all my mental and physical powers; but, thus far, my health remains good, and my lungs do not seem to suffer from so much speaking. Collins's pleuritic complaint hangs on to him, and his whole constitution seems to be greatly impaired. He will probably not return until after the Utica conventions. Abby Kelley is tasking her lungs too severely, and ought to be more careful for the future. She will continue in this part of the country during the winter.

My dear one, how are you and the little ones, and all the household? Do send me a letter to Utica, and give me all the little domestic particulars that you can think of. I shall hasten

Nov. 21. back to you, on the wings of love, as soon as possible. To-day

George Latimer. we are all thrilled with emotion to think that poor Latimer's case is to be decided now. Great interest is felt in it here and elsewhere, and thousands are waiting with much anxiety to learn the result of the trial. All hope that Latimer will be rescued.[1] The *Liberator* has just come, and is extremely inter-

[1] This was the first of the fugitive *causes célèbres* which periodically produced tremendous excitement in the leading cities of the North, and, by contagion, throughout the country. George Latimer, a fine-looking man, almost white, had escaped with wife and child to Boston from Norfolk, Va. He was arrested without a warrant on a charge of theft. Brought before Judge Lemuel Shaw, on a writ of habeas corpus, with S. E. Sewall as one of his counsel, he was remanded to be tried before Judge Story, of the U. S. Circuit Court; Judge Shaw assenting to the doctrine of the Prigg case *(ante*, p. 59), and denying him a trial by jury. A public meeting was at once called in Faneuil Hall for Oct. 30 (to the great scandal of a portion of the clergy, because it was a Sunday evening—*Lib.* 12 : 175). Prayers were asked on that day by Latimer, and were offered in some pulpits. The meeting was very turbulent, and Remond, attempting to speak, was howled down by the mob. Wendell Phillips indignantly told them: "We presume to believe the Bible outweighs the statute-book. When I look upon these crowded thousands, and see them trample on their consciences and the rights of their fellow-men, at the bidding of a piece of parchment, I say, my CURSE be on the Constitution of these United States!" *(Lib.* 12 : 178. See Georgiana Bruce Kirby's 'Years of Experience,' pp. 142-144.) The resolutions adopted denounced the Prigg decision; declared the fugitive-slave clause of the Constitution to be morally not binding; called for a repeal of the fugitive-slave law, and for State legislation against the surrender of fugitives, and particularly against the use of State prisons, officials, etc., for their detention and rendition. The illegality of Latimer's

esting. A thousand kisses for you and the babe[1] and boys, and love to all. CHAP. II. 1842.

W. L. Garrison to his Wife.

SYRACUSE, Nov. 27, 1842. *MS.*

I wrote to you a hasty letter from Waterloo, giving you some of the outlines of my visit to Rochester. Although many interesting events have occurred since that time, I shall wait till I see you before I go into the particulars. Up to this hour, I have enjoyed myself far beyond my expectations. The spirit of hospitality, in this section, exceeds anything to be found in New England, with comparatively rare exceptions. Money is about "as scarce as gold dust," but there is no lack of food and the other necessaries of life, and to these you are heartily welcome. All the towns that I have visited are uncommonly agreeable in their appearance, and exhibit a neatness, taste, and regularity that have taken me by surprise. If the aspect of things is so pleasant now, in bleak winter, what must it be in the prime of summer? I wish you could be with me, and so do many others, who would delight to extend to you the warm hand of friendship. If all things shall go well with us, and our means will allow of it, what say for a trip with me, next summer, to Niagara Falls?

confinement in Leverett-Street jail was, in fact, made so patent to the sheriff of the county that the latter ordered his release, and he might have gone scot free but for a philanthropic cross-action, which ended in his being ransomed at a low figure. This event Mr. Garrison had the pleasure of announcing at the Syracuse convention on Nov. 22, 1842, amid cries of "God bless old Massachusetts!" *(Lib.* 12 : 205.) Meantime, in that State, Latimer meetings had been held in various towns; and a *North Star and Latimer's Journal*, edited by Dr. Henry I. Bowditch, issued every other morning in Boston, satisfied the public craving for news, and kept the anti-slavery flame at a white heat. Afterwards a Latimer and Grand Massachusetts Petition to the Legislature was industriously circulated, with a view to prohibiting State or municipal intervention in the arrest of fugitives, and to separating Massachusetts forever from all connection with slavery through an amendment to the Constitution *(ante*, p. 33). In these public demonstrations old and new organizationists participated, but the initiative came from the Board of the Mass. A. S. Society. See, for the whole story, *Lib.* 12 : 171, 174, 175, 178, 179, 186, 187, 199, 205; 13 : 34; MSS. Nov. 5, 1842, A. A. Phelps to F. Jackson, Dec. 18, N. Barney to F. Jackson, Jan. 29, 1843, E. Quincy to R. D. Webb, and an unpublished communication to the *Courier* by F. Jackson, Nov. 17, 1842. Add Whittier's true Northern lyric, "Massachusetts to Virginia" *(Lib.* 13 : 16).

[1] Charles Follen Garrison, born in Cambridgeport, Mass., Sept. 9, 1842.

CHAP. II. 1842. *Nov.* 21. The friends at Waterloo were the kindest of the kind. I delivered three addresses in that place, to crowded houses,—the last on Monday evening,—the effect of which was visibly beneficial to our cause. At 12 o'clock that night, I left in the cars for Syracuse, accompanied by friends Collins (who was far from being well) and J. C. Hathaway, where we arrived at 5 o'clock A. M. G. W. Pryor, Jacob Ferris, W. O. Duvall, and Abby Kelley arrived during the forenoon, in a private conveyance. We all came to the splendid mansion occupied jointly by Stephen Smith and Wing Russell (formerly of New Bedford), where we, and many others, have all been entertained with a hospitality and kindness never exceeded in my experience. Poor Collins had to go to bed at once, and has scarcely been able to sit up even *Nov.* 27, 1842. to this hour. To-day he is somewhat better, and may possibly leave to-morrow afternoon for Utica, under my care. He has had all possible attention paid to him, and as good nursing as he could have obtained in this wide world. He is nearly disabled from the service, at least for some time to come. This morning (Sunday), G. W. Pryor, S. S. Foster, Abby Kelley, and Mrs. Russell left for Vernon, on their way to Utica, in a carryall. The day is cold and blustering, and a snowstorm beginning to set in.

Nov. 22. *Lib.* 12:205. On Tuesday forenoon, our Convention opened in this place, under circumstances by no means auspicious. Not a meeting-house could be obtained for us, and we were forced to meet in a hall three stories high, called "Library Hall." Handbills had been placarded about the town, announcing that Abby Kelley, C. L. Remond, Frederick Douglass, and W. L. Garrison would be at the Convention; but, notorious as we are, and great as is the curiosity usually manifested to see and hear either of us singly, our meeting in the forenoon consisted only of eleven persons, all told! These were nearly all of our own company. We appointed J. C. Hathaway President, and J. N. T. Tucker Secretary, and then adjourned. In the afternoon, we had a small audience; but, such was the feeling we excited in the meeting, by our scorching remarks and "ultra" resolutions, the hall was crowded in the evening, when I opened my budget of heresies on the subject of temple worship, the church, the priesthood, the Sabbath, etc., which created no small stir. The *Nov.* 23, 1842. next day, S. S. Foster arrived,[1] and we soon had the town in commotion.

[1] He was out on bail from Leverett-Street jail, Boston, having been committed on an absurd charge of assaulting the constable who took Latimer

During the [next] day, a considerable number of persons were in attendance, and the discussions assumed so exciting an aspect that, at the close of the afternoon meeting, it became apparent that we should have a riot in the evening — all in defence of the clergy and the church! When the evening came, the hall was densely filled, partly by a highly respectable assemblage, and partly by a troop of mobocrats, having their pockets filled with rotten eggs and other missiles. Jacob Ferris opened the meeting in a short but eloquent speech, which, as it contained nothing specially offensive, was listened to without disturbance. Our friend S. S. Foster then took the platform, and was allowed to proceed without much interruption until he made his favorite declaration, in his most excited manner, that the Methodist Episcopal Church is worse than any brothel in the city of New York. Then came such an outbreak of hisses, cries, curses! All order was at an end. Several ruffians rushed toward the platform to seize Foster, but were not allowed to reach him. The tumult became tremendous. Several citizens, who were well known, attempted to calm the storm, but in vain. Rotten eggs were now thrown, one of which was sent as a special present to me, and struck the wall over my head, scattering its contents on me and others. Next, a number of benches were broken, and other damage done; and, finally, the meeting was adjourned, in much disorder, to meet at the same place, the next day, at 10 A. M. We all got through the mob safely, though they kept a sharp lookout for Foster and myself, having prepared, as it was said, tar and feathers to give us a coat without any cost to ourselves.

Nov. 24, 1842.

Lib. 12:205.

thither, and with whom he simply remonstrated as they walked along (*Lib.* 12:187). Mr. Foster had already this year, in June, made acquaintance with the same jail, after a forcible expulsion — by the Rev. A. St. Clair and other divines — from the Evangelical Congregational A. S. Convention in Boston (*Lib.* 12:90, 129), and still earlier, in May, had been jailed in Amherst, N. H., for interrupting the services in a Baptist church by speaking in behalf of the slave ('Acts of the A. S. Apostles,' p. 266; *Lib.* 12:94). This practice, long conscientiously kept up, induced untold clerical and diaconal assaults upon Mr. Foster's unresisting person, in a spirit and with a violence hardly to be denominated Christian (*Lib.* 12:110, 118). Stephen Symonds Foster was born at Canterbury, N. H., in 1809, and graduated at Dartmouth College in 1838. He began his preparation for the ministry at the Union Theological Seminary, New York, but abandoned that career in favor of a reformer's. He quickly identified himself with the Non-Resistants (*ante*, 2:327), and entered the field as an anti-slavery lecturer in 1840. "A devoted, noble, single-eyed, pure, eloquent, John-the-Baptist character" (Wendell Phillips to E. Pease, MS. June 29, 1842).

Nov. 25, 1842. In the morning (Thursday [Friday]) we met agreeably to adjournment; but on the opening it was announced that we could not have the use of the hall during the day, unless we would become responsible for all damages that might be done to the building; and that we could not be allowed to occupy the hall in the evening on any conditions, such was the excited state of the public mind. This announcement led to a most animated discussion. We refused, of course, to give any such guaranty, as that would be a strong inducement to the mob to do all the injury they could to the hall. Syracuse was held up to the infamy of the world, in terms of merited severity, as a town under mobocratic sway, worthy to be associated with Boston, New York, and Utica, in 1835. Finally, the requisition was withdrawn, and we were allowed to continue our meetings through the day, but not in the evening. In the afternoon, Foster obtained a very respectful hearing in defence of his terrible charge against the Methodist Church, and produced an impression decidedly in his favor. He was followed by a petti-fogging lawyer and editor, named Cummings, in reply, who kept the audience in a roar of laughter by his ridiculous nonsense and silly buffoonery. He was put forward by the mobocrats (as well as another lawyer, named Hillis), as the champion of Church and State; but all he said worked mightily in our favor. At dark a motion was made that we adjourn *sine die;* but our opponents outnumbered us, and voted to adjourn the meeting until the next morning. The hall, however, was not opened to them, and we, of course, did not go to the place.

Ante, 1:490; 2:9, 40.

D. D. Hillis.

The whole town is in a ferment. Every tongue is in motion. If an earthquake had occurred, it would not have excited more consternation, or made more talk. But we have no doubt that the result will be good for our cause. We sent the resolutions we intended to discuss in the Convention, relating to the church and the clergy, to the clergymen in this place, by a committee; but the corrupt and cowardly creatures did not dare to come and discuss them with us before the people. To-day, however (Sunday), in "coward's castle," they are denouncing us as "infidels," etc., and warning the people against us. This, too, will do good. Already the tide is turning in our favor, and, in a short time, genuine anti-slavery will obtain a strong foothold here.

Lib. 12:205.

Nov. 27, 1842.

Nov. 29. Our next convention is to be held at Utica, on Tuesday next, and will continue in session at least three days. As bro. Foster will be there, I presume we shall have a repetition of the scenes

S. S. Foster.

in Syracuse, as he is remarkably successful in raising the spirit of mobocracy wherever he goes. Possibly, we may have quiet meetings; [1] but, come what may, may we all be faithful to the cause. I could wish that bro. Foster would exercise more judgment and discretion in the presentation of his views; but it is useless to reason with him, with any hope of altering his course, as he is firmly persuaded that he is pursuing the very best course. *Lib.* 12:201, 205; 13:9.

On Friday evening next, I expect to lecture in Albany, and on Saturday night hope to embrace you and the dear children again, in health and safety. . . . I am pretty well worn down with exertion. During the ride from Waterloo to this place, in the night, I took cold, and have been troubled with influenza ever since; so that I have spoken at our meetings here with great difficulty, in consequence of hoarseness. I am now better. Fear not about my taking care of myself. On my return, I have many marvellous things to relate to you about animal magnetism, having seen many experiments, and in which I am a full believer. . . . *Dec.* 2, 1842.

Mr. Garrison's system, overtaxed by the fatigues of his tour, was ripe for the contagion which he found raging among his little ones, on his arrival home: *Lib.* 13:10.

"Garrison was very ill," wrote Edmund Quincy to Richard D. Webb, "as ill, I suppose, as a man could be and live. He said, and from his description I have no doubt of it, that his scarlet fever was no whit less virulent or less abominable than the small-pox in its most malignant form. His family has been in much trouble the past year. His brother James, a poor drunken sailor, was upon his hands for a long time, and died last summer [autumn]. Garrison's behavior to this poor fellow was very beautiful. Then his wife's sister, Mary Benson, was ill for a long time, and also died in his house.[2] Then all his *MS. Jan.* 29, 1843. *Cf. MS. Dec.* 19, 1842, *Anna to G. W. Benson.* *Oct.* 14, 1842; *Lib.* 12:167. *Jan.* 29, 1842; *Lib.* 12:19.

[1] There was no disturbance until the evening of the third day, and then it burst not upon S. S. Foster but upon J. Cannings Fuller and Abby Kelley. The Mayor of Utica, Horatio Seymour, being present, endeavored, as a simple citizen, to quell the uproar, until taxed with official responsibility for it, when he said he would prosecute every individual implicated that might be named to him, and order was at once restored (*Lib.* 12:205, 206).

[2] Mr. Quincy's chronology is again at fault, for Mary Benson died before James Garrison, and at the beginning, not at the close, of the year 1842. In the fall of 1841, Mr. Garrison had removed his residence in Cambridgeport to the north-west corner of William and Magazine Streets, the scene of these afflictions.

CHAP. II. 1842.

children had the scarlet fever, and some of them, I believe, the lung or brain fever, and his wife the rheumatic fever; and, in addition to all his troubles, the funds of the *Liberator* fell short towards the end of the year, and he was without money for his necessary expenses, though I suppose he had credit. All of which circumstances made the last a very trying year to him."

Announcing his brother's demise to G. W. Benson, Mr. Garrison wrote:

MS. Oct. 14, 1842.

"As his case had long been hopeless, his release from the flesh is cause of consolation rather than of sorrow. He retained his senses to the last, and died with all possible fortitude and resignation, being perfectly aware that his end was approaching. . . . I intend that the funeral arrangements and ceremonies shall be as plain, simple, and *free*, as possible. Liberty of speech shall be given to all who may attend. I shall probably have a testimony to bear against the war system, the navy, intemperance, etc., in connection with J.'s history, and also against that religion which sustains war and its murderous enginery."[1]

Oct. 16, 1842.

J. H. Garrison.

It is hard to decide whether the story of James Garrison's career would make a more powerful peace or temperance tract. Certain is it that if fate had designed the most striking contrast in the fortunes of two children of the same parents, it need not have provided otherwise than it did in the case of this unhappy man and his brother. At first glance it would appear as if the elder had simply inherited the vices of his father; the younger, the admirable virtues of his mother. Doubtless the fondness

[1] This intention was carried out, "and produced some sensation among the warring sectarians who were present" (MS. March 1, 1843, W. L. G, to H. C. Wright). The day after the funeral, Phœbe Jackson wrote from Providence to Mrs. Garrison (MS. Oct. 17, 1842): "I thought much of you yesterday, and desired this affliction might be sanctified to your own good, and that a blessing might attend Mr. Garrison's remarks at the funeral obsequies. I often call to mind the observations he made at the funeral of dear Mary [Benson], and always with profit. At the time, they were very exalting to my own mind, and I have never ceased to feel their good effects. To Mr. Garrison it must be a source of abiding comfort that he has watched, with more than a brother's love, over this only brother. So kind, so tender, so constant, have been his ministrations that the void must be deeply felt. Faithfully has he fulfilled his trust, and rich must be his consolation."

CHAP. II. 1842.

for strong drink was inherited by James, and likewise the disposition to follow the sea. Yet, but for the mother's poverty, we can imagine that a wise discipline might have saved him from both these pitfalls, and that he might have become a useful and respected if not an eminent citizen. He had a beautiful person, a powerful physique, a good heart, a good intellect. The little schooling that he got made him an excellent penman,[1] with but slight traces of illiteracy in his compositions. These are sensible, shrewd, humorous, graphic, deeply pathetic — in particular, the autobiography which he attempted, evidently for publication as a warning against intemperance. The high spirit which was wasted in stubbornly going to the bad, in resenting injustice and imposition at the risk of wounds and death, and in enduring without a murmur the atrocities incurred in the service of his country, might have graced a martyr in a cause as noble as his brother's.

The alcoholic habit was fastened upon James Garrison at the age of fourteen, while yet a shoemaker's apprentice in Lynn, owing to the custom of serving black-strap to the workmen. Once master of him, it led him, with an occasional reprieve and vain attempt to establish himself in an honest employment on land, through every degree of abasement and physical suffering — now the literal bedfellow of swine, and now the victim of all those forms of torture which made the navy of his day truly hells afloat. At twenty-two, in the British service, he was flogged through Admiral Rowley's fleet at Port Royal, Jamaica, for desertion (not without cause), receiving one hundred

June 20, 1823. *Sir C. Rowley, K. C. B.*

1 On account of his ability to write, he was suspected of being the author of the anonymous letter protesting against the cruel practices on board the U. S. ship-of-line *Delaware*, in the Mediterranean in 1828 (?), mentioned on p. 112 of McNally's 'Evils and Abuses in the Naval and Merchant Service Exposed' (Boston, 1839). This suspicion was frightfully avenged upon him by the lieutenant aimed at in the letter. Some years before this, at Port Royal, Jamaica, being brought to trial for an affray with his captain, his defence of himself caused him to be styled "the sailor orator." A piece of money which he received at this time from the sympathetic supercargo, he went and gave "to the poor slaves in the prison" from which he had just been released.

Cf. Penn. Freeman, Mar. 25, 1847, p. 1.

and fifty lashes: he names the ships to which the launches were successively taken, and the fellow-sufferer who died under the terrible infliction. In January, 1824, he had escaped to New York, and in September shipped for the first time in the United States navy — in the *North Carolina* seventy-four at Norfolk. "I considered myself," he records, "an adept in the usages of a man-of-war; but I was mistaken, and soon found out I was destined to treatment to which I had before been a stranger, and which I considered that no officers belonging to any civilized country could adopt." His introduction to American naval cruelty was given him by the future opener of Japan to "civilization," Matthew C. Perry, then first lieutenant.[1]

We draw the veil over what followed, under the American flag, until James Garrison, a mere wreck, was rescued from the navy by his brother. But an earlier experience had in it an element which connects while it contrasts the lives of both. Towards the close of 1819, while Lloyd was in his early printer's apprenticeship, James, then in his twentieth year, bound himself to one Benjamin Sisson, a Savannah pilot — a slaveholder, cruel and tyrannical, whose wretched treatment at last drove James to run away. On the road to Charleston he was overtaken; and now, as if the South were taking satisfaction on his poor body for the future anti-slavery warfare of his brother, James Garrison was subjected to punishment such as slaves had meted out to them for similar offences. Stripped naked, and hung to a tree by his thumbs so that his toes would just touch the ground, he was almost flayed alive

[1] In one instance the punishment was thirteen lashes; the offence, whispering on inspection to a shipmate who was treading on James Garrison's toes. "All who remember Perry know what a disciplinarian he was, while yet no one accuses him of being a martinet. Brusque in his manners, he yet had a kindly heart" (Rev. W. E. Griffis, in *Mag. Am. History*, 13 : 425). John Randolph said in Congress that he saw more flogging on his voyage to Russia in 1830 (as American minister, on a Federal man-of-war, the *Concord*, Captain Perry) than on his plantation of 500 slaves (McNally's 'Evils and Abuses in the Naval and Merchant Service,' p. 128. But see Griffis's 'Life of M. C. Perry,' p. 85).

with rods. He fainted with pain, only to be revived with cold water and freshly tormented till he begged Sisson to shoot him. When this monster [1] was wearied rather than glutted, he desisted. The next day he mounted his horse for the homeward journey, and, fastening a rope to James's body, forced him to keep up on foot. A second flogging, on shipboard at Savannah, nearly finished the boy, and when his lacerated back was viewed by the Mayor and other white men, they were shocked at a sight which no negro had ever afforded them. To save his neck, Sisson and his wife had to nurse James as if he were their darling.

Cf. ante, I:270.

The worst details of these barbarities were concealed from Fanny Garrison while she lived, by her wayward son. Before he had become a sailor, and even while living near his mother in Baltimore ("the noblest of mothers," he thought her), she had "lost the run" of him, and was heart-broken when she learned that he kept away from her, who would have done anything to redeem him. At last "I crawled into her presence like one who had committed murder and was afraid of every one he met. We went into a room by ourselves, and Mother, falling on her knees, poured forth her soul in prayer to God to have mercy on her son." No influence, however, could overcome his inveterate habit and his roving disposition. In spite of her entreaties, he chose the sea for his living. "My parting from Mother on this occasion was dreadful. I cannot describe my feelings. When we came to shake hands and bid the last farewell, my Mother kneeled and took both my hands, kissed me, and gave me her blessing. I could not say farewell. My heart was full, and I trembled like an aspen leaf shook by the wind. We parted for the last time on earth." In his trunk he afterwards found a letter from her which he could never read without weeping.

1818–1819.

What intemperance and cruel suffering had spared of

1 Sisson had flogged his slave Maria 200 lashes while in pregnancy, to gratify his wife.

CHAP. II. 1842. James Garrison's battered hulk drifted at last by a kind Providence into the port of Boston, where a brother's love was ready to be proved superior to all temptations to disownment.

W. L. Garrison to Secretary Paulding.[1]

MS. Navy Dept. Archives.

BOSTON, December 14, 1839.

I have a brother, James H. Garrison, who is now attached as a seaman to the U. S. Ship *Columbus* at the Navy Yard in Charlestown. He has been in the naval service of his country for the long period of sixteen years. It is rather more than four months since his last enlistment. During nearly all this time he has been on the sick-list, wholly incapacitated to perform any labor. His disease is a difficult one to eradicate from the system, if it be not immedicable; and must, for an indefinite period, render him of little or no value to the Navy. . . . Through the kindness of Commodore Downes and Capt. Storer, I have been permitted to take him to my house for a few weeks past, in order to procure for him such medical treatment, and pay him such attention, as his case demands and a brother's affection could prompt. He is now in a somewhat better condition than when he was removed, but it is wholly uncertain how much he may yet be called to suffer under surgical operation, or how soon he will be able (if ever) to discharge the duties of a seaman in the U. S. service. Of course, under these circumstances, to have him remain under pay cannot be a very desirable object to the Government, the burdens of which should be lessened wherever and whenever it is practicable. My object, therefore, in writing this letter is respectfully and earnestly to solicit of you the immediate discharge of my brother from the Navy, upon the usual conditions. I cannot doubt your kindness in this matter, and shall gratefully appreciate its exercise.

Ante, p. 74.

John Downes. Geo. W. Storer.

It may have additional weight with you to add, that, during the sixteen years in which ho has done not only the state but the country some service, it has not been my privilege to enjoy his society more than a fortnight until his recent sickness. He is an only brother in whose welfare I feel a deep interest; and none the less because of the buffetings and perils through which he has been called to pass from boyhood. You will, I am sure, make the case your own, and act accordingly.

August, 1835? ante, 1:516.

[1] For the Secretary's reply, see *ante,* 2:330.

The next three years were spent by James Garrison under his brother's roof, with a temporary stay at Brooklyn during the latter's journey to England. In the summer of 1841, he made a voyage to New Brunswick, to visit his relations. He had taken the pledge of total abstinence, but was betrayed by the captain into breaking it, yet on the whole kept steady until he landed in Boston in August. Then that fatality which seemed to him to have its iron grip upon him, suppressing every effort of his fallen manhood to rise again, brought him to the *Liberator* office during his brother's absence in New Hampshire. While the latter, with Rogers, was making the woods of the White Mountains ring with the anthems of the free, or rejoicing in the conversion of their companion from the smoker's habit, James Garrison for the thousandth time fell, a victim to circumstances:

Ante, 2:358.

Ante, *p.* 22.

Ante, *p.* 22.

"Had I have come out home when I left the vessel, all perhaps would have been well. But no, it was not to be until the cup of my bitterness was full; and none but God and myself can tell what I have suffered in body and in mind for my rashness. A great number of the *Ohio's*, *Macedonian's*, and *Grampus's* ship's company being ashore, I had a great many old shipmates among them. Suffice to say, I was led on to destruction. Coming to my senses, I thought of you, of Helen, of Mary, Mother, and the Home (the only one I ever knew) [where] I had spent so many happy hours. The amount of suffering and expense I had caused you all, the breaking of my pledge, the promises I had made to reform — all rushed to my mind like the advancing roar of some mighty whirlwind. To drown those dreadful thoughts, I procured two ounces of laudanum, with a full determination to put a stop to my wretched existence."

MS.

Mrs. Garrison; Mary Benson; Mrs. Sally Benson.

The attempted suicide was baffled, and once more, and to the end, the hapless man found a refuge in the home ever open to him in Cambridgeport. He lacked the nerve to *tell* his brother what had happened, so wrote a frank account, which he left on his table; his mind balancing between futile plans of engaging anew as a sailor, and a half-formed resolve still to make away with his hated life. Thus the affecting paper closed:

MS. "I am not writing this to show you my good or evil qualities, for I am confident you know them all. But my only wonder is, how you can put up with such treatment even from a brother. I write without flattery, for I am well assured you know it yourself — there is no one, under such circumstances, who would receive under his threshold such a brother. How often and often has it been said to me in Boston, by men in good standing in life, and by those who have only heard of you by hearsay, 'James H. Garrison, I would give all I possess in this world to have such a brother.' But I have abused that brother's lenity, and how can I expect any clemency from his hands?

"I do not ask it; but one boon I crave: Forget you ever had such a brother. To-morrow I go into Boston. I thank you for your kindness this last time, for when I came out, I was laboring under the mania potu and deliriums, and my hand is not steady yet. I have suffered, and that greatly, this last few nights, with that terrible disease, which none knows but those who have experienced it: it is horrid, indescribable! I am sorry for poor Mary, Mother, and Helen. I know their feelings are mortified, but what will they be when they see this? But as I do not wish to conceal anything from them, I must expect their condemnation on him who has acted so improperly. I hope they will receive my thanks for their past kindness, the remembrance of which I shall hold dear in this throbbing bosom while life retains its empire. What I have written is facts without exaggeration. My mind could not rest until I had told you all. I stated it in writing, as I could not do it verbally, my mind being too much agitated."

Mary Benson; Mrs. Sally Benson; Mrs. Garrison.

The month in which James Garrison passed away was marked by two other deaths of much greater consequence. *Lib.* 12:159. On Sunday, October 2, Channing breathed his last at Bennington, Vt.,[1] close beside the printing-office in which Garrison had pledged himself to Lundy to make the cause of abolition his life-work. His last public effort had been in behalf of the slave, for at Lenox, on August 1st, he delivered an admirable address in eulogy of West India emancipation and of the anti-slavery enterprise in his own country. The next day, in Boston, Henry G. Chapman died in his thirty-ninth year, with Roman philosophy:

Oct. 3, 1842; *Lib.* 12:159.

[1] In the present Walloomsac House.

"I happened," wrote Edmund Quincy to Richard Webb, "to call not long after his departure, and was invited, as one who had long stood in the relation of a brother to the family, to the chamber of death. It was the most striking scene I ever beheld. The body was surrounded by the surviving family; Maria standing, with all the composure and peace of a guardian angel, at its head, and his venerable father seated in resignation at his feet. The serenity of Mrs. Chapman was as perfect as I had ever seen it, and she told all the little incidents of the last few hours with the utmost tranquillity. Her sisters were not all as calm as she, but they all felt the power of her peace upon them. *MS. Jan. 29, 1843.* *Mrs. H. G. Chapman.*

"At the funeral, she evinced the same tranquillity. Samuel J. May was invited to perform the usual services, at Chapman's request, not as a priest but as a friend, out of regard to the feelings of his father and mother. After he had made a prayer, Garrison, who had been told by Mrs. Chapman if he had any word to utter not to withhold it, made a very excellent address, to the no small astonishment of certain of the relatives, who had not looked for an anti-slavery lecture at such a time. Neither Mrs. C. nor any of the family put on mourning, which was a strange thing in a community where the chains of custom and public opinion are like links of iron. *S. J. May.* *M. W. Chapman.*

"A day or two afterwards, I went to town to see her, apprehending that when the excitement was over, a reaction might take place. But I found her in the same angelic peace that I had left her. She said she had no feeling of separation; that she had gone down with him to the brink of the River, and that he had gone over and she returned. And the household fell naturally back into its usual liveliness and helpfulness, without any effort or affectation."[1]

With one more death we close the chapter. The *Non-Resistant* expired, on June 29, 1842, for want of means—conclusive evidence that the Non-Resistance Society was *Lib.* 12:107. *Ante*, 2:347.

[1] Hardly a number of the *Liberator* in the last two months of 1842 but shows traces of Mrs. Chapman's preternatural activity with pen and in deed. During Mr. Garrison's illness, she helped to fill his editorial page, and yet found time to foment the Latimer agitation *(ante*, p. 66), and to direct, as usual, the Anti-Slavery Bazaar. In short, she illustrated anew the force of a lesson which she early learned from an old sea-captain. "Talk of fast sailers!" he would say. "I never saw a vessel that would sail without a *great deal of assistance*" (MS. May 23, 1840, M. W. Chapman to Louisa Loring).

not identical with Garrisonian abolitionism.[1] The Society, nevertheless, held its fourth annual meeting, and had already, in September, 1841, at Mr. Garrison's instance, authorized Henry C. Wright to go abroad as a sort of general missionary for the causes of peace, abolition, temperance, chastity, and a pure and equal Christianity. The suspension of its organ, however, beyond hope of recovery, showed that the limit of organized growth had been reached, and that the millennial expectations of the Declaration of Sentiments must be fulfilled in some other form. "It does not follow," wrote Mr. Garrison in review of Judge Jay's 'War and Peace,' "that the Almighty will crown with success all means and measures alike, for the furtherance of the cause of peace. . . . It is not enough that we have a good cause; this will avail us little or nothing unless the principles which we advance and the measures which we adopt to carry it forward are just and appropriate." The most appropriate peace measure in America was clearly the abolition of slavery.

Lib. 12:171.

Lib. 12:47, 143, 155; *Herald of Freedom*, 8:129.

MS. Mar. 26, 1843, *E. Quincy to R. D. Webb.*

Ante, 2:233, 234; *also*, 229.

Lib. 12:83.

Cf. Lib. 14:[180].

[1] The absence of H. C. Wright in England was one of the causes of the lapse of the *Non-Resistant;* but chief was the fact that "our time, our means, our labors are so absorbed in seeking the emancipation of our enslaved countrymen, that we cannot do as much specifically and directly for non-resistance as it would otherwise be in our power to perform" (MS. Mar. 1, 1843, W. L. G. to H. C. Wright). "The A. S. cause misses you much — even more than the N. R. cause (as far as they are separable). But I never could separate N. R. from my idea of reform generally. It is the temper of mind in which all enterprises for humanity should be undertaken, rather than a distinct enterprise of itself" (MS. Mar. 31, 1843, M. W. Chapman to H. C. Wright). "The [Non-Resistance] Society, I regret to say, has had only a nominal existence during the past year — and, indeed, ever since your departure. It is without an organ, without funds, without agents, without publications" (MS. Oct. 1, 1844, W. L. G. to H. C. Wright).

CHAPTER III.

The "Covenant with Death."—1843.

MR. GARRISON returned to his editorial duties in the latter part of January, 1843, but his health was far from restored. He struggled on till June, when a mysterious distress in the left side again caused him grave apprehensions that he had not long to live. His latest residence in Cambridgeport, though very healthfully situated, was associated with an extraordinary amount of sickness and fatality. As the lease would expire on July 1, it was decided to remove for the summer to the country, and no place offered such attractions as the Community at Northampton, Mass.

Lib. 13: 10.

MS. Apr. 15, 1843, W. L. G. to G. W. Benson.

This was the third of those original experiments by which Massachusetts, as J. H. Noyes says, "appears to have anticipated the advent of Fourierism, and to have prepared herself for or against the rush of French ideas," throwing them out "on her three avenues of approach—Unitarianism [Brook Farm], Universalism [Hopedale], and Nothingarianism." The Northampton Association of Education and Industry was, indeed, committed to no creed, not even to communism, as it was a joint-stock concern. All its prominent members were known personally to Mr. Garrison, who vouched for them as "among the freest and best spirits of the age," when publishing their manifesto. Organization was effected on April 8, 1842, and as George W. Benson was one of the founders, the progress of the enterprise was constantly reported to his brother-in-law. "The subject of social reorganization," wrote the latter on December 16, 1843, to R. D.

Am. Socialisms, p. 154.

Ante, p. 25.

Lib. 12: 143.

Noyes's Am. Socialisms, p. 155.

MS.

CHAP. III. 1843. Webb, "is attracting general attention, and exciting a growing interest. Many schemes are in embryo, and others have had a birth, and are now struggling for an existence. As experiments to bless our race, I feel an interest in them all, though I am not very sanguine as to the result of this new species of colonization."

Edmund Quincy to Richard D. Webb.

MS. DEDHAM, June 27 (–July 26), 1843.

Garrison has been but in indifferent health since his dreadful illness in the winter. He has some sort of a swelling in his breast, about the region of his heart, which he believes will soon destroy him. He always speaks of it as an animal or devil (I don't mean that he thinks it is either) busy about his heart, which will soon put an end to him. However, Dr. Warren, our most eminent surgeon, and one of the first in the world, does not regard it as anything serious. When Garrison had finished consulting him, and tendered him his fee, he declined taking any fee "from Mr. Garrison," which we regard as quite a sign of progress, as the Dr. has never shown any leaning towards anti-slavery.

John Collins Warren.

Notwithstanding this handsome conduct on the part of the Dr., of which G. was duly sensible, he regards his opinion with infinite scorn and contempt, having on the other side the opinions of certain homœopathists[1] and hydropathists, not to mention a couple of *clairvoyants* who examined his internals with the back of their heads. The ocular, or rather *occipital*, evidence of these last worthies is the most satisfactory to his mind. To most men, the circumstance that they gave diamet-

[1] June 12, 1843, Mr. Garrison writes to G. W. Benson (MS.): "Last Tuesday [June 6] Dr. Warren made a careful examination of my side in the presence of Dr. [Henry I.] Bowditch. He says it is neither a tumor nor an enlargement of the spleen, but a great distension of the intestinal parts connected with the stomach, and more troublesome than dangerous. Dr. [Robert] Wesselhoeft laughs at his opinion, and is confident that his own is the correct one. 'Who shall decide when doctors disagree?' The examination, though tenderly managed, gave me great pain for several days afterward. I think Dr. Wesselhoeft is nearer right than Dr. Warren; but Dr. Bowditch fully agrees with the latter." Dr. Wesselhoeft's diagnosis was a tumor, "partaking somewhat of the nature of a polypus"; Dr. H. B. C. Greene's, the enlarged spleen; and this was confirmed by the post-mortem examination in 1879.

rically opposite accounts of the case would be startling, but then G. believes them both equally, which arranges the affair satisfactorily.[1]

It is a thousand pities that New Organization is not to do over again, for besides Garrison's heresies about Non-Resistance, Church, Sabbath, Ministry, Perfectionism, and *Thomsonianism* (do you know what that is?) — which last Phelps industriously bruited about to disgust the country doctors, an influential class with us — they would now have homœopathy, hydropathy, and animal magnetism to add to the list. The rest of us, however, are inclined to hope that Dr. Warren knows as much about the matter as any of these new lights, and that Garrison may get over it.

Cf. ante, 2:281.

Lib. 14:35; *ante, p.* 71.

He is now at Northampton, with Geo. Benson, his wife's brother, at a Community to which Prof. Adam belongs. He went there for *rest*, and the way he rests himself is to lecture every night in the neighboring towns, and on Sundays in Northampton in the open air! D. L. Child, however, who took Boston in his way to New York to take the *Standard*, reports that he looks well and seems well, with the exception of his enemy in the chest. He is also engaged, or is to be, in making selections for the volume of his works. I hope he will have grace to select the best and to omit the *mediocre*. Literary taste, however, is not his *forte*. I wish he had left the selections to Mrs. Chapman. When Caroline Weston expressed her regrets that certain things were inserted in the volume of his poems by Johnson, he replied, with a smile, "Ah, you know there are all sorts of tastes in the world." To which she answered, that was true enough; but when a man was collecting his writings in a permanent form, that there was but one kind of taste to be consulted, and that was *the best*.[2]

Ante, 2:353.

Lib. 13:111, 117, 118.

Lib. 13:123.

Lib. 13:31.

Oliver Johnson.

The Northampton Community had chosen a beautiful site on Mill River, some two or three miles from the town, in the suburb now known as Florence and as a

[1] Badinage. Of one of these, Mr. Garrison wrote that she "could not see that anything affected my left side, but said that I had been considerably troubled with my right side — a piece of intelligence which was entirely new to me!" (MS. May 1–June 10, 1843, to Phœbe Jackson.)

[2] Both were right. Mr. Garrison's literary ambition, like his poetic talent, was subordinate to his moral purpose in life. Hence, in noticing the appearance of his little volume of 'Sonnets and Other Poems' *(ante*, p. 8), he professed not to be ashamed of the sentiments expressed in his verses, "though not persuaded of their poetical merit" *(Lib.* 13:71).

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great manufacturing centre. Mr. Garrison's delight in the natural scenery of the Connecticut Valley was shared for a week in August by N. P. Rogers, with whom he drove in a gig on both sides of the river from Greenfield to Springfield. Shortly afterwards an accident occurred which sadly marred the pleasure of the sojourn at the Community. In watering his horse at a wayside brook, Mr. Garrison, by some maladroitness, upset his wife, with her three-year-old boy in her arms, and her aged mother, who all narrowly escaped drowning.[1] Mrs. Garrison's right arm was dislocated at the elbow, but was maltreated by an ignorant doctor as if broken, so that weeks of suffering ensued till the limb could be set. This was made the occasion of special visits to Dr. Stephen Sweet, the famous bone-setter, at Franklin, Conn., who succeeded in the difficult operation, though a subsequent dislocation of the same joint was carried through life. By the end of October the family had returned to Boston, occupying a new house on Pine Street, with Oliver Johnson and his wife as welcome co-tenants.

Lib. 13:131, 146; *MS. Aug.* 12, 1843, *Rogers to F. Jackson.*

Lib. 13:135, 154.

Lib. 13:171.

No. 13.

The *Liberator*, all this time, had been supplied editorially by several friends — by Quincy and Mrs. Chapman above all — with no loss to the readers of the paper. Mr. Garrison's physical condition and various distractions during the past two years had confirmed his native habit of procrastination, and laid him open to friendly criticism:

Edmund Quincy to W. L. Garrison.

MS.

DEDHAM, November 6, 1843.

Lib. 13:179. *Joshua Leavitt.*

I have sent in to you my concluding article on Leavitt,[2] which I hope will meet with your gracious approbation. This, I presume, will terminate my editorial labors for the present, and I

[1] "Anne Weston says: 'It was Garrison's vain attempt to show how well he could drive. It may be well enough to talk about "every man his own priest," but "every man his own driver" is another thing'" (MS. Aug. 24, 1843, W. Phillips to E. Pease).

[2] See the whole series of articles, discussing anew the embezzlement of the *Emancipator*, in which Quincy had the help of D. L. Child, and compelled

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gladly resign my share of the vice-regal throne to its legitimate possessor. I congratulate you, and all the friends of the cause at the same time, upon your restoration to health and your ancient occupation. May you live long to discharge it worthily!

And now, upon the occasion of my restoring to you my part of your delegated authority, will you pardon me if I say a word as to what I, in common with the best friends of the paper, wish to see the *Liberator* in your hands? I am sure that I know you well enough to feel confident that you will pardon the bungling manner in which it is very likely I may perform the delicate and somewhat ungracious task of finding fault and giving advice. I think that you cannot doubt my interest in you and in the *Liberator*, and that you cannot attribute anything I may say, however awkwardly I may express myself, to anything but an earnest wish to make you and your paper as useful as possible to the cause. Now, my dear friend, you must know that to the microscopic eyes of its friends, as well as to the telescopic eyes of its enemies, *the Liberator has faults*. These they keep to themselves as much as they honestly may, but they are not the less sensible of them, and are all the more desirous to see them immediately abolished. Luckily, they are not faults of principle — neither moral nor intellectual deficiencies — but faults the cure of which rests solely with yourself.

I hardly know how to tell you what the faults are that we find with it, lest you should think them none at all or else unavoidable. But no matter, of that you must be the judge; we only ask you to listen to our opinions. We think that the paper often bears the marks of haste and carelessness in its getting up; that the matter seems to be hastily selected and put in *higgledy-piggledy*, without any very apparent reason why it should be in at all, or why it should be in the place where it is. I suppose this is often caused by your selecting articles with a view to connect remarks of your own with them, which afterwards in your haste you omit. Then we complain that each paper is not so nearly a complete work in itself as it might be made, but that things are often left at loose ends, and important matters broken off in the middle. I assure you, brother Harriman is not the only one of the friends of the *Liberator* who grieve over your

Jesse P. Harriman, of Danvers, Mass.

notice at the hands of Leavitt, Torrey, Elizur Wright, and Lewis Tappan (*Lib.* 13 : 165, 169, 170, 171, 174, 179, 185, 201). The Whig papers eagerly copied the attacks on their Liberty Party opponents, who all in turn had a hearing in the *Liberator*, though Quincy's arraignments were carefully excluded from the *Emancipator* (MS. Nov. 27, 1843, Quincy to R. D. Webb).

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"more anon" and "more next week" — which "anon" and "next week" never arrive. This continuation from one number to another is, of course, sometimes unavoidable, but surely should be done as seldom as possible, and never proposed without being performed.

Then we complain that your editorials are too often wanting, or else such, from apparent haste, as those who love your fame cannot wish to see; that important topics, which you feel to be such, are too often either entirely passed over or very cursorily treated, and important moments like the present neglected. Perhaps the last *Liberator* and the present are the two most important ones in the year, as thousands of persons read them, on account of the elections, who never open an A. S. paper at any other time. And yet the last was without editorial.

Nov. 3, 10, 1844.

We have our suspicions, too, that good friends have been disaffected by the neglect of their communications; but of this we can only speak by conjecture. In short, it appears to those who are your warmest friends and the staunchest supporters of the paper, that you might make the *Liberator* a more powerful and useful instrumentality than it is, powerful and useful as it is, by additional exertions on your part. It is very unpleasant to hear invidious comparisons drawn between the *Liberator* and the *Emancipator* with regard to the manner of getting it up, and to have not to deny but to excuse them — and we knowing all the time that you have all the tact and technical talent for getting up a good paper that Leavitt has, with as much more intellectual ability as you have more moral honesty, and only wanting some of his (pardon me) industry, application, and method.

Joshua Leavitt.

Now we know that you have talent enough and to spare to write editorials, such as no other editor can; that you have the most ample materials for the best of selections, and eminent tact and sagacity for judging what is timely; and, moreover, that you have abundance of time for doing all this, if you would but have a little *method* in your madness. A week is long enough and to spare for getting up a paper if it be properly used, and all its work be not crowded into the last day. Fewer hours a day than most men of business have to give to their affairs, would do it all — provided the work were begun soon enough. It is not often that a crisis occurs that demands the editorial of an A. S. paper to be written at the last moment. Selections might be made with an eye to two or three papers ahead, and even editorials written, so as to give you opportunity to perform

your important duties as a lecturer. Hildreth told me that in Demerara he often prepared the matter in advance of two or three weeks' papers (issued three times a week), and then went into the country to enjoy himself. Surely you could do something of the sort by a little forecast and method. *Richard Hildreth: Lib.* 13:163.

Sound as was this complaint and reproof, the remedy was not to be found in "pigeon-holes labelled 'Refuge,' 'Selections,' 'Selections to be commented upon,'" etc. The demands on Mr. Garrison's time and strength merely as a journalist were greater than Mr. Quincy could realize. He had no editorial assistant. The volume of matter, in manuscript and in print, relating to the cause was growing with tremendous rapidity. As a rule, besides reading proof, he shared in the mechanical work of the paper. Add the interruptions to which he was exposed as the leader of the abolitionists; his lecture engagements; his anti-slavery hospitality; his domestic cares; his constant anxiety concerning his means of support, and the wonder is that he found leisure to write as much as he did, whether for the *Liberator*, the Massachusetts Board, the American Society, or in his private correspondence.[1] *Lib.* 14:63.

In a more important particular he was never delinquent. As a reformer, he was never dispirited; he never lost his grip on leading principles. He came directly from his sick-room to his post in January, with a cheering survey of recent events during his absence. It had consoled him while ill to reflect that his removal would be of no consequence to the cause. He affirmed anew the irrepressible conflict betwixt freedom and slavery, and advanced fresh arguments for disunion: *Lib.* 13:10.

"The proposition," said he, "may be ridiculed and denounced, and some who call themselves abolitionists may be loudest in their condemnation of it; but all this will avail nothing. The hour is coming when men of all sects and of all parties at the North will rally under one banner — THE BANNER OF LIBERTY; *Lib.* 13:10.

[1] Quincy himself bore testimony to the sum of his friend's performance: "Garrison is, as usual, putting off everything he can till the last moment, but contriving to do a good deal on the whole" (MS. Sept. 22, 1844, to R. D. Webb).

CHAP. III. 1843. and a similar coalition will be seen at the South rallying under THE BLACK FLAG OF SLAVERY. It will not be a strife of blood but a conflict of opinions, and it will be short and decisive. Possibly, in that hour, the South may yield (and such a surrender would be to her victory and renown) — possibly, the spirit of desperation may triumph over her instinct of self-preservation; but, in either case, the fate of slavery would be sealed, the character of the North redeemed, and an example given to mankind worthy to be recorded on the brightest page of history. Thus much, at least, I am bold to prophesy."

Jan. 27, 1843. At the annual meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society in Faneuil Hall, he secured the passage of the following resolution, of his own phrasing, which was shortly hoisted at the *Liberator* masthead in place of the less pungent declaration which had hitherto been kept flying there:

Lib. 13:19. *Isa.* 28:15; *ante, pp.* 52, 53. "Resolved, That the compact which exists between the North and the South is 'a covenant with death and an agreement with hell' — involving both parties in atrocious criminality — and should be immediately annulled."

Edmund Quincy to R. D. Webb.

MS. DEDHAM, January 29, 1843.

We dissolved the Union by a handsome vote, after a warm debate.[1] The question was afterwards reconsidered and passed in another shape, being wrapped up by Garrison in some of his favorite Old Testament Hebraisms by way of vehicle, as the apothecaries say.

The Church question next came up, introduced by Garrison in the broadest *Herald of Freedom* shape, and maintained in a speech attacking the Church and Ministry as direct obstacles to the progress of the cause. This I marvelled at, knowing his extreme caution, and the untenableness of his position on our platform. I replied to him, affirming that the origin or authority of the Church or Ministry were questions we had nothing to do with as members of the Mass. Society; that all we had a right to do was to demand that every one should use all the means and machinery he thinks he has a right to use for the

[1] This was on a resolution offered by Wendell Phillips (*Lib.* 13:19).

extinction of slavery, leaving him to settle the propriety of the means with his own conscience; that it would be as much a breach of faith to appropriate time or money bestowed by persons believing in the divinity of those things, for the agitation of the slavery question, to an attack upon them, as it would be to apply funds given by one believing them to be mischievous impostures, to their defence and maintenance; that there is nothing the pro-slavery clergy desire so much as to have the issue shifted from their hypocrisy, and faithlessness to their own acknowledged standard of duty, to the authority of that standard. CHAP. III. 1843.

Rogers replied, making the points you would suppose from reading the *Herald*, and made the assertion that slavery could not be abolished until the order of the ministry had been! I know the ministry, like all falsehoods, must miserably perish, but I believe it will survive negro slavery many a long year. The substitute which I moved, denying the Christian character to pro-slavery churches and ministers, and denouncing the inconsistency of abolitionists who sustained them, passed by an almost unanimous vote. *N. P. Rogers.* *Lib.* 13:19.

The Non-Resistance question, the Property question (on which Collins is horsed just at present, and galloping away at a great rate), as well as the Temperance question and multitudes of others, might just as reasonably be made test questions as the Ministry question. The short of the argument you will find in the Annual Report, which I wrote in consequence of Garrison's illness. In fact, this question which Garrison thus proposed bringing upon the A. S. platform, is the very one which New Organization made the false pretence of the secession, and which we most strenuously denied. I think, however, that he will see the utter incompatibility of making such test questions with associated action, and do not apprehend that this false policy will be pushed in Massachusetts.[1] *Lib.* 13:67.

Church and state were united in the disunion resolution which Wendell Phillips offered at the anniversary of the American Society at New York, and which read as follows: "That anti-slavery is only to be advanced by trampling under foot the political and ecclesiastical links which bind slavery to the institutions of this country." Mr. Garrison reported, from the business committee, "That we *Lib.* 13:81. *May* 9, 1843.

1 Of this episode no detailed report remains. See *Lib.* 13:19.

CHAP. III. 1843. cannot regard any man as a consistent abolitionist who, while holding to the popular construction of the Constitution, makes himself a party to that instrument, by taking any office under it requiring an oath, or voting for its support." This was laid on the table, but its future *Lib.* 13:81. triumph was ensured by the election of its mover to be President of the Society for the ensuing year.

Edmund Quincy to R. D. Webb.

MS. DEDHAM, June 27 (–July 26), 1843.

I don't exactly remember when I wrote to you last, but am sure it was before the annual meeting of the Am. A. S. Society at N. Y. It was a singularly pleasant meeting in all its particulars. We did not carry on from Boston so strong a force as we have done for the three last years, when we chartered railways and steamboats; but we were a goodly company notwithstanding. The whole number at the meeting was about as large as it ever was, the deficiency from the Eastern States being made up from the Western; some having come eight and six *Lib.* 13:81. hundred miles in their own wagons to attend it, at an inconceivably small expense. This was the first year since the secession that we were fairly wheeled into line of battle against slavery proper. . . .

The principal business of the meeting was to decide what was best to be done with the American Society. Some were for disbanding it, as a machine costing more than it was worth. More were for removing it to Boston, on the ground that there was literally nobody in New York but James S. Gibbons who either would or could act as a member of the Executive Committee. To prevent the scandal of a discussion of these topics before the pro-slavery reporters and the miscellaneous audiences we usually had, we referred all the business of the Society to a Committee of 25, to be arranged and in fact done by them.

In this Committee the question of the removal to Boston was urged vehemently by Garrison, Collins, Foster, Abby Kelley, and others, and was apparently well received by all the rest except the members of the Boston Clique[1] themselves, viz., Wendell

[1] "The 'Boston Clique,' the system that, in the elegant phrase of Elizur Wright, jr., 'wabbles around a centre somewhere between 25 Cornhill [the *Liberator* and A. S. Offices] and the South End' (meaning 11 West St., the house of H. G. and M. W. Chapman)" (MS. Jan. 29, 1843, Quincy to Webb).

Phillips, Caroline Weston, and myself. We urged that the removal was to all intents and purposes a dissolution; that it would be but the Mass. Society with another name; that it was unnecessary to give pro-slavery and New Organization such a triumph; that the nominal existence of the Society had better be maintained at N. Y., if all it did was to print the *Standard*, etc. Notwithstanding and nevertheless, the proposition would probably have been carried, had I not meekly suggested the prudence of first ascertaining whether, in case of a removal of the Society, the services of the Boston friends on whom they depended would be secured; for that I thought, from what I knew of their opinions, that they regarded the measure as so unwise that they would decline taking office. Wendell confirmed what I said. CHAP. III. 1843. *W. Phillips.*

This was an unexpected damper. Garrison dilated his nostrils like a war-horse, and snuffed indignation at us. "If the Boston friends were unwilling to take the trouble and responsibility, then there was nothing more to be said; we must try to get along as well as we could in the old way," etc. Any unwillingness to take trouble and responsibility was of course disclaimed, but the necessity of their acting on their own ideas of what was best affirmed. At this crisis, Thomas Earle of Philadelphia proposed, as something that would combine efficiency with the preservation of our old front to the enemy, that a quorum of the Committee should be appointed in Boston, and the business done there.[1] This seemed to satisfy everybody and was adopted.

The appointment of Garrison as President was, I think, an excellent idea, and it was entirely "my thunder." He "*nolo episcopari*'d" a little at first, but was prevailed upon to accept the crown. Garrison makes an excellent president at a public meeting where the order of speakers is in some measure arranged, as he has great felicity in introducing and interlocuting remarks; but at a meeting for debate he does not answer so well, as he is rather too apt, with all the innocence and simplicity in the world, to do all the talking himself. This, however, we shall arrange by having Francis Jackson to act as V. P. on such occasions. It seemed necessary to do something to define the position of the Am. Society, as Lewis Tappan had

[1] This was, in effect, to acknowledge and confirm the leadership of the "Mass. Board (which, with all due modesty be it said, gives the tone to the anti-slavery of the country)" (MS. Jan. 30, 1844, E. Quincy to R. D. Webb.)

actually had the face to propose to James Gibbons a *union* meeting at our anniversary, and Leavitt had said in the *Emancipator* that the Society would probably have to call in the help of the old Committee to keep it alive! I thought Garrison's election as President would be as effectual a way [as possible] of telling them and everybody else whereabouts we stood. His nomination was received with a burst of applause.

J. Leavitt.

The question of who should be editor of the *Standard* was also one of great importance. Great opposition was made to David Lee Child on account of his bias towards Whiggery, but the matter was referred to the Executive Committee to do the best they could in the premises. The meeting went off with the greatest harmony possible. Wendell Phillips's speech at the public anniversary was one of the most magnificent orations I ever heard or read.

As every act by which Northern freemen were protected in their liberties was regarded by the South as an infringement of the Constitution, the progress of disunion was considerable in the year 1843. Massachusetts passed, in answer to the Latimer petition, a Personal Liberty Act forbidding judges and justices to take part in the capture of fugitive slaves, and sheriffs, jailors, and constables to detain them. The Governor of Vermont recommended a similar measure. Maine rejected it, as being tantamount to disunion; but imitated Massachusetts in appointing an agent to protect the State's colored seamen in Southern ports.[1]

Lib. 13:55.

Lib. 13:34.

Lib. 13:170.

Lib. 13:65.

Lib. 13:45, 50, 74, 183.

In his admirable report recommending a Personal Liberty Act, Charles Francis Adams said: "It is the slave representation which . . . is effecting, by slow but sure degrees, the overthrow of all the noble principles that were embodied in the Federal Constitution." Joint resolves were accordingly passed by the Massachusetts Legislature, praying that the clause of the Constitution

Lib. 13:35.

[1] A memorial of Boston shipowners to Congress on this subject elicited a report from the Committee on Commerce (Robert C. Winthrop of Massachusetts, chairman), affirming the unconstitutionality of the Southern laws by which colored seamen were arrested and kept in jail while their vessels lay in port, and sold as slaves if charges were not paid. But the House refused leave to print it (*Lib.* 13:24, 26, 30; 15:7).

providing for the representation of slaves might be removed from that instrument;[1] and these were presented to Congress — in the House by the elder Adams, and not received. In the Senate they were received with reluctance, and leave to print was refused. King of Alabama termed them "a proposition to dissolve the Union," and so did the General Assembly of Virginia in a counter memorial, which was promptly printed by the Senate.

Lib. 13:206; 14:21, 27.

Lib. 14:38.

Lib. 14:21, 27.

Lib. 14:42.

John Quincy Adams, in conjunction with Giddings, Slade, Gates, Borden, and Hiland Hall, had, earlier in the year, issued an address to the people of the free States, warning them that an attempt would be made at the next session of Congress to annex Texas. The "real design and object of the South," they declared, "is to add new weight to her end of the lever. . . . We hesitate not to say that annexation, effected by any act or proceeding of the Federal Government or any of its departments, would be identical with dissolution"—as being in violation of the national compact. "We not only assert that the people of the free States 'ought not to submit to it,' but we say, with confidence, *they would not submit to it.*"[2]

Lib. 13:78.

[1] Mr. Garrison had proposed this a dozen years before *(ante,* 1:264).

[2] William Slade, elected Governor of Vermont in 1844, discussed annexation at great length in his message to the Legislature, saying: "Upon the consummation of the threatened measure, I do not hesitate to say that it would be the duty of Vermont to declare her unalterable determination to have no connection with the new Union, thus formed without her consent and against her will. To carry out this determination would not be to dissolve the Union, but to refuse to submit to its dissolution — not to nullify, but to resist nullification" *(Lib.* 14:170). And John Quincy Adams, in an address at North Bridgewater, Nov. 6, 1844, held this language: "The hero [Andrew Jackson, *Lib.* 14:181] enquires, who but a traitor to his country could appeal, as I have done, to the youth of Boston [*Lib.* 14:169] to oppose by arms the decision of the American people, should it be favorable to the annexation of Texas to the United States. . . . No! the people of the United States will never sanction the annexation of Texas, unless under the delusion of such fables as the Erving treaty [*Lib.* 14:165, 169, 182]; and if the faction of its inventor, invested with the power of the nation, should consummate the nefarious scheme, by the semblance of the people's approbation, to imbrue their hands in blood for wicked conquest and the perpetuation and propagation of slavery, then I say to you my constituents, as I said to the young men of Boston: Burnish your armor — prepare for conflict — and, in the language of Galgacus to the ancient Britons, think

So Judge Jay, about to sail for Europe, wrote to Gerrit Smith: "Rather than be in union with Texas, let the confederation be shivered. My voice, my efforts will be for dissolution, if Texas be annexed." "We go one step further," commented Mr. Garrison, "DISSOLUTION NOW, Texas out of the question." The sequel will show which of these classes of disunionists had root, and which would wither away before the glare of the Slave Power. But it may be noticed here that the group of anti-slavery Whigs led by Adams, who were content with the Union as it had been formed, and even as it had been altered by the admission of fresh slave States, but drew the line at Texas, did not find an enthusiastic response to their disunion menace in the Liberty Party.

Lib. 13: 191; *cf. Lib.* 15: 58, [62].

Lib. 15: 82.

Lib. 13: 191.

As usual, Mr. Garrison's mind had been occupied with many subjects besides that which claimed his chief attention. Great was the popular fermentation over Millerism, which drew off many abolitionists from the ranks, including Charles Fitch and J. V. Himes, and was controverted by the editor of the *Liberator* in two elaborate articles. Communism and socialism also diverted many. In June, Mr. Garrison attended as a spectator two meetings, in the Chardon-Street Chapel, "for the discussion of the questions pertaining to the reorganization of society and the rights of property," in which Collins took a leading part. He heard nothing which attracted him to the doctrines advocated.[1] A few weeks previously he had replied to

MSS. Mar. 31, 1843, *M. W. Chapman to H. C. Wright; June* 27, *E. Quincy to R. D. Webb; Lib.* 13: 23, 27. *Lib.* 13: 91.

of your forefathers — think of your posterity!" (*Lib.* 14 : 182.) Compare the position taken by Josiah Quincy in the House of Representatives, speaking to the bill for the admission of Louisiana, Jan. 14, 1811: "I am compelled to declare it as my deliberate opinion that, if this bill passes, the bonds of this Union are virtually dissolved; that the States which compose it are free from their moral obligations, and that, as it will be the right of all, so it will be the duty of some, to prepare definitely for a separation — amicably if they can, violently if they must" ('Life of Josiah Quincy,' p. 206).

[1] On Dec. 16, 1843, Mr. Garrison wrote to H. C. Wright in Dublin (MS.): "John A. Collins is almost entirely absorbed in his 'Community' project at Skaneateles, and is therefore unable to do much directly for the anti-slavery cause. He goes for a community of interest, and against all individual possessions, whether of land or its fruits — of labor or its products; but he does not act very consistently with his principles, though he says

some urging for an expression of his views on "the property question": "We can only say that we have, at present, 'no thunder' to expend upon its discussion, *pro* or *con*, for reasons that are satisfactory to our own mind. We hope to be always ready to give our coöperation to every Christian and feasible attempt 'to regenerate and redeem our species,' come what may." In December, Charles Burleigh saw him at the Fourierite Convention of Friends of Social Reform held in Boston, where he spoke, "and spoke well, but not in accordance with the views of the Community leaders." Capital punishment, too, was a frequent topic of the *Liberator's* editorial page, owing to a rather flagrant clerical demonstration in support of it — so that the Massachusetts Legislature was satirically petitioned to make the hangman's office a ministerial perquisite. Finally, amid all these phases of opinion, a revolution was taking place which is thus described in a letter of Edmund Quincy's to R. D. Webb:

Lib. 13:47.

Lib. 13:195, 14:3; *MS. Dec.* 29, 1843, *Burleigh to J. M. McKim.*

Lib. 13:23, 35, 38, 39, 63; 14:23.

"I am told that Garrison's opinions, as well as Rogers's, have been greatly modified of late with regard to the Bible. He is pretty well satisfied that God has not grown wiser by experience, and that he did not command people to cut their brothers' throats a thousand years before he commanded them to love one another. As a man I rejoice at his progress, but I don't know whether I do as an abolitionist. It was so convenient to be able to reply to those who were calling him infidel, that he believed as much as anybody, and swallowed the whole Bible in a lump, from Genesis to Revelation, both included. They say that in Connecticut they always keep one member of every pious family unconverted to do their wicked work for them. I suppose my policy is something of the same sort."

MS. Nov. 27, 1843.

Cf. ante, 2:426.

he does the best he can in the present state of society. He holds, with Robert Owen, that man is the creature of circumstances, and therefore not deserving of praise or blame for what he does — a most absurd and demoralizing doctrine, in my opinion, which will make shipwreck of any man or any scheme under its guidance, in due season. Still, it cannot be denied that circumstances are often very unfavorable to the development of man's faculties and moral nature; and if, by a reorganization of society, these can be rendered more favorable,— as doubtless they can,— let it take place. But it is an internal rather than an outward reorganization that is needed to put away the evil that is in the world." Compare *Lib.* 14:3, 168.

CHAPTER IV.

"No Union with Slaveholders!"—1844.

MS. Jan. 30, 1844, to R. D. Webb.

"GARRISON'S favorite hobby of the Dissolution of the Union," as Quincy dubbed the doctrine slowly evolving in the abolition mind, was discussed in Faneuil

Jan. 24–27, 1844.

Hall and at the State House at the twelfth annual meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. Quincy himself reported, for the business committee,

Lib. 14:18.

resolves deeming it "the only true and consistent position to withhold support and sanction from the Constitution of the United States; and to present to the consciences of our countrymen the duty of dissolving their connexion with the Government, until it shall have abolished slavery." Stephen Foster presented an elabo-

Lib. 14:18.

rate protest as of the Massachusetts Society against the Constitution and the Union, which was ordered printed.

Lib. 14:18.

Mr. Garrison was at the front with a resolution, "that the ballot-box is not an anti-slavery, but a pro-slavery, argument, so long as it is surrounded by the U. S. Constitution, which forbids all approach to it except on condition that the voter shall surrender fugitive slaves — suppress negro insurrections — sustain a piratical representation in Congress, and regard man-stealers as equally eligible with the truest friends of human freedom and equality to any or all the offices under the United States Government." Later in the proceedings, he intro-

Lib. 14:19.

duced and maintained other resolutions condemning the nature, and showing the natural consequences, of the "bloody compromise" on which the Constitution was founded, and urging the duty of withdrawing allegiance

to the compact and, "by a moral and peaceful revolution," effecting its overthrow. CHAP. IV. 1844.

No action was taken upon any of these, owing to the diminished attendance at the close of the meetings, but the Society was unmistakably in accord with the policy of the future. It followed Mr. Garrison in renewing the testimony against the Liberty Party, and specifically (in this Presidential year) against its candidate, J. G. Birney, as well as against Henry Clay, the predestined nominee of the Whig Party, and Calhoun and Van Buren, possible candidates of the Democratic Party. *Lib.* 14:19. *Lib.* 14:19.

"The behavior of the Society in all these circumstances was admirable," wrote Edmund Quincy to R. D. Webb, "and showed that it perfectly understood itself and what was going on. I never felt more relieved and satisfied at the adjournment of any meeting since that of 1839, when the real battle of New and Old Organization was fought, the question being the accepting of Garrison's Report. We instituted a series of a Hundred Conventions in Massachusetts,[1] which will suffice to open the eyes of any who need enlightenment as to the true character of the Liberty Party. If it cannot control and use them, it will do all in its power to thwart them and destroy their effect. *MS. Jan.* 30, 1844. *Ante*, 2:272-275. *Lib.* 14:18.

"John Quincy Adams occupied a good deal of time,[2] and D. L. Child made an unfortunate show of zeal in defending his A. S. character — a character which Mr. A. has always, and very emphatically in his last speech, disclaimed. Thomas Earle of Philadelphia (who is about as rabid a Democrat as Child is a Whig, though with more command of his prejudices) and Garrison brought up a mass of facts respecting him which surprised me by their amount.[3] One of the most remarkable proofs of the profligacy of the Third Party is the adopting of Mr. A. as their candidate, virtually, by not setting up one of their own in *Lib.* 14:19. *Lib.* 13:206. *Ante*, 2:343. *Lib.* 14:19, 46.

[1] In imitation of the grand double series of a Hundred Conventions engineered by the American Society the year before in the Middle and Western States — Collins's farewell impulse to the anti-slavery movement (*Lib.* 13: 95, 139, 143, 155, and see Sydney Howard Gay's review in *Lib.* 14: 11, 15). These Massachusetts Conventions became the natural vehicle of the disunion propaganda.

[2] *Videlicet*, as a topic, not in person.

[3] Mr. Child himself, in a letter to the *Standard*, confessed the weight of Mr. Garrison's arraignment of Adams (*Lib.* 14: 26).

CHAP. IV. 1844.

his District, and thus procuring his election, although they profess that they can support no man but one belonging to their party, and especially aim their blows at the Whigs and friends of Clay. Now Mr. Adams is a Whig, a supporter of Clay, a repudiator of Liberty Party, rejects Immediate Emancipation as impracticable and unjust, declares that he will vote against the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia and in Florida, denounces abolitionists and the A. S. agitation; and while he admits that slavery can be abolished by a change of the Constitution, all that he has ever done towards it was to ask leave at the last moment of a session, four years ago, when another member had possession of the House, to offer an amendment providing for the emancipation of all slaves born after 1850! He was refused permission to offer his amendment then, and has never proposed it since, such as it is, though he has had four years to do it in! And yet Leavitt claims him as one of his men, and Whittier, in a letter to Sturge, in one of the last *B. & F. Reporters*, describes him, in effect, as the leader of the A. S. movement, and gives the British public to understand that he is the head of the Liberty Party!"[1]

Ante, 2: 325.

Joseph Sturge.

In a letter from Boston to the *Standard*, reviewing the annual meeting, Mr. Child wrote that, as to disunion, he was convinced his repugnance to discussing the subject had been wrong. It was a duty to discuss it. "I can see plainly," he said, "that the doctrine of 'Repeal,' as it is called, is gaining, and must gain, ground. With me it is a question of time. I am in favor of dissolution if we cannot have abolition, and that at a day not very distant; but I could wish to see all reasonable means used of reforming before we destroy the Constitution." But no means could be reasonable where the attainment of the object was hopeless in the nature of things. The shallowest observer of the Southern temper, from the very outset of the anti-slavery agitation, ought to have perceived that any Constitutional change adverse to slavery, and diminishing by one jot or tittle its hold upon the direction of the general Government, would, before it

Lib. 14: 26.

Cf. ante, 1: 303, 304.

[1] The real head (or figure-head) of that party, J. G. Birney, having exposed Adams's erratic course on the subject of slavery, Leavitt expressly dissented from his chief (*Lib.* 14: 45). They were at one in opposition to disunion on any pretext (*Lib.* 17: 14).

could be consummated, be the signal for a violent disruption of the Union. The election of Lincoln in 1860 did not touch the Constitution, nor did it avowedly or necessarily involve any amendment of that instrument; yet the Slave Power refused to live for a single hour under a régime pledged only to the Constitutional restriction of the area of slavery. In this very year, 1844, toasts were drunk on the Fourth of July in South Carolina to "Texas or Disunion"; and there and in Alabama a convention of the slaveholding States was demanded, "to count the cost and value of the Federal Union." Thomas H. Benton openly denounced annexation, not *per se*, but as being an actual cover for a disunion conspiracy.

Lib. 14: 129, 141.

Lib. 14: 129, 142.

Lib. 14: 142.

The policy of seeking anti-slavery amendments to the Constitution Mr. Garrison had relegated to the limbo to which he had long ago consigned that of addressing moral appeals to slaveholders. His *Liberator* call for the tenth anniversary of the American Society now unhesitatingly made the repeal of the Union a main object of rallying to New York. The results of this meeting, which lasted three days, were tersely summed up by Francis Jackson in a letter to N. P. Rogers: "The principal things we did were to mend up the Constitution of our Society, and do what we could to break down the Constitution of the Union. . . . The Executive Committee was located in Boston, and this afternoon we shall muster our crew, and hoist anchor for another voyage." Wendell Phillips led off with resolutions affirming "that the only exodus of the slave to freedom, unless it be one of blood, must be over the ruins of the present American Church and the grave of the present Union;" "that the abolitionists of this country should make it one of the primary objects of their agitation, to dissolve the American Union;" and again, "that secession from the present United States Government is the duty of every abolitionist; since no one can take office, or throw a vote for another to hold office, under the U. S. Constitution, without violating his anti-slavery principles, and rendering himself an abettor of the slaveholder in his sin."

Ante, 1: 188.

Lib. 14: 59.

May 7–9, 1844.

MS. May 12, 1844.

Lib. 14: [82]; *N. Y. Independent*, *May* 29, 1884, *p.* 3.

Lib. 14: [82].

Mr. Garrison's part was a written address to the Friends of Freedom in the United States. This document, in view of the first decade of the Society's existence, undertook a fresh declaration of its principles — first, as regards slavery, "that it ought to be immediately and forever abolished;" and as regards the existing national compact, "that it is 'a covenant with death and an agreement with hell,'" and that "henceforth, therefore, until slavery be abolished, the watchword, the rallying-cry, the motto on the banner of the American Anti-Slavery Society shall be, 'NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS!'" "To accomplish this sublime resolution, the Society registers its sacred pledge" — to continue its agitation on the above lines:

Lib. 14: [82].

Ante, p. 33.

"5. To give no countenance to any political party which is in favor of continuing in alliance with the slaveholding States, or which is for allowing slaveholders to act [sit?] in the national halls of legislation, or for entrusting them with any of the interests of freemen.

"6. To persuade Northern voters, that the strongest political influence which they can wield for the overthrow of slavery, is, to cease sustaining the existing compact, by withdrawing from the polls, and calmly waiting for the time when a righteous government shall supersede the institutions of tyranny.

"8. To endeavor to effect, by all just and peaceful means, such a change in the public sentiment of the North as shall convince the South that nothing but the immediate abolition of slavery can make us a united people."[1]

Lib. 14: 79, [82], 87.

This paper, together with Mr. Phillips's resolutions, was adopted by the Society by a large majority, after vigorous opposition from all quarters — Ellis Gray Loring, David Lee Child, Joseph Southwick, Abner Sanger,

[1] So Washington, in a conversation at Mt. Vernon in 1798 with John Bernard, a highly intelligent English comedian, remarked of (gradual) emancipation: "Not only do I pray for it on the score of human dignity, but I can clearly foresee that nothing but the rooting out of slavery can perpetuate the existence of our Union, by consolidating it in a common bond of principle" (Bernard's 'Retrospections of America,' New York, 1887, p. 91).

William A. White,[1] etc., from the East; Arnold Buffum, from the West; Thomas Earle, with C. C. Burleigh and J. M. McKim, editors of the *Pennsylvania Freeman*, and Thomas S. Cavender of Philadelphia; and James S. Gibbons of New York. Mr. Child, in accordance with a notice already given, withdrew from the editorship of the *Standard*, and was replaced by a committee of three, consisting of Sydney Howard Gay,[2] office editor, Edmund Quincy, and Mrs. Chapman. He joined in the protests formally entered against the new policy by some of those whose names have just been given. The nature of the objections will appear from the following extracts from Mr. Garrison's rejoinder through the *Liberator*, on his return to Boston:

Lib. 14: [82]. *All three protests.*

"1. To the objection, that the action of the Society virtually does away with the rights of conscience of its members, and narrows the anti-slavery platform, we reply, that this charge can be sustained only by showing that none are allowed to retain their membership in the Society excepting those who subscribe to the action alluded to. But no such test is required — the Constitution remains unaltered — the platform remains the same as hitherto — as a condition of membership, nothing more is required than an assent to the doctrine, that slaveholding is

[1] Of Watertown, Mass., a graduate of Harvard College in 1838, an ardent abolitionist, and most zealous and generous promoter of the temperance cause, as lecturer and journalist (*Lib.* 27: 92).

[2] Wendell Phillips wrote to Elizabeth Pease in October, 1844 (MS.): "The *tri*-editorship was *my* plan, and *Gay* my peculiar selection. Don't you like him?" Of this colleague, "a very well-looking man of about thirty," Quincy writes to Webb (MS. June 14, 1844): "He has not been much heard of in the cause, but has been engaged in it for several years. He belongs to one of the best of our New England families (in the Old World sense of good family — hereditary gentility, successive generations who have not demeaned themselves by doing anything useful), and is a man of excellent talents, good taste, and good education. . . . Last summer he accompanied the agents of one of the series of the Hundred Western Conventions as a volunteer, receiving only his travelling expenses. He also attended our Hundred Massachusetts Conventions, so that he has had some experience in the field. He was also for a time the editor of the village paper published in Hingham [Mass.], so that he is not without some knowledge of the details of a newspaper establishment. He is, moreover, in perfect unity with the *Boston Clique*, which is a great thing, you may be sure."

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a sin against God, and ought to be immediately abandoned; and, therefore, this objection falls to the ground. Is the Society to adopt only that course of action which shall at all times obtain an unanimous vote? Then it can make no progress, for its reformative power is lost. There may, there must, be unanimity of sentiment in regard to the *principles* of our enterprise; but in the application of those principles to existing religious and political institutions, similar unanimity is not to be expected, nor required as a condition of membership — and the minority of this year may be the majority of the next.

Protest of Wm. A. White. Ante, p. 29.

"2. It is objected, that it is the adoption of a creed. No more than the declaration, that 'the American churches are the bulwarks of slavery'; that the Whig and Democratic parties ought to be abandoned as pro-slavery; that no abolitionist can consistently support a pro-slavery clergyman, or continue in Christian fellowship with a pro-slavery church, or vote for Henry Clay or Martin Van Buren. No more than a thousand similar opinions which have been expressed, from time to time, by anti-slavery societies and at anti-slavery meetings, in all parts of the free States. Are these opinions to be stifled because all who belong to those societies, or who profess to be abolitionists, are not ready for their adoption? And because a majority feel bound to utter them, is it for the minority to complain that such utterance is a trespass on their rights of conscience? Have the majority no such rights? — and when they are called upon to suppress their convictions of duty, to gratify the minority, do not the latter interfere with the rights of conscience? Is not the argument 'as broad as it is long'? But, the truth is, no proscription is implied or intended; nothing invidious is meant. The majority may err, and the minority may be in the right, in regard to particular propositions or modes of action; but this does not alter the platform on which both parties stand; and where there is honesty of purpose, in due season experience will prove whose views are most worthy of unanimous approval. Besides, what is the creed that is objected to? It is all summed up in a single sentence: — 'NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS!' How would it read: — '*Union with tyrants, for the preservation and extension of liberty!*' What fellowship has light with darkness? and how can Christ and Belial belong to the same government, and coöperate together for the promotion of righteousness in the earth?

"5. The minority 'regard the proposition [of disunion] as impracticable.' If the people of the United States are free

agents, then what they have done they can undo.[1] They have 'made a covenant with death'—that covenant they can abrogate. 'With hell they are at agreement'—from it they can withdraw their countenance. The proposition may be, and really is, impracticable to those who feel unwilling or unable to support it; but not to those who hail it as eternal truth, as the true anti-slavery issue, as the ground of safety and success—and who, by their deeds, are resolved to show that it is a duty which can be easily performed in the strength of conscious rectitude. The objection that it is 'impracticable' may only mean that, in the opinion of the protestants, no considerable portion of the people can ever be persuaded to adopt it. We conceive that our obligation to do a righteous act is not at all dependent on the question whether we shall succeed in carrying the multitude with us. Of one thing we are sure, that we may not innocently go with them to do evil. Broad is the road that leads to death, and many there be that walk therein. Some of our friends who look on this revolutionary step as 'impracticable' were as strongly persuaded, at the formation of the New England Anti-Slavery Society, that the doctrine of immediate and unconditional emancipation was futile, 'intolerant, and presumptuous'; but they were not long in discovering their mistake, and they rectified it with penitent and grateful hearts. So we trust it will prove in the present case. When

Protest of D. L. Child, E. G. Loring, J. Southwick, J. S. Gibbons, etc.

D. L. Child, E. G. Loring; ante, 1: 279.

[1] Wm. H. Channing wrote to Mr. Garrison from New York on May 12, 1844 *(Lib.* 14: [83]): "The Confederation was adopted by the 'People of the United States.' And when this bond was found insufficient, the 'People of the United States' it was who assented to, ratified, and established the Constitution as the Supreme Law. *The adoption of the Constitution did not make us a Nation. We as a Nation adopted the Constitution.* This is a most important point. The 'People of the United States,' by a Sovereign Right, under God, established this Constitution; the 'People of the United States,' by the same Sovereign Right, having found that this Constitution, in place of 'securing a more perfect Union, and establishing justice,' &c., has *broken our Union,* and *established injustice,* &c. (vide Preamble to the Constitution), can pass on from that Constitution, thus proved imperfect, to a higher and better one, as they did from the Confederacy. AND THE END IN VIEW SHALL STILL BE UNION, NOT DISUNION. . . . This is not schismatic, nor treacherous, nor nullifying; it is legitimate, and right, and reasonable. . . . In demanding that the 'People of the United States' be faithful to their professed principles, they [the abolitionists] assume a Positive position, and throw the odium of mere Negation and Opposition upon the Slaveholder. The Rectitude of this is plain, and the Policy of it is equally so. *It puts the Slaveholder in his true place as the Disunionist;* it exposes to the world that the only actual disturbing element in our Union is our injustice to our colored brethren."

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the doctrine of teetotalism was first advocated, to all but a clear-sighted, adventurous few it seemed utterly chimerical. How is it now regarded? Now, it seems to us that the doctrines referred to are not more consonant with reason and duty than that which requires freemen to have 'NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS.'

Protest of Child, Loring, Southwick, Gibbons, etc.

"6. The protestants 'regard the proposition as calculated to impair the character and influence of the Society.' The American Anti-Slavery Society has never had any character, except for fanaticism; and never can have any, safely, until the trumpet of jubilee sounds throughout the land. Our prophecy is, that while the new position which it has assumed will subject the Society to fresh contumely and derision, for a time, posterity will regard it with special admiration and gratitude; and universal tyranny shall feel it as a blow struck by the hand of omnipotence. The 'influence' of the Society has been just in proportion to its faith in God, its fidelity to its principles, its readiness to be without reputation. We believe it now occupies the highest defensible ground against the enemy.

Protest of T. Earle and A. Buffum.

"7. It is objected, that this is 'precisely the course which all the crafty advocates of slavery would wish us to pursue.' This is empty assertion — and the facts that have already transpired prove it to be equally fallacious. What rage and consternation were excited in Congress on the presentation of the famous Haverhill petition for a peaceful dissolution of the Union! How did 'the crafty advocates of slavery' gnaw their tongues for pain, and cry out, as did kindred spirits of old, that they were tormented before their time! How did it extort the confession from the lips of Southern Senators and Representatives, that a dissolution of the Union would be a dissolution of slavery! How effectually has it silenced Southern bluster, and humbled Southern audacity, in regard to a separation! And now that the American Anti-Slavery Society calls for secession — now that a host of the foremost and most unflinching advocates of emancipation are ready to sound the tocsin of disunion — now that the motto on the anti-slavery banner is, 'NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS!'— is it to be credited that they who quailed before the solitary petition from Haverhill, signed by some thirty individuals, will now rejoice and take courage? 'O, most lame and impotent conclusion!' But let time determine this.

Ante, p. 46.

Protest of Earle and Buffum.

"9. It is 'in opposition to the evident doctrine of the constitution of the Society.' But that constitution provides for the

use of all moral and legal means for the overthrow of slavery; and these are embodied in the doctrine of secession from the Government.[1]

Protest of Earle and Buffum.

"11. It is urged that the ground of disunion 'is an attack upon the conscientious convictions of the minority, of the same character as that which is said to have been formerly attempted by new organizationists, but repudiated by this Society — they having proposed to decide that it was the moral duty of every abolitionist in the country to go to the polls and vote for public officers, and the present measure being a decision that it is the duty of all abolitionists to abstain from such voting.' Here we have a comparison of cases, but there is no analogy between them. The fact is, that, though James G. Birney and a few others advocated the moral duty of voting, the question was never presented to the American A. S. Society for its consideration. The division in 1840 took place in consequence of Abby Kelley being placed on a business committee, and the refusal of the Society to put a padlock on the lips of any of its members who might feel moved to speak in behalf of 'the suffering and the dumb.' Besides, the ground assumed by Birney and his abettors was, not simply that voting was an *anti-slavery* duty, but that it should be recognized as a religious obligation at all times, and this bloody and atheistical government as having a divine origin and approval! This creed they wanted abolitionists to swallow before they should be allowed to occupy the anti-slavery platform as those in 'regular standing.' It was justly regarded by the bone and muscle of our enterprise as a proscriptive and unjustifiable measure, resorted to evidently for an evil purpose, and urged out of no regard for the onward march of emancipation, as the sequel has fully proved. It is now charged, as an equally heinous offence, that the Society has decided 'that it is the duty of all abolitionists to abstain from voting.' True — *voting to sustain a blood-cemented Union and a pro-slavery Constitution* — but not true in regard to the abstract question of voting, or of the form of government which is in harmony with the will of God and the freedom of the human mind. A wide difference.

Ante, 2: 348, 349.

1 Mrs. Chapman patly recalled the passage in the Declaration of Sentiments of 1833 *(ante*, 1 : 411), in which Mr. Garrison, after having described the pro-slavery obligations of the North under the Constitution — in other words, having characterized the Union — concluded: "This relation to slavery is criminal, and full of danger: IT MUST BE BROKEN UP" *(Lib.* 14 : 171).

Protest of Earle and Buffum.

"13. It is argued, that 'if voting under the Constitution be a criminal participation in slavery, the paying of taxes under it is equally so.' Without stopping to show that there is a fallacy in this argument, we reply, that, in the common use and understanding of the terms, no seceder will ever again pay *taxes* to the Government while it upholds slavery. He may consent peaceably to yield up what is demanded of him, but not without remonstrance, and only as he would give up his purse to a highwayman. He will not recognize it as a lawful tax — he will not pay it as a tax — but will denounce it as robbery and oppression.

Protest of Earle and Buffum.

"17. The last objection urged by the protestants is, that 'it proposes to dissolve the American Union, and our membership of it, before having petitioned for a change of the objectionable features of the American Constitution.' Of what avail is it to petition when the right of petition is denied and trampled in the dust? What is it but to mock us to say, when we are treated as outlaws, and slavery reigns over the land, that we have not gone through certain worthless forms before declaring that we will not any longer 'walk in the counsel of the ungodly, nor stand in the way of sinners, nor sit in the seat of the scornful'? It is enough that the Government is powerless to protect us — nay, that it gives us up to destruction — nay, more, that it keeps in chains, as beasts of burden, three millions of the people. As *Gen.* 19:17. the angels said to Lot, 'Escape for thy life! — look not behind thee, neither stay thou in all the plain: escape to the mountain, lest thou be consumed!' — so are we to 'come out' and be sep- *Isa.* 26:13. arate, in the spirit of heavenly allegiance exclaiming, 'O Lord our God, other lords beside thee have had dominion over us; but by thee only will we make mention of thy name.' How appli- *Isa.* 8:11-14. cable the language of Isaiah to the present emergency! — 'For the Lord spake thus to me with a strong hand, and instructed me that I should not walk in the way of this people, saying, Say ye not, *A confederacy*, to all them to whom this people shall say, *A confederacy;* neither fear ye their fear, nor be afraid. Sanctify the Lord of hosts himself; and let him be your fear, and let him be your dread; and he shall be for a sanctuary.'

"We have thus examined every objection brought by the protestants against the action of the Parent Society, as far as our narrow limits will permit — with what success, our readers must decide. The more we weigh this matter, the stronger grows our conviction that the true issue is now made, that abolitionists should take a revolutionary position, and that

the watchword in our ranks should be, 'NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS!'" CHAP. IV. 1844.

The Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society lost no time in publishing a formal statement of the disunion position, in an Address to the Friends of Freedom and Emancipation in the United States. This document, signed by Mr. Garrison as President, was mainly from his pen, with the probable collaboration of his co-signers, the Secretaries, Wendell Phillips and Mrs. Chapman. It drew justification for a measure confessedly revolutionary from the Declaration of Independence and the consequent revolt against the despotism of England. The far greater despotism of the existing national Government — "a guilty compromise between the free and slaveholding States"— was alleged and demonstrated. *Lib.* 14:86.

"II. The American Constitution is the exponent of the national compact. We affirm that it is an instrument which no man can innocently bind himself to support, because its anti-republican and anti-Christian requirements are explicit and peremptory;—at least, so explicit that, in regard to all the clauses pertaining to slavery, they have been uniformly understood and enforced in the same way by all the courts and by all the people; and so peremptory that no individual interpretation or authority can set them aside with impunity. It is not a ball of clay, to be moulded into any shape that party contrivance or caprice may choose it to assume. It is not a form of words, to be interpreted in any manner, or to any extent, or for the accomplishment of any purpose, that individuals in office under it may determine. *It means precisely what those who framed and adopted it meant* — NOTHING MORE, NOTHING LESS, *as a matter of bargain and compromise.* Even if it can be construed to mean something else, without violence to its language, such construction is not to be tolerated *against the wishes of either party.* No just or honest use of it can be made, in opposition to the plain intention of its framers, *except to declare the contract at an end, and to refuse to serve under it.*[1] *Lib.* 14:86.

1 "Every man that is called upon to administer the Constitution of the United States, or act under it in any respect, is bound, in honor, and faith, and duty, to take it in its ordinary acceptation, and to act upon it as it was understood by those who framed it, and received by the people when they

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"To the argument, that the words 'slaves' and 'slaveholders' are not to be found in the Constitution, and therefore that it was never intended to give any protection or countenance to the slave system, it is sufficient to reply, that though no such words are contained in that instrument, other words were used, intelligently and specifically, TO MEET THE NECESSITIES OF SLAVERY; and that these were adopted *in good faith, to be observed until a constitutional change could be effected.* On this point, as to the design of certain provisions, no intelligent man can honestly entertain a doubt. If it be objected, that though these provisions were meant to cover slavery, yet, as they can fairly be interpreted to mean something exactly the reverse, it is allowable to give them such an interpretation, *especially as the cause of freedom will thereby be promoted* — we reply, that this is to advocate fraud and violence toward one of the contracting parties, *whose coöperation was secured only by an express agreement and understanding between them both, in regard to the clauses alluded to;* and that such a construction, if enforced by pains and penalties, would unquestionably lead to a civil war, in which the aggrieved party would justly claim to have been betrayed and robbed of their constitutional rights.

"Again, if it be said that those clauses, being immoral, are null and void — we reply, it is true they are not to be observed; but it is also true that they are portions of an instrument the support of which, AS A WHOLE, is required by oath or affirmation; and, therefore, *because they are immoral*, and BECAUSE OF THIS OBLIGATION TO ENFORCE IMMORALITY, no one can innocently swear to support the Constitution.

"Again, if it be objected that the Constitution was formed by the people of the United States in order to establish justice, to promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to themselves and their posterity, and therefore it is to be so construed as to harmonize with these objects; we reply, again, that its language is *not to be interpreted in a sense which*

adopted it, and as it has been practised upon since, through all administrations of the Government" (Daniel Webster at Philadelphia, Dec. 2, 1846. 'Works,' 2 : 312). "On the subject of our relations with the South and its slavery, we must — as I have always thought — do one of two things: either keep honestly the bargain of the Constitution, as it shall be interpreted by the authorities to whom we have agreed to confide its interpretation, — of which the Supreme Court of the United States is the chief and safest, — or declare honestly that we can no longer in our consciences consent to keep it, and break it" (George Ticknor to W. E. Channing, Apr. 20, 1842. 'Life of Ticknor,' 2 : 200).

neither of the contracting parties understood, and which would frustrate the very design of their alliance — to wit, *union at the expense of the colored population of the country*. Moreover, nothing is more certain than that the preamble alluded to never included, in the minds of those who framed it, *those who were then pining in bondage* — for, in that case, a general emancipation of the slaves would have instantly been proclaimed throughout the United States. The words, 'secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity,' assuredly meant only the white population. 'To promote the general welfare,' referred to their own welfare exclusively. 'To establish justice,' was understood to be for their sole benefit as slaveholders and the guilty abettors of slavery. This is demonstrated by other parts of the same instrument, and by their own practice under it.

"We would not detract aught from what is justly their due; but it is as reprehensible to give them credit for *what they did not possess*, as it is to rob them of what is theirs. It is absurd, it is false, it is an insult to the common sense of mankind, to pretend that the Constitution was intended to embrace the entire population of the country under its sheltering wings; or that the parties to it were actuated by a sense of justice and the spirit of impartial liberty; or that it needs no alteration, but only a new interpretation, to make it harmonize with the object aimed at by its adoption. As truly might it be argued, that because it is asserted in the Declaration of Independence that all men are created equal, and endowed with an inalienable right to liberty, therefore none of its signers were slaveholders, and, since its adoption, slavery has been banished from the American soil! The truth is, our fathers were intent on securing liberty *to themselves*, without being very scrupulous as to the means they used to accomplish their purpose. They were not actuated by the spirit of universal philanthropy; and though *in words* they recognized occasionally the brotherhood of the human race, *in practice* they continually denied it. They did not blush to enslave a portion of their fellow-men, and to buy and sell them as cattle in the market, while they were fighting against the oppression of the mother country, and boasting of their regard for the rights of man. Why, then, concede to them virtues which they did not possess? *Why cling to the falsehood, that they were no respecters of persons in the formation of the Government?* Alas! that they had no more fear of God, no more regard for man, in their hearts! 'The iniquity of the house of *Ezek.* 9:9.

CHAP. IV. 1844. Israel and Judah [the North and the South] is exceeding great, and the land is full of blood, and the city full of perverseness; for they say, The Lord hath forsaken the earth, and the Lord seeth not.'"

This strict construction — of which the South might have applauded the integrity and legality (but for the conclusion, deadly to slavery), and which it would now be obsolete and ridiculous to controvert — was followed in the Address by a critical examination of the pro-slavery compromises of the Constitution. We pass, instead, direct to the closing passages:

Lib. 14:87. "The form of government that shall succeed the present government of the United States, let time determine. It would be a waste of time to argue that question until the people are regenerated and turned from their iniquity. Ours is no anarchical movement, but one of order and obedience. In ceasing from oppression, we establish liberty. What is now fragmentary shall in due time be crystallized, and shine like a gem set in the heavens, for a light to all coming ages.

"Finally, we believe that the effect of this movement will be —

"First, to create discussion and agitation throughout the North; and these will lead to a general perception of its grandeur and importance.

"Secondly, to convulse the slumbering South like an earthquake, and convince her that her only alternative is to abolish slavery, or be abandoned by that power on which she now relies for safety.

"Thirdly, to attack the Slave Power in its most vulnerable point, and to carry the battle to the gate.

"Fourthly, to exalt the moral sense, increase the moral power, and invigorate the moral constitution of all who heartily espouse it.

"We reverently believe that, in withdrawing from the American Union, we have the God of justice with us. We know that we have our enslaved countrymen with us. We are confident that all free hearts will be with us. We are certain that tyrants and their abettors will be against us."

The last battle-ground of the disunion doctrine was the New England Anti-Slavery Convention, whose sessions

began in the Marlboro' Chapel, Boston, on the 28th of May. Quincy thus epitomized it for Webb: *Lib.* 14:91.

"The New England Convention was the best one we ever had—the fullest attendance, the most spirited debates, the most new faces among the members (the fruits of our spring conventions), and the most thorough action. The question of the duty of withdrawing from the support of the U. S. Government on account of its pro-slavery character, and of making the dissolution of the Union our main measure, was *the* question of the Convention. The debates were very fine. That is, Garrison and Phillips did admirably, C. C. Burleigh very well indeed, on the one side, and Pierpont, Amasa Walker, Hildreth ('Archy Moore'[1]) did all that could be done on the other. But in fact there was but one side. The arguments in favor of acting under the existing Government, or, rather, the casuistry by which swearing to do wicked things which at the time you don't mean to do was justified, were enough to convince any reasonable person of the truth of what they opposed. Pierpont's speech was the most extraordinary piece of Jesuitism that I ever heard. The world's people among the audience were shocked at it. An old president of a bank, no abolitionist, who was in from curiosity, told me that the business of the world could not go on for a day on his [Pierpont's] principles, if fairly carried out; that they struck at the root of all human society, and would destroy all confidence of man in man. And yet this is the only process by which he [Pierpont] can reconcile his support of the Liberty Party with morality. *MS. June* 14, 1844. *Ante, p.* 97. *Rev. J. Pierpont. Richard Hildreth.*

"The vote surprised us all. At one time we thought it might not pass. Latterly we thought it would be carried by a small majority. But when the roll was called, it seemed as if there were no 'nays' at all, they came dropping in at such distant intervals. The vote stood 250 to 24. This was on the last day of the Convention, when very many had been obliged to go home, or the vote would have been much larger in favor of the resolutions. But those that remained were *la crème de la crème* of the New England Abolitionists, and stood for the very bone and muscle of the cause." *May* 31, 1844.

[1] The first anti-slavery novel, by the future historian of the United States; the sub-title being "The White Slave." It was published towards the close of 1836, and had a powerful effect *(Lib.* 7 : 35, 56.) Lacking the prepared soil on which 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' fell, it failed of the vogue which its fine literary qualities merited; yet in 1846 had reached a sixth edition *(Lib.* 16 : 94).

Ante, p. 101. William A. White was joined by Richard Hildreth in renewing his protest against the resolutions so triumphantly adopted. *Lib.* 14: 1. The general tenor of it was, that the proposed policy, besides being narrow and proscriptive, would make "no government" men of the abolitionists as a body, and would, in all consistency, preclude them from any use of the existing State and Federal machinery against slavery, as by petitions and the like. Practically, disunion would end either in forcible emancipation initiated by the free States, or in a servile insurrection having their countenance. George Bradburn, with some qualification, but also with a peculiar bitterness to be more fully revealed ere long, assented to these objections — his first step towards joining the Liberty Party outright. *Lib.* 14: 130, 138, 142, 174, 185, 186, 195. Among the nays we remark further Maria, the sister of William A. White, and her affianced, James Russell Lowell, though the latter had been moved at the Convention to compose verses of a stiffer tone on the main question, as thus: *Lib.* 14: 95.

Lib. 14: 152.

"Whate'er we deem Oppression's prop,
Time-honored though it be,
We break, nor fear the heavens will drop
Because the earth is free."[1]

The conclusion of the struggle for the acceptance of the disunion policy was marked by a bit of scenic effect. On the evening of the last day of the Convention, C. C. Burleigh presented in its behalf to Mr. Garrison, as President of the American Anti-Slavery Society, a silken banner (still preserved), bearing on one side a satirical symbol of American oppression,— the national eagle with one foot on the Constitution and the other on a prostrate slave, with accessories,— and on the reverse this inscription: *Lib.* 14: 91.

[1] More pointedly, Whittier, stirred by the prospect of Texan annexation, had written, earlier in the year (*Lib.* 14: 63):

"Make our Union-bond a chain,
We will snap its links in twain,
We will stand erect again."

These lines, however, like the entire poem, "Texas," were much altered and weakened by the writer's second thought.

"'Immediate and Unconditional Emancipation.'—American Anti-Slavery Society formed Dec. 6th, 1833.—'No Union with Slaveholders!'" Mr. Garrison accepted it in a speech which, as Adin Ballou affirmed, "in grandeur of moral sentiment and force of expression, was of transcendent excellence;" and which one may read in Mrs. Chapman's report. His last words were caught up in song by the Hutchinson Family,[1] and the whole audience rose in enthusiasm.

Lib. 14:97.

Lib. 14:130.

Banners multiplied in this year 1844, and became the visible token of the new crusade. In various places on the First of August, inscribed with Disunion sentiments, they were borne by men and women marching in thronged procession, under green arches, to the groves where they were to celebrate West India Emancipation. One by one, more or less promptly and unconditionally, the several Massachusetts town and county societies gave in their adhesion to their leader and became non-voters. Persuasion had overtaken the editors of the *Pennsylvania Freeman*, and their conduct of the paper according to their new light was formally approved by the Eastern Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society, in Mr. Garrison's presence.[2]

Lib. 14:119, 126, 127, 131.

Lib. 14:35, 46, 47, 99, 111, 151, 171.

Lib. 14:103, 105.

Lib. 14:135.

[1] These gifted natural singers had been discovered and proclaimed by N. P. Rogers, their fellow-citizen of New Hampshire, and, through his influence, had been led to join the anti-slavery to the temperance cause in their musical mission (*Lib.* 13:10, 19, 31, 32, 81).

[2] Aug. 4, 1844, E. Quincy writes to J. M. McKim, Philadelphia (MS.): "The [Mass.] Board are in session at this time at Mr. Jackson's house, and we have succeeded in persuading Garrison to go to Norristown [Penn.]. We think his presence very important for the purpose of showing precisely where we stand on the Disunion Question. We wish to show that we are not bigoted or intolerant on the subject, and not in the least desirous of dragooning or browbeating abolitionists into the measure until they are ready for it. Garrison has been ready for the question these three years, and so has Phillips and the rest of what Elizur Wright calls the Boston Clique, but we have never urged it to a decision until the way had been fully prepared for it by full discussion. Garrison will be the very man for your meeting, if you wish to have the question fairly and clearly stated, and argued in a temperate and dispassionate manner, with the single desire of promoting the truth, and not of obtaining victory. You will find him an excellent auxiliary in your other business, and his influence out of the meetings will be very beneficial in disarming prejudice and comforting friends."

MS. By September 22, Quincy could write to Webb: "The Disunion doctrine obtains almost universally among the old-school abolitionists,[1] and is fast spreading. It is so marvellously plain that it is hard not to embrace it. What straits its opposers are reduced to you will see by Earle's articles in the *Standard*, 'The No-Voting Theory,' signed 'E.,' and Gerrit Smith's tract, which you will find at length in both *Liberator* and *Standard*." [2] Edmund Jackson, a brother of Francis, gave, in the *Liberator*, his weighty assent to the doctrine in controversy, pointing out to those political abolitionists who urged rather amendment of the Constitution, that this was synonymous with dissolution, in fact and in the eyes of the South.[3] Francis Jackson himself resigned to the Gov-

Thomas Earle.

Lib. 14: 137, 143, 150, 154, 159.

Lib. 14: 102.

MS., and Lib. 14: 125.

[1] Ohio was an exception. The State Anti-Slavery Society deprecated the new policy as narrowing the anti-slavery platform with a new "test," yet itself straightway erected a similar test by declaring it the duty of all abolitionists to abstain from slave produce (*Lib.* 14: 105). Commenting upon this, in the vein of the New York and Boston protestants, Edmund Quincy showed in the *Standard* the inconsistency of going before a court whose records were kept on cotton paper, or judge ate slave-grown sugar; or of using cotton bank-notes, etc. (*Lib.* 14: 121).

[2] "The adherents of Liberty Party," wrote Mr. Garrison to H. C. Wright (MS. Oct. 1, 1844), "in order to justify voting, are impudently claiming the U. S. Constitution is, and was intended to be, by those who originally framed and adopted it, [anti-slavery]! Even Gerrit Smith has stultified himself so far as to have written a long letter to John G. Whittier, maintaining the same absurd doctrine. Nay, he has gone so far as to eulogize those diabolical provisions respecting the prosecution of the slave-trade for twenty years — the putting down of slave insurrections by the Government — the three-fifths representation of the slaves through their masters — as decidedly anti-slavery in their character and tendency! He is now completely absorbed in electioneering in behalf of James G. Birney and the Liberty Party, and has consequently gone backward since you left for England. . . . I wish, if you get time, you would address a letter to him on his new political career, and his strange interpretation of the Constitution, reminding him of the awful responsibility he is thus taking upon himself, and of the concessions he has made to you, on various occasions, respecting the divinity of non-resistance. In his letter to Whittier, he perseverces in calling the American A. S. Society a Non-Resistance Society, because it will not support a pro-slavery Constitution!" See Gerrit Smith's letter in *Lib.* 14: 137.

[3] So J. M. McKim, in tho *Pennsylvania Freeman*, argued justly that the pretence that the Constitution was anti-slavery was a tacit admission that, if it were pro-slavery, dissolution would be a duty (*Lib.* 14: 105).

ernor of Massachusetts his commission as justice of the peace, regretting he had ever taken the oath to support the Constitution of the United States involved in the office, and giving public notice that he would never obey the Constitutional provision for the return of fugitive slaves. CHAP. IV. 1844.

"To me," concluded his letter, "it appears that the virus of slavery, introduced into the Constitution of our body politic by a few slight punctures, has now so pervaded and poisoned the whole system of our National Government that literally there is no health in it. The only remedy that I can see for the disease is to be found in the *dissolution of the patient.* *Lib.* 14:126.

"The Constitution of the United States, both in theory and practice, is so utterly broken down by the influence and effects of slavery, so imbecile for the highest good of the nation, and so powerful for evil, that I can give no voluntary assistance in holding it up any longer.

"Henceforth it is dead to me, and I to it. I withdraw all profession of allegiance to it, and all my voluntary efforts to sustain it. The burdens that it lays upon me, while it is held up by others, I shall endeavor to bear patiently, yet acting with reference to a higher law, and distinctly declaring that, while I retain my own liberty, I will be a party to no compact which helps to rob any other man of his."

Mr. Jackson also edited, in the *Liberator*, the extracts from the Madison Papers, and from the debates in the State Conventions called to adopt the Constitution, which made the pro-slavery nature of that compact too clear for serious discussion. Wendell Phillips, in the *Standard*, ably defended the non-voting theory. Mr. Garrison, on his part, met the current objections to disunion from the side of the Liberty Party, not without a manly disgust at the casuistry relied upon by his opponents, who (like Gerrit Smith) in one breath maintained that slavery had no lodgment in the Constitution, and proposed to amend it into an anti-slavery document: *Lib.* 14:145, 148, 149. *Lib.* 14:117, 169. *Lib.* 14:137, 143.

"We have a very poor opinion of the intelligence of any man, and very great distrust of his candor or honesty, who tries to make it appear that no pro-slavery compromise was *Lib.* 14:103.

CHAP. IV. 1844.

made between the North and the South, at the adoption of the Constitution. We cherish feelings of profound contempt for that quibbling spirit of criticism, which is endeavoring to explain away the meaning of language the design of which as a matter of practice, and the adoption of which as a matter of bargain, were intelligently and clearly understood by the contracting parties. The truth is, the misnamed 'Liberty Party' is under the control of as ambitious, unprincipled, and crafty leaders as is either the Whig or Democratic Party; and no other proof of this assertion is needed than their unblushing denial of the great object of the national compact, namely, union at the sacrifice of the colored population of the United States. Their new interpretations of the Constitution are a bold rejection of the facts of history, and a gross insult to the intelligence of the age, and certainly never can be carried into effect without dissolving the Union by provoking a civil war."[1]

Lib. 16:42.

Ante, p. 93.

MS. Sept. 17, 1844, *D. L. Child to W. L. G.* *Lib.* 14:81; *cf.* 17:14.

Lib. 14:142.

Ante, pp. 93, 61.

Lib. 14:162.

While the more advanced Whigs were boldly invoking disunion in case Texas were annexed, Joshua Leavitt, in his "precious paper," the Boston *Morning Chronicle* (a short-lived adjunct of the *Emancipator*), refused to pledge himself or the Liberty Party to any such course. As a politician who preferred the election of a Democratic President on an annexation platform to that of a Whig, he argued that annexation would do nothing to perpetuate slavery. Whatever may be thought of this editor's perspicacity, his position was, morally, quite as defensible as that of Giddings, Slade, and the Adamses, or of Channing, or again of the latter's Unitarian confrère, the Rev. Orville Dewey. This divine was at great pains to draw what Mr. Garrison termed a profligate distinction between recognizing slavery as it already existed, and legalizing it anew by extension of the slave territory.[2] In other

[1] Let posterity decide how far the South was screwed up to the civil war by this Liberty, Free-Soil, and Republican Party playing fast and loose with the language of the Constitution—covering who could tell what intentions against "the compact" when once in power on the innocent pretext of checking the further spread of slavery?

[2] Compare, in another denomination, this extract from a Phi Beta Kappa Address at Wesleyan College in 1850, by the Rev. D. D. Whedon: "Nor may you marvel, friends, if I, who was once noted here as the 'apologist of slavery' [in 1835, namely, when he composed "A Counter Appeal to the

words, all these moralists of the forum and the pulpit whom conscience constrained to draw the line at Texas, thereby gave their complete sanction to the act of their forefathers in striking the inhuman alliance between free and slave institutions, called the Federal Constitution. Mr. Garrison and his disunion associates, on the contrary, put themselves where any of the statesmen of 1787 might have stood, in implacable opposition to the sacrifice (for the sake of Union) of the blacks, and to the guarantee of a slaveholding political supremacy. The deed having been done, a new Revolution was called for;[1] and the only wonder is, not that Mr. Garrison was the first to proclaim it, but that he should have waited so long to perfect his doctrine of immediate emancipation, by coupling it with an equally immediate policy of withdrawal from all part and parcel in the support of a blood-stained Government.

In the domain of individual conscience, the success of both the doctrine and the policy was instantaneous. Nothing more remained to extinguish absolutely the responsibility of the Garrisonian abolitionists for the enslavement of their countrymen. They alone of the entire population of the United States had washed their hands of slavery, historically and in time present; at the South or at the North; in the area cursed by it when the Revolutionary fathers made their compact, or in any subsequent or possible extension of it; intrenched in State and local legislation, or in the Constitution of the United States. All other considerations yielded to this religious purification of themselves before their Creator.

But anti-slavery disunion is seldom weighed in its

Ministers and Members of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the New England and New Hampshire Conferences,"] can now present myself its stern assailant. For its *existence* I did, and would, apologize; but never for its *extension*. I would deal gently with the hereditary sin of its being; but I abhor the stupendous volitional crime of its propagandism" (Whedon's 'Essays, Reviews, and Discourses.' New York, 1887, 1: 28).

1 "'You that prate of Disunion, do you not know that Disunion is Revolution?' asks Mr. Webster. Yes, we do know it, and we are for a revolution — a revolution in the character of the American Constitution" (Speech of Wendell Phillips at Faneuil Hall, Dec. 29, 1846. *Lib.* 17: 7).

own scales. Critics who waive the sub-sacredness of the
Lib. 14:45. Constitutional obligations,— binding "in honor and in justice," to use Webster's words,— and tolerate the revolutionary view in order to expose its impracticability, deny that the agitation for peaceful separation could ever have attained its object. This prophecy — for it is nothing more — neglects altogether the rôle of the South in the settlement of the question; and it is certainly conceivable that the spread of disinterested abolitionism at the North might have induced the slaveholding States to withdraw without violence. Be this as it may, there was but one of two ways to purge the North of its complicity with slavery—either to dissolve the Union as Mr. Garrison proposed, or to eradicate the pro-slavery compromises from the Constitution. The impossibility of the latter course has been forever settled by the fact of the Rebellion, which was kindled long before there was the remotest possibility of disturbing the *status quo* of 1787. Moreover, no party ever seriously aimed to undo the compromises, so that still we may ask for a more practical policy than Mr. Garrison's, which in fact had no rival, being root-and-branch as no other was. Half-way measures, like half-way principles and men, abounded, but all came to naught.

Substituting hindsight for foresight, we can now see that there was, in the very nature of the Government, an irrepressible conflict, tending to produce either rupture or a homogeneous public sentiment with regard to slavery, whether for or against. To a rupture it was to come, and the Garrisonian abolitionists must have the credit, as practical men, of being the first to put themselves in line with the inevitable. It has absurdly been said, in depreciation of them, that they wished the North to withdraw in peace, whereas the South made a bloody exit; as if such evidence of the nature of the partnership did not justify their prevision and their mode of avoiding all the cost and misery of the civil war. But indeed on this head they stand in the peculiar position of being charged, both

at the North and at the South, with having criminally brought on the war, while the Republican Party (as heir and assign of the Liberty and Free Soil parties) assumes all the credit of putting an end to slavery, by arms. The pertinent question is, Which of the political party policies from 1844 to 1860 triumphed? And the answer must be, None; while the Garrisonian ideal of immediate emancipation through the overthrow of the pro-slavery compromises — call it disunion or a reconstruction of the old Union — was that in whose realization the nation now rejoices with thanksgiving. In the meantime, the unassailable logic of the abolition position made Mr. Garrison's "No Union with Slaveholders!" the criterion of every party professing opposition to slavery. In this respect its value cannot be over-estimated, while we know that, in the desperate counsels of the Slave Power, the hopes of peace through fresh compromises, to be extorted by the threat of forcible disunion, were dampened by the spectacle of this "saving remnant" of irreconcilables whose leader was Garrison, and whose organs the *Liberator* and the *Standard*.

See the S. Carolina Ordinance of Secession.

For the moment the consolidation of the abolitionists as disunionists made little sensation. The country was absorbed in a more than usually exciting Presidential contest, in which a vote for James K. Polk was equivalent to instructions for the admission of Texas, a vote for Henry Clay was no obstacle to the same consummation, and a vote for Birney was virtually a vote for Polk. Everywhere at the North, Democratic legislators who had joined in unpartisan protests against annexation, were unblushingly retracting them. The Democratic press of the New England and Middle States had as a body gone over to the Administration on the subject of Texas. Polk had been nominated expressly to finish the task begun by Tyler, and received the endorsement of South Carolina, whose delegates took no part in the Convention in order to reserve liberty of action in case Van Buren (a nominal anti-annexationist) should be chosen.

Lib. 14:102.

Lib. 14:173.

Lib. 14:94.

Lib. 14:71, 72.

Lib. 14:95. The Upshur-Calhoun treaty with Texas, lost in the Senate, was to be reinstated at the polls. The monster mass meetings of both parties, all over the country, absorbed public attention, and caused the Massachusetts abolitionists to curtail their labors in the field till after the election. In New Hampshire it was otherwise, but there an obstacle was encountered domestic to the abolition ranks.

MS. Sept. 22, 1844, E. Quincy to R. D. Webb.

Abby Kelley to W. L. Garrison.

MS.

FRANKLIN, N. H., Sept. 26, 1844.

You may not be aware of the fact that we are trying to upturn some of the hard soil of New Hampshire. Douglass, Pillsbury, Foster, Spear, Jane E. Hitchcock of Oneida, N. Y., and myself are in the field, and Remond and, perhaps, White will soon be here. The State has been most wofully neglected for some two years past, and this, with no-organization, has well nigh hedged up our way to immediate great usefulness. Bro. Rogers gives no word of cheer, blows no bugle rallying-cry for the efforts now being put forth. He cannot, with his views of carrying forward reforms. He don't like this coming forth as agents from a Board or Executive Committee. He thinks it will do but little if any good. This I presume is his feeling from what I have heard him say. It is on this ground that I account for his silence when we are striving to move the State. One clear note from his shrill clarion would thrill the State; but as he gives it not, will not you notice the fact that we are here, and by that means remind him that he is silent? Perhaps you may awaken him to do some little word.

F. Douglass, P. Pillsbury, S. S. Foster, John M. Spear, C. L. Remond, W. A. White.

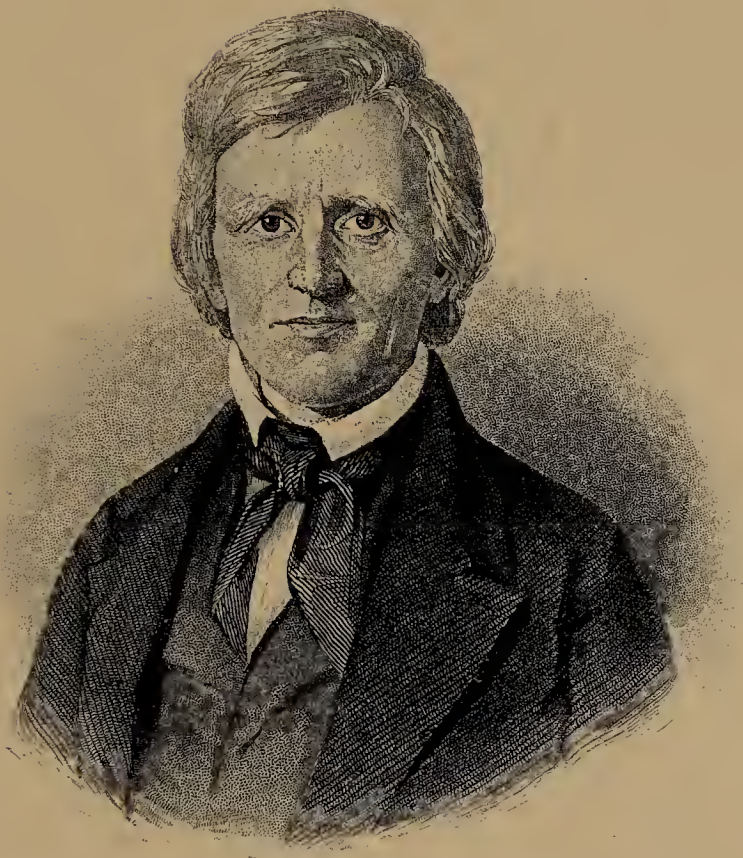
N. P. Rogers.

Ante, p. 23.

Lib. 14:159.

All the agents, I believe, are in the employ of the American Society. The New Hampshire Board — for there is one, though Rogers and French wish to wink it out of sight — have entered into an arrangement with the Executive Committee to supply the largest possible amount of funds to sustain the agency while in this State. We hope to meet the entire expense, though we shall find it difficult, as some of those who have stood in the forefront of the battle, are in sympathy with Bro. Rogers on the question of organizations. And, again, this affair of the *Herald* is a most trying and soul-sickening affair. It has been a long time kept dark by the Board, in hopes that French might be brought to do the fair and manly thing; but after a year's trial

J. R. French.



N. D. Rogers.

and effort on the part of the Board, they felt that to keep dark any longer would be treachery to the cause. A full statement of facts will be made in next week's *Herald*. It will ruin French, and Rogers will in vain try to shield him. Rogers and French have thrown the utmost contempt on the Board, which is made up of some of the best souls in the State — some of the ablest men that take an anti-slavery position here. They call it "Foster's Board"—"Foster's Committee." The Board does thus and so "to gratify a whim of Foster's."

I understand you are to be at the Portland Convention, and that Bro. Rogers is also to be there. Can you not bring him to his senses? Your influence over him is greater than that of any other, I think, except J. R. French. Still, he might print the *Herald* if he had any manhood. 'Tis marvellous that Rogers can be so under his power. I knew nothing of this affair when I came into the State, and was astonished at the developments. I wish it could be reconciled even at this late hour. This can be done if French will fulfil his contract with the committee appointed by the Board to publish the paper, though it will be necessary to give a statement of facts. But no more of this. You cannot judge in the case till you shall see the report of the Board. But, I pray you, give us a lift up here in this granite field: 'tis terrible to cultivate.

Mr. Garrison was already implicated in the painful controversy between the New Hampshire Society and his dear friend Rogers, whose sensitive nature he understood but too well. He had, on occasion of French's stopping the *Herald of Freedom*, in June, without warning to the Society of which it was at once the property and the organ, urgently bespoken for it the needed support, praising with his customary heartiness Rogers's editorial ability, and was rejoiced to announce at the same time that the resumption of publication was ensured. A few weeks later, however, he felt compelled to notice Rogers's extraordinary comments on a meeting of the New Hampshire Society, at which the regular choice of officers was complained of by the "no-organization" editor as business interrupting the current of anti-slavery discussion. With brotherly frankness, Mr. Garrison showed the impropriety of opposition in the Society's own paper to the steps

Lib. 14:106.

Lib. 14:198.

Lib. 14:106.

Lib. 14:118.

Lib. 14:118.

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necessary to its regular maintenance, and asked, "Shall we disband?" Rogers replied, but did not abate his doctrine in the *Herald of Freedom*, and, later, advocated direct contributions to anti-slavery agents, rather than through the general treasury. In a word, the divorce in sympathy and coöperation between himself and the Board of Managers (his employers) as a Board was complete.[1]

Lib. 14:160.

Meantime, his prospective son-in-law, John R. French, had set up a baseless claim to the ownership of the *Herald*, which Rogers espoused, and, pending the Society's endeavors to assert its rights and recover control of its organ, at about the date of Miss Kelley's private letter Rogers fell deathly ill. Mr. Garrison's promptly expressed condolence was accompanied by his first reference in the *Liberator* to the difference between the Society and its printer, who, he said, was bound to refute the facts which the Board of Managers, through S. S. Foster, had presented without as yet eliciting any denial. Rogers, already wounded by the strictures on his no-organization views, saw in this impartial and forbearing expression "suspicions" concerning himself, and called them "the fatal shot in the side of our struggling bark." French, on his part, defying the Board, took his appeal to the Society at its meeting in the autumn.

MS. Oct. 30, 1844, Rogers to F. Jackson.

Lib. 14:179.

MS. Oct. 30, 1844, Rogers to F. Jackson.

Lib. 14:191.

Lib. 14:186.

Francis Jackson to N. P. Rogers.

MS., rough draft.

BOSTON, Nov. 6, 1844.

That *Herald* difficulty, I fear, adds to your trouble. It troubles me, too — and it troubles all our friends round about. There

[1] "Dear Rogers is still driving his inimitable pen with railway speed, though I think he occasionally runs off the track, and sometimes mistakes a molehill for a mountain. He now avows unmitigated hostility to every organized society, and regards a president or chairman as an embryo Caligula or Nero" (MS. Oct. 1, 1844, W. L. G. to H. C. Wright). "Honest Francis Jackson, presiding over an anti-slavery meeting, is transformed in his eyes into a truculent slaveholder, with a scourge in one hand and a branding-iron in the other. The Mass. A. S. Society looks to him like the despotism of Nicholas or Dr. Francia. The church and clergy even are allowed to rest in comparative quietness while he follows his crusade against chairmen, business committees, and societies" (MS. Sept. 22, 1844, E. Quincy to R. D. Webb).

is, in consequence of that perplexing matter, a large company of "comers-out" upon the anxious seat, waiting, watching, and wishing it ended somehow or other. But you will doubtless ask me how? I cannot answer: I don't know the facts, nor have I light or time or opportunity to get them; and yet I am just reckless enough in the dark to advise you, who know all, to do what lieth in you to have this matter settled without delay, and before your convention meets on the 20th. You have made many and heavy sacrifices, and I cannot find it in me to ask you to add to that long catalogue, and I hope it may not be necessary. It may be you cannot control it, but I beg that all your influence be given to [that end].

Garrison.

I have urged our noble friend G. to go up [as] soon as possible, and I hope he will,—and so has Quincy, Phillips, Mrs. Chapman, and others,—to see all, hear all, and, if it be possible, settle all. We all intend to go up to the convention this month, when I most sincerely trust you will be well, and the *Herald* difficulty settled.

N. P. Rogers to W. L. Garrison.

PLYMOUTH [N. H.], Nov. 19, 1844. *MS.*

DEAR GARRISON: The air here so *tends* to revive me, they will not consent I should return yet to Concord. I hope this will reach you in season to prevent your riding there in expectation of meeting *me*. I wanted to see you much. Your article on the attack of Foster, dear G., will have the effect to terminate the publishing of the *Herald of Freedom*. Poor John has had his hands full to worry along with it thus far. This will cripple him. His supplies will cease, and the paper stop. I regret it less than I should once, so far as I am concerned. It will be a relief to *him*, but cruelly furnished. I am sorry it comes from your hand. You could not intend it. But I cannot remark upon it. I only write to apprise you of my not returning to Concord. I am still very ill, but able to go out.

Ante, p. 122.

J. R. French.

Your affectionate friend,

N. P. ROGERS.

Edmund Quincy to R. D. Webb.

DEDHAM, Dec. 14, 1844. *MS.*

You will receive by this packet the public accounts of the sad business of the *Herald of Freedom*, and of the strange conduct

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of our friend Rogers. . . . We have watched this business from the beginning with deep interest and apprehension, but abstained from noticing it or in any wise interfering until it became absolutely unavoidable. There was an important anti-slavery instrumentality, of no great money value in the market, to be sure, but of inestimable value as a means of getting at people's minds, which had always, since it was first acquired by it, been regarded as the property of the New Hampshire A. S. Society. Its ownership had never been questioned, and its name was always borne upon its face. About five months since, the printer of the paper removes the name of the Society and substitutes his own, refusing to give any reason for it, and treating the Board of Managers with the most supercilious contempt. The Board considered itself, as it was, the official depositary of the *Herald*, to whose care it was committed by the Society, and they expostulate and demand a restoration of the property, or a satisfactory reason why it should not be returned. No notice is taken of them, and abuse upon abuse is heaped, by both editor and printer, upon the devoted head of Stephen Foster, who acted only at the request and by the direction of the Board.

Cf. ante, 2:342, 343.

We waited patiently the issue. Rogers became nervous and ill, and the Board, with great forbearance, forbore any action for a long time, out of consideration to him. At last they made their official statement, sustained by evidence. French made no other reply than "I am sorry that Stephen Foster has come to this!" The inference was unavoidable that he had no answer to make. We all felt that the time was come for us to express our sense of the matter, and accordingly Garrison in the *Liberator* and I in the *Standard* very briefly and kindly stated how the thing appeared to us. What I said seemed to give them special offence, though it would be hard to see anything in it, in spirit or expression, different from what Garrison said. Then came the special meeting to which French had expressed his readiness to refer the whole matter, and by the decision of which he had promised to abide.

Lib. 14:186.

Lib. 14:186.

In all this matter, Rogers was no further mixed up than in standing by French and abusing Foster without mercy and without reason, and at last telling French not to regard the decision of the meeting. Nothing had been said, either by G. or myself, about him. When we went to the meeting, it was with the earnest wish and desire to accommodate matters, and to keep Rogers editor and French printer of the paper. We

Garrison.

did not think that objection could be [made] to our attending the meeting, as all abolitionists are always considered as members of every A. S. Society whose meetings they will take the trouble to attend, and especially in New Hampshire, as Rogers had always disclaimed any territorial divisions of Abolition, and, no longer ago than when French stopped the paper last June, had declared that Anti-Slavery knows no State lines, "Anti-Slavery knows no New Hampshire!" So to the meeting we went, and the result you will find in the *Standard* and *Liberator*. . . . CHAP. IV. 1844. *Lib.* 14:195, 198, 205.

We went home in hopes that Rogers would advise French to agree to the fair offers of the Board, which were, to place the paper on the footing on which it was always understood by everybody to stand, until he removed the Society's name from the imprint — *i. e.*, Rogers to be editor, he to be printer, the Society to be owner; the object of maintaining the ownership by the Board being to retain in the hands of the abolitionists of the State the appointment of editor, in case of Rogers's death or resignation — this being a responsibility not to be left in the hands of an irresponsible young man, even if they had better reason to think well of his judgment than they had. There was no disposition to control R. while he remained editor. These hopes have been disappointed, but we are satisfied that we have done all that could be done for the amicable adjustment of affairs. . . . *Rogers.*

All our sympathies and affections were with Rogers. The N. H. Board we did not personally know. Foster, though we thought well of him as a faithful abolitionist, was no pet and darling as Rogers had ever been. All our prejudices and feelings were in Rogers's favor; and yet, in looking into the matter, we could come to but one conclusion, that he and French were entirely wrong in this matter, and Foster and the Board entirely right. If the statement of this opinion has alienated Rogers from us personally, and made him abandon the cause, sorry as we are for it we cannot help it, and could not have done otherwise, could we have foreseen the end from the beginning. It was truly the cutting off the right hand and plucking out the right eye. *Lib.* 14:195, 198.

Garrison has behaved nobly in this whole transaction. Though Rogers was dearer to him than a brother, still he has not flinched from doing what duty seemed to require of him, and he has certainly done it in the tenderest and most forbearing manner. He has felt deeply Rogers's taunts of his (G.'s) *Lib.* 14:199. *Lib.* 14:191.

CHAP. IV. 1844. *Rogers; French.*

scuttling the *Herald*, &c., when his only purpose was to preserve it from being scuttled. Indeed, such reproaches do not very well become either R. or F., who seem determined that the *Herald* shall stop if it be not in their hands. . . . Foster had an excellent plan which might have been carried into effect, had it not been for the explosion. It was, that Pillsbury should be Editor, and Rogers Corresponding Editor, to furnish just as much editorial as he pleased, while Pillsbury provided the rest of the matter. All that R. and F. say about this movement being made by the N. H. Board, or encouraged by us, for the purpose of turning them out, is most preposterously unfounded. No such idea was in anybody's mind any more than of ousting Garrison.

Rogers; French.

So was the idea that we wanted to be rid of him on account of his No-Organization notions. So far was this from being the case that we had scarcely alluded to the subject in our papers, for fear of hurting Rogers's sensitiveness. In fact, we have always handled him like a cracked tea-cup. I have not mentioned his name in the *Standard* in connection with his follies on that head, although I made one impersonal kind of a reply to some of them. And Garrison has only spoken of them twice. Those articles, few as they were, were enough nearly to silence Rogers. He can stand no fight at all,—with friends, that is. We knew that if we were obliged to come out and reply to his position, a broadside apiece would be enough to silence his batteries; only we put it off till the latest moment, because we knew how badly it would make him feel. His *No-Organization-ism* was the original cause of all this trouble, but originating from himself and not from us. It was a remark in one of Garrison's articles on the inconsistence of Rogers's position as a deadly foe to organization, with his position as editor of the organ of an A. S. Society, which gave rise to it all. In the very next paper the flag of the Society was struck, and that of French run up in its stead. . . .

Lib. 14:106.

There is a great similarity in R.'s case and character with Mrs. ———'s, if I had time to run the parallel. Rogers is essentially *feminine* in his character and temperament, and these in exaggeration, as in Mrs. ———'s case, become *womanishness*. They both required to be petted and caressed and kissed and sugar-plummed into being good. And as soon as there was anything that they falsely construed into neglect, or deservedly found to be blame, they fell into a huff, and wreaked their vexation on the cause. How different a character is Garrison!

He takes blame and advice as kindly as he does panegyric, and, what is more, he profits by it.[1] CHAP. IV. 1844.

Postscript by Maria W. Chapman.

We expect Rogers to-day; he is to pass the week of the Fair among us all, and I hope we shall not lose him. We have all felt grief indeed, as you may suppose. I wish we had the means of sending him to England for health. Your kind sympathy in his best feelings, and forbearance with his incidental and constitutional temporary sensitiveness, would be a cordial to him. I hope he will be able to receive ours, but as we are obliged by sense of duty to take sides against his recent course, we cannot do it so fully, I fear. We shall soon know, for to-day he comes.

N. P. Rogers to Elizabeth Pease.

MS. begun Apr. 4, 1844, in Concord, N. H., resumed July 25, and finished in Boston. Fragmentary.

Here a break-off again, and it is now Dec. 23, 1844, and I am at Francis Jackson's in Boston, just creeping up from a three-months' sickness, with system irrecoverably broken up. *Herald of Freedom* stopped by the violence of Foster, one of my old coadjutors. He is backed up by *Garrison* himself, by Quincy, Mrs. Chapman, Wendell, and I don't know by whom else of those once my *lovers*. They know nothing about the merits of the case, which was merely this. Foster got a notion the publisher of the paper, John R. French, was receiving too many donations, and himself too few — which [last was] true enough, though he was so rudely radical and so offensive nobody could fancy him enough to sustain him much. French was publishing the paper *nominally* for the N. H. Society, but *actually* not. [He was] publishing it *in fact* dependent on donations and the subscribers to the paper. He was not, therefore, accountable to the Society, and the Society so consider it. But Foster got himself appointed, with some others of the same feeling towards the publisher, on the Society's Executive Committee. Most of the Society, by the way, do not *vote*, and did n't care to have

W. Phillips.

S. S. Foster.

[1] With reference to Rogers's sensitiveness to criticism, Mr. Garrison wrote to R. D. Webb on Mar. 1, 1845: "Certainly, we ought to remember that, in every strife, there are blows to take as well as blows to give; and we ought to receive them in good temper and with manly endurance. Especially should we receive with patience and kindness the admonitions of our *friends*, and love them all the more cordially for their rare fidelity; for, alas! how prone are friends to wink at each other's failings, under circumstances that require a prompt and frank rebuke!" (MS.)

CHAP. IV. 1844.

any such committee; having come to the opinion that the movement went on best without. Foster then interferes with the publication, and the publisher felt insulted and was offended, and a quarrel ensued.

My part in it was to say to the Committee that they had no *right* to interfere, except as individuals, and no *occasion*, so far as I knew. They persisted. The *Standard* and *Liberator* friends became alarmed at my notions about organization, and espoused Foster's side of the small, local quarrel—made it a great one—and now it is all abroad, and you will have the pain and mortification of hearing about it, and the enemies here and everywhere will rejoice. If I were well and disposed to quarrel, it might lead to a revolution in the movement here. But I am sick, and shall leave the friends to do me any injustice their *position* may lead them to. Their mistake is in maintaining, in their moral movement, the forms and usages and *principles* of *politics*.[1] It will assuredly prostrate them, Garrison and all, if they do not forsake it. Garrison, I think, would,[2] but his city associates could not join him in it. I feel anxious that the friends abroad who have loved me should n't be misinformed and led to mistake my position. I wish, therefore, they would ask me to explain anything they may think needs it, in my doings or the publishing of the *Herald*. I think we were both doing worthily and disinterestedly in endeavoring to keep it clear from the destructive control of the *nominal* Committee of the Society.

Lib. 15:66, 98.

The British friends of the cause had no difficulty in arriving at a clear judgment of the issue raised in New Hampshire;[3] but not so a portion of the abolitionists (in

Lib. 14:207.

Rhode Island particularly) whose personal attachment to Rogers was very warm. These not even the refusal of

Lib. 14:199.

French to print in the *Herald* the overwhelmingly adverse

[1] Compare Rogers's resolution at the annual meeting of the Mass. A. S. Society in January, 1844: "No military, judicial, legislative, political, or other brute-force instrumentality can rightfully be resorted to in the accomplishment of the anti-slavery enterprise" (*Lib.* 14:19).

[2] A purely gratuitous assumption.

[3] "We were much pleased to find," wrote Quincy to R. D. Webb, on Jan. 30, 1845, "that you agreed so entirely with us about the Rogers business. Your idea of French and his having behaved like spoiled children is exactly correct" (MS.). Webb, the writer goes on to note, had formed his opinion from the printed controversy before Quincy's private version reached him. Cf. *Lib.* 17:1.

decision of the Society, nor his abrupt discontinuance of the paper and refusal to surrender the subscription lists, following Leavitt's *Emancipator* example, could disenchant. A new schism resulted, of limited extent though marked by bitter feeling, and was fostered by the New-Organization and Liberty-Party spirit, ever intent on profiting by dissensions in the abolition ranks. Further details of the controversy belong to a history of the anti-slavery movement. Mr. Garrison's connection with it, as shown above, cost him not only his standing in Rogers's disordered estimation, but a fresh measure of abuse from the latter's sympathizers and abettors.

Lib. 14:199.

Lib. 15:55, 70, 78.

Hard enough was the office task of the editor of the *Liberator* in this crowded year 1844, when the press of matter claiming admission to his columns was full beyond precedent. The disunion campaign; the hot Presidential canvass, ending in the election of Polk and the national confirmation of Tyler's Texan policy; Tyler's extraordinary appeal from the Senate, rejecting his treaty, to the House, for which John Quincy Adams would have had him impeached, as endeavoring to declare a foreign war without the consent of the Senate; Tyler's message at the next session, pointing to the plebiscit in his favor, and urging an act of annexation; McDuffie's resolution to this end — all this was but a part of what our chronicler of the time had to record as fully as possible, let alone the voluminous documents in the Rogers affair. The year opened with Congressional debates over the Massachusetts resolves in favor of abrogating the three-fifths slave-representation clause in the Federal Constitution — a premium, as Charles Francis Adams rightly affirmed, on the perpetuation of slavery, and, as the elder Adams and Giddings showed (in a minority report on the resolves), the foundation of a privileged order of citizens, a slave-holding oligarchy, tending infallibly to absorb the leading offices of the Government as well as of the Slave States. By votes of 121 to 18 and 127 to 41 the House adopted Dromgoole's resolutions declaring the three-fifths com-

Lib. 14:207.

Lib. 14:183, 200.

Lib. 14:98, 102.

Lib. 14:98.

Lib. 14:197.

Lib 14:202.

Ante, pp. 92, 93.

Lib. 14:37.

Lib. 14:69.

Lib. 14:51.

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promise sacred, and its abolition not to be entertained. This irrefragable argument for disunion demonstrated likewise the essential barrenness of the final victory of Mr. Adams's contention for the rescinding of the gag-rule against anti-slavery petitions — to which South Carolina responded that if Congress should next attempt anti-slavery legislation, the Federal compact would be at an end.

Lib. 14:9, 19, 37, 39, 198.

Lib. 14:206.

She was already proving it at an end, as far as Northern rights were concerned. The State of Massachusetts had sent one of its most respectable citizens, Samuel Hoar of Concord, a lawyer and ex-Congressman, to Charleston, to test in the Federal courts the validity of the South Carolina law of December 19, 1835, providing for the jailing of colored seamen arriving at her ports. The transmission of Mr. Hoar's credentials by the Governor of South Carolina to the State Legislature produced, in the Senate, resolutions pronouncing the mission a gross insult, and promising resistance to an adverse decision of the Federal courts. The press reverberated with like menaces, intimating that South Carolina would anticipate a conflict with the United States by making one directly with Massachusetts — "the Fort Moultrie State" against "the Bunker Hill State." Calhoun's organ, the *South Carolinian*, hoped no lawyer would take a fee from Mr. Hoar. Both branches of the Legislature called upon the Governor to expel him; and, this patriotic duty having been begun by his hotel-keeper, nothing remained for Mr. Hoar but to flee the State, which he did, under escort — the company of his daughter more than the gray hairs of this man of sixty-six insuring him from summary violence. "I am in hopes," wrote Edmund Quincy to Richard Webb, "that Massachusetts will at last be kicked into some degree of spirit. I don't know that anything is left for her but *reprisals*.[1] But slavery has n't left her pluck enough for that, I fancy"— the melancholy truth.

Lib. 14:202; 15:7, 26, 27.

Lib. 15:7; *ante*, *p.* 92.

Lib. 14:198, 201.

Lib. 14:198.

Lib. 14:202.

Lib. 14:202.

Lib. 15:9.

MS. Dec. 14, 1844.

[1] Mr. Hoar himself, in a letter on the Latimer case in 1842 *(ante*, p. 66), referred to the law of Louisiana ordering the arrest of any colored man

Other Massachusetts citizens were equally in need and equally devoid of protection at this moment. There was honest Jonathan Walker of Harwich, sea-captain, caught in July, 1844, by the U. S. steamer *General Taylor*, with sundry slaves aboard as voluntary passengers from the Federal Territory of Florida to the Bahama Islands; taken back in irons to Pensacola and there jailed, chained to a ringbolt for fifteen days; afterwards put in the pillory for an hour, and pelted with rotten eggs; finally, by order of a *Federal* court, branded on the right hand with "S. S." for slave-stealer — lucky to escape at length with his life. There was also the Rev. Charles T. Torrey, who, two years before, being a newspaper correspondent in Washington, had exercised his Constitutional right to visit Annapolis to report a slaveholders' convention, was recognized, nearly lynched, and, upon his room at the tavern being searched, arrested for his temporary security, but on trial was released on bail. This treatment led him to engage in several hazardous attempts to run slaves off from the border States, and in June, 1844, he was again in a Maryland jail — this time in Baltimore — on a charge that shut out every prospect of local mercy or Federal intervention.

Lib. 14: 147.

Lib. 14: 127, 129, 144, 147, 195; 17: 158.

Lib. 15: 115, 132.

Jan. 12, 1842; *Life of Torrey, pp.* 91–104; *Lib.* 12: 10, 14.

Life of Torrey, p. 126; *Lib.* 14: 107, 119.

Mr. Garrison, on the happening of this fatal misfortune to his old enemy, banished all resentment, remembering those in bonds as bound with them — all the more because the same prison had once held himself. He professed his readiness "to espouse his [Torrey's] cause as though he were my bosom friend," helping pecuniarily with his mite, and by arousing public sympathy and indignation. He

Ante, 1: 174.

Lib. 14: 119.

Lib. 14: 126.

entering the State from another State, and asked, why, then, might not every free State imprison every incoming native of a slaveholding State (*Lib.* 12 : 177). He reached Charleston on Nov. 28, 1844; his colleague, Henry Hubbard of Pittsfield, Mass., delegated to Louisiana, arrived in New Orleans Dec. 1, and was likewise expelled, but less fiercely (Smith's 'History of Pittsfield,' p. 405; and *Lib.* 15 : 2, 9, 14, 17, 25). See the law enacted by the South Carolina Legislature to prevent the recurrence of like missions : "An Act to provide for the punishment of persons disturbing the peace of this State, in relation to slaves and free persons of color" (*Lib.* 15 : 14; 18 : 65), and a similar one by Louisiana (*Lib.* 15 : 17, 25).

CHAP. IV. 1844. was as good as his word. On August 19, 1844, Torrey wrote from Baltimore jail to Elias Smith,[1] saying, "To Mr. Garrison, personally, I feel greatly indebted for the magnanimous part he has taken"; and on November 29 to J. Miller McKim of Philadelphia, the medium of gifts in money from the colored and white people of that vicinity:

Lib. 14:147.

MS. Nov. 29, 1844.

"I have been thinking, all summer, of addressing Garrison a long letter for the Press, and I communicated my intention to our Boston friends. They urged, that I might revive old sores, now healed; that my *private* intercourse might do all the *good* such a letter could; and that, in *prison*, I ought not to risk the recurrence of unpleasant feelings among my friends, of either the 'Old' or 'New' organizations, some of whom, on both sides, would needs be offended by the views of one who *told both* plainly their faults — faults that *pride*, still, might make a few leaders loath to acknowledge.[2] And then, as my views on the 'confounded woman question' *are* materially modified, *so far as it is connected with our cause*, I might hurt the feelings of my *personal* friends. These ideas made me *delay*. Then came my two months' prostrating sickness, and *now*, my *trial*, in which I suppose you and all my kind friends in Philadelphia feel a deep interest."

Ante, 2:318.

[1] A former Methodist minister, at this time an anti-slavery lecturer, and very intimate with Mr. Garrison, to whom he wrote from Galveston, Texas, July 13, 1866, apropos of the fund then being raised for the latter's support: "My dear old friend, I have nothing to *give*, but I have the memory of obligations for kindnesses received at your hands which, if I had thousands, I could scarcely repay. When an exile from my home, more than twenty-three years ago, and living temporarily in Cambridgeport, you were a friend and brother most precious. You sympathized in my misfortunes and poverty; and, later, in Boston, you sheltered my little family in your own house, while I struggled, as I never did before, to find them bread. You shared with us your own bounty, and your excellent and noble wife was a companion and friend to mine. Your patience and kindness to all who sought your door for relief — your open-handed, large-hearted charity — your gentleness in the family, and your cheerful song as you came in and went out before us, are, and ever will remain, green in my memory. Alas! how little the world knew of the heart of that man whom they reviled as the offscourings of all things!" (MS.)

[2] Compare the letter to Elias Smith cited above. Torrey was well-advised, considering how far his old associates lagged behind the Garrisonian abolitionists in exciting public sympathy on his behalf, or in turning his case to anti-slavery account (*Lib.* 14:147).

Mr. Garrison's activity as a speaker, from Maine to Pennsylvania, was very great in the year under review, until the trouble in his side compelled him to withdraw temporarily from the lecture field. As usual, slavery was not his sole topic, but, as occasion offered, he gave addresses on Peace, Worship, the Church, the Ministry, the Sabbath, the Condition and the Rights of Woman. He took part in the Sunday lectures at Amory Hall, Boston, which were a sort of adjourned Chardon-Street Convention, having among his colleagues R. W. Emerson,[1] Adin Ballou, Charles A. Dana, and Mrs. Ernestine L. Rose. He spoke with Wendell Phillips before a legislative committee at the State House in favor of the abolition of the death penalty, and again at a special meeting in Boston in December. He was cheered by the memorable split in the Methodist denomination, on the question of episcopal slaveholding, when, in the language of Governor Hammond of South Carolina, the "*patriotic* Methodists of the South dissolved all connection with their brethren of the North"—a foreshadowing of the greater disunion in store for the two sections.

Lib. 14:170; *MS. Oct.* 1, 1844, *W. L. G. to H. C. Wright.*

Lib. 14:19, 23, 27, 67.

Lib. 14:23.

Lib. 15:3.

Lib. 14:58, 91, 94, 113, 125, 134.

J. M. Hammond.

Lib. 14:201.

Towards the close of the year, the Garrison family was blessed with a girl,[2] much longed for by her parents.

1 This year witnessed a closer connection than hitherto between Emerson and the abolitionists. We read in Cabot's Memoirs of him (2:430) the following extract from his Journal for 1844: "The haters of Garrison have lived to rejoice in that grand world movement which, every age or two, casts out so masterly an agent for good. I cannot speak of that gentleman without respect. I found him the other day in his dingy office." To which his editor adds: "He went to Garrison's office, perhaps, to concert for a meeting which the abolitionists held in the Concord Court-house on the 1st of August in this year (1844) to celebrate the anniversary of the liberation of the slaves in the British West Indies. Emerson delivered the address." See *Lib.* 14:127, 129, 146. No church was to be had for this humane service.

2 Helen Frances Garrison, born Dec. 16, 1844, and named for her mother and paternal grandmother. "You know they have a little daughter," wrote Ann Phillips to Elizabeth Pease. "Garrison is tickled to death with it" (MS. Jan. (?), 1845). "We shall demand for her the rights of a human being, though she be a female," wrote the happy father to Mrs. Louisa Loring (MS. Jan. 11, 1845).

CHAPTER V.

TEXAS.—1845.

Lib. 15:19. FORMAL assent to the Disunion doctrine was given, with a will, by the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery
Jan. 24–26, 1845. Society at its annual meeting in January, 1845. As a consequence of this action, Ellis Gray Loring resigned his place on the Board of Officers. "Poor Garrison,"
Lib. 15:19. exulted the Boston *Post*, "who appears to be broken down, mentally and physically, has taken such a rabid course that he is driving from him some of those who have heretofore been his most active supporters." Mr. Loring hastened to notify this Democratic sheet that the alienation was not personal:

Lib. 15:19. "Not concurring in the 'disunion' doctrines adopted by the Society, I thought I should misrepresent it by remaining an officer; but it is painful to me to have it intimated that an honest difference on a single point of duty could drive Mr. Garrison and me asunder. On other points we coöperate; and never, during the fourteen years in which I have been honored by his friendship, have I felt for him a deeper attachment and respect.[1] I cannot accept even an implied compliment at the expense of one whose past services and present value to the cause of human freedom I feel to be unequalled."

Elsewhere, the *Liberator's* cry, "No Union with Slaveholders!" (now printed weekly at the head of the paper) was caught up and re-echoed in the abolition ranks — by
Feb. 5–7, 1845; *Lib.* 15:33. the Western New York Anti-Slavery Society, in February; by a vast majority of the Eastern Pennsylvania

[1] On Jan. 11, Mr. Garrison acknowledged a New Year's gift of twenty dollars from Mrs. Loring, renewing one of the year before (MS.).

Anti-Slavery Society at Kennett, in August. In Ohio, the *Anti-Slavery Bugle* was founded as the disunion organ of the Ohio American Anti-Slavery Society. *Aug.* 11–13; *Lib.* 15:135, 142. *Lib.* 15:109.

The levers of disunion ready to the hands of the Massachusetts abolitionists were the recent expulsions of the State's delegates from South Carolina and Louisiana, and the impending annexation of Texas. At the annual meeting just referred to, Wendell Phillips reported resolves that the Governor should demand of the Federal Executive an enforcement of the Constitution, and the maintenance of Mr. Hoar's right to reside in Charleston; in default of which the Legislature should authorize the Governor to proclaim the Union at an end, recall the Congressional delegation, and provide for the State's foreign relations. This was the logic of the situation. So far as Massachusetts (or any free State) was concerned, South Carolina had dissolved the Union: Federal rights were disregarded in her borders, the Federal laws were subordinate or inoperative, Federal protection could have been exercised only by force and at the cost of a civil war. There could be no better occasion for weighing the value of the Union, or for taking the initiative in peaceable separation as advocated by the abolitionists. But no other class or party in the State was equal to this simple and manly procedure. Governor Briggs's messages in regard to Messrs. Hoar and Hubbard were unexceptionable in tone and temper, rhetorically considered; but they meant nothing and could effect nothing, since disunion was the only remedy. The Legislature did, indeed, pass the equally unexceptionable joint resolves prepared by Charles Francis Adams, suggesting retaliation with reference to South Carolina; but no enactment followed, nor, notoriously, could any such have been sustained in the Federal courts.

Ante, pp. 130, 131. *Lib.* 15:19. *Lib.* 15:7, 25. *Lib.* 15:25, 39.

The same paralysis befell the *political* opposition to the annexation of Texas. Governor and Legislature pledged Massachusetts anew to the position that annexation would have no binding force on her. But *how* would it have no

Lib. 15:6, 26, 31.

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binding force? Texas once in the Union, would laws passed by the aid of her representatives be resisted? No one not an abolitionist ever advocated any measure of irreconcilability — so to call it — except Henry Wilson in the Massachusetts Senate. His proposal, to "provide by law that the moment a man held as a slave in Texas stepped upon the soil of Massachusetts, his liberty should be as sacred as his life," and to "make it a high crime to molest him," fell dead, and was, in fact, though well meant, absurd, either as a practicable mode of opposition or as a *quid pro quo*, even supposing the whole North to have taken this stand along with Massachusetts. The truth was, slavery was dragging the country down an inclined plane, and there was no escape but by cutting the rope that bound the North to the South. The impracticable politicians of all parties, therefore, who struggled against the inevitable, while refusing to look facts in the face, filled the year at which we have now arrived with the emptiest of empty words.

Wilson's Rise and Fall of Slave Power, 1: 637; *Lib.* 15: 39, 77.

Lib. 15: 18.

On January 29, an Anti-Texas Convention was held in Faneuil Hall.[1] Edmund Quincy, writing the next day to Richard Webb, said of it:

MS. Jan. 30, 1845.

Lib. 15: 23.

W. Phillips.

Lib. 15: 22.

"It was called by political gentlemen, mostly Whigs, not by abolitionists. It was very fully attended, and the galleries were crowded. Garrison was made a delegate from his ward by the influence of F. Jackson. Phillips could not be elected, to our great grief. The Convention only put forth an Address, protesting against annexation, and appointed a Committee of Correspondence; on the ground that they would not suppose

[1] "Mr. Webster united in the Convention," and "consulted with and assisted Stephen C. Phillips, Charles Allen, and Charles Francis Adams, in preparing the Address of the Convention — an address filled with noble sentiments of hostility to slavery domination" (Henry Wilson in the Massachusetts Senate, 1852; *Lib.* 22: 41). "I remember that when, in 1845, the present leaders of the Free Soil Party, with Daniel Webster in their company, met to draw up the Anti-Texas Address of the Massachusetts Convention, they sent to abolitionists for anti-slavery facts and history, for the remarkable testimonies of our Revolutionary great men which they wished to quote" (Wendell Phillips, speech before the Mass. A. S. Society, Jan. 27, 1853; *Lib.* 23: 26). See Chas. Sumner's Life, 2: 331.

the possibility of annexation until it was done, and that then would be soon enough to take further measures. If they do this, it will be well; if not, the Convention will be a farce.

"The anti-slavery spirit of the Convention was surprising. The Address and the speeches of the gentlemen, not abolitionists, were such as caused Garrison to be mobbed ten years ago, and such as we thought thorough three or four years ago. There were no qualifications, or excuses, or *twaddle*. What it is a sign of, I don't know, but it must be of good in some way. I send you a paper or two containing the account of the Convention. Garrison was received with more enthusiasm than any man, on his first appearance, and carried the house with him while he spoke, though they would not accept his proposition."

So Wendell Phillips, writing to Elizabeth Pease:

"Well, Texas, you 'll see, is coming in. We always said it would, and were laughed at. Garrison grew popular and was chosen a delegate to the Convention here, quite unanimously in his ward — made a great speech — created the most stir in the whole matter — was rapturously applauded. The fact is, there were many abolitionists in the body, and when men get together, however little they may desire to act themselves, they do relish *strong talk*." *MS. Feb.* 24, 1845.

So Charles Sumner, writing to Judge Story: *Feb.* 5, 1845.

"The debates in the Convention were most interesting. I never heard Garrison before. He spoke with natural eloquence. Hillard spoke exquisitely. His words descended in a golden shower; but Garrison's fell in fiery rain. It seemed doubtful, at one time, if the abolitionists would not succeed in carrying the Convention. Their proposals were voted down; though a very respectable number of the Convention were in favor of a dissolution of the Union in the event of the annexation of Texas." *Life of Sumner*, 2:331. *G. S. Hillard.*

Mr. Garrison's share in the proceedings was effective in two particulars. He secured for the Convention a chance to criticise the address before it was issued, and he had the Committee of Correspondence enlarged so as to include members of the Democratic Party. His speech, delivered in the evening, was to second a motion made in the afternoon by the Rev. Joseph C. Lovejoy of Cambridge (a *Lib.* 15:18.

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brother of the martyr), of this tenor: that the threatened extension of the area of slavery would release the North from all obligations to that piratical institution, whether to return fugitive slaves or to suppress insurrections. He was received, on rising, with "deafening cheers," and offered an additional resolution, in these words:

Lib. 15:18.

"That, in view of the fact that two branches of the Government have already declared their wish and concurrence in the project of annexation, we deem it our duty distinctly to declare what ought to be, and what we have faith to believe will be, the course of Massachusetts, should the infamous plan be consummated. Deeming the act utterly unconstitutional and void, we declare that the people of this Commonwealth will never submit to it as the law of the land, but look upon the Union as dissolved, and proceed to form a new government for herself and such of the free States as will aid her in carrying out the great purposes of our fathers in behalf of civil liberty. And we call upon the several towns of the Commonwealth, whenever the President shall announce that Texas is annexed to this Union, immediately to assemble and choose delegates for a second session of this Convention, which shall take measures for the formation of a new Union with such States as do not tolerate domestic slavery — the Union of 1789 having then ceased to exist."

The mover sustained this resolution with unpremeditated remarks which the daily press pronounced treasonable. He recalled a similar convention on the admission of Missouri, whose protest was embodied by Webster in an address. "That movement ended in words, words. Did they mean," asked Mr. Garrison, "to act that farce over again?" Charles Francis Adams objected to jeoparding united action by any such radical proposition, and both the Lovejoy and Garrison resolutions were laid on the table.

Lib. 15:23.

Lib. 15:18.

Months passed, during which inaction on the part of the North paved the way to the catastrophe, and sapped the courage of the resistants — the political and "practical" resistants. William H. Seward, in a public letter to Salmon P. Chase, submitted in advance to the inevitable annex-

Lib. 15:82.

Lib. 15:113.

ation of Texas, repudiating disunion. His counter measure was to enlarge the area of freedom — as if the South did not provide for that by coupling the admission of a slave State with that of a free State. Already, in February, Florida had been thus admitted into the Union, paired with Iowa, in spite of the intense Northern feeling against more slave States aroused in the case of Texas; in spite, too, of the Florida Constitution making slavery perpetual, and authorizing the Legislature to forbid the landing of any colored seaman — the toleration of which by Congress was a virtual approval of the action of South Carolina towards Mr. Hoar. Yet still Mr. Seward contended — "We must resist unceasingly the admission of slave States, and demand the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia"; and he even dreamed, when one independent Congress had been elected, that the "internal slave-trade may be subjected to inquiry. Amendments to the Constitution will be initiated." Robert C. Winthrop made his surrender on the Fourth of July, and in Faneuil Hall, toasting, in famous words, "Our country . . . however bounded; . . . to be cherished in all our hearts, to be defended by all our hands"—an abasement which accepted war with Mexico, along with that spread of slave territory which he had hitherto strenuously opposed. In the same hall of heroic memories the Whig State Convention in October withdrew from the opposition, and left the Constitutional question to the Supreme Court of the United States! Governor Slade of Vermont could no longer urge his State to take, unsupported, an unrelenting attitude, and sought comfort in the illusion that the entrance of Texas into the Union would make slavery a national institution as never before, and expose it to attack as such. Webster, accusing the Liberty Party (by its defeat of Clay) of having procured annexation, hoped, or professed to hope, the consummation might yet be averted; as Charles Francis Adams, seeing nothing further left, and disregarding the example of Florida, vainly looked for some modification of the pro-slavery

Lib. 15:34, 39.

Lib. 15:39.

Lib. 15:54.

Lib. 15:113.

Lib. 15:118.

Lib 15:162.

Lib. 15:170.

Lib. 15:182.

Lib. 15:185; *cf.* 206.

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Constitution of Texas. Abbott Lawrence and Nathan Appleton, ex-members of Congress, not only desisted from opposition[1] to a deed actually accomplished, but rebuked those of their colleagues whose conscience and zeal outran their discretion as "practical men."

Lib. 15:194.

Lib. 15:146; *Sept.* 22, 1845.

Meantime in Massachusetts a mass meeting for Middlesex County had been called at Concord to consider the encroachments of the Slave Power. Hardly a Liberty Party man was present, but Mr. Garrison again endeavored to inspire his Whig political associates with his doctrine of action — to proceed as if they meant it when they declared the admission of Texas would be the dissolution of the Union:

Lib. 15:154.

Lib. 15:158.

"Sir," he said, "I know how nearly alone we shall be. An overwhelming majority of the whole people are prepared to endorse this horrible deed of Texan annexation. The hearts of the few who hate it are giving way in despair; the majority have got the mastery. Shall we therefore retreat, acknowledge ourselves conquered, and fall into the ranks of the victors? Shall we agree that it is idle, insane, to contend for the right any longer?

"Sir, I dreaded, almost, when I heard this Convention called. I will be frank with you. I am afraid you are not ready to do your duty; and if not, you will be made a laughing-stock by tyrants and their tools; and it ought to be so.

"I have nothing to say, Sir — nothing. I am tired of words — tired of hearing strong things said, where there is no heart to carry them out. When we are prepared to state the whole truth, and die for it, if necessary — when, like our fathers, we are prepared to take our ground, and not shrink from it, counting not our lives dear unto us — when we are prepared to let all earthly hopes go by the board — *then* let us say so; *till* then, the less we say, the better, in such an emergency as this.

[1] On March 25, 1837, Mr. Lawrence wrote to his constituents: "The independence of this infant nation [Texas] has already been recognized by our Government. The next movement of the friends of Texas will be its annexation to the United States. . . . Should their object be attained, where will be the patronage and Executive power of the Government? Will it not be gone, forever departed, from the free States? Let us maintain the Constitution in *letter* and *spirit* as we received it from our fathers, and resist every attempt at the acquisition of territory to be inhabited by slaves" (Hill's Memoir of Abbott Lawrence, p. 21).

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"'But who are we,' will men ask, 'that talk of such things? Are we enough to make a revolution?' No, Sir; but we are enough to *begin* one, and, once begun, it never can be turned back. I am for revolution, were I utterly alone. I am there because I *must* be there. I *must* cleave to the right. I cannot choose but obey the voice of God. Now, there are but few who do not cling to their agreement with hell, and obey the voice of the devil. But soon the number who shall resist will be multitudinous as the stars of heaven.

"In the beginning, what a gross absurdity did our fathers exhibit!—trying to do what is not in the power of God—to reconcile the irreconcilable—to make Slavery and Freedom mingle and cohere! It can never be. Look at the lover of freedom and the advocate of slavery, the slaveholder and the abolitionist, at this day. Do they acknowledge the same God? Do they worship at the same shrine? A government composed of both is impossible; and he who would pass for a lover of freedom, should have found it out. Do not tell me of our past union, and for how many years we have been one. We were only one while we were ready to hunt, shoot down, and deliver up the slave, and allow the Slave Power to form an oligarchy on the floor of Congress! The moment we say no to this, the Union ceases—the Government falls.

"The question now is, Shall there longer remain any freemen in this country?—for, of course, if we continue with the South, standing with her and by her, in her aggressions upon Mexico; if we see her taking foreign territory to herself, and yet aid her in retaining it; we are as bad as she—betrayers of our sacred trust of freedom, and forgers of our own chains.

"I thank God that, as has been stated by you, Sir, we stand on common ground here to-day. I pray God that party and sect may not be remembered. I trust the only question we shall feel like asking each other is, Are we prepared to stand by the cause of God and Liberty, and to have NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS?"

The meeting was adjourned to Cambridge, where it attracted a small popular attendance, and again adjourned till October 21. Mr. Garrison spoke on both occasions, and on the latter the following resolution, of his moving, was adopted:

Oct. 7. *Lib.* 15:163. *Lib.* 15:163, 174.

"That should the perfidious and illegal act of Texan annexation be consummated at the next session of Congress, it will *Lib.* 15:174.

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be the constitutional duty of the Legislature of Massachusetts promptly to declare, in the name of the people, that such act is null and void, and can never receive their sanction, be the consequences what they may."

Lib. 15:177. Mr. C. F. Adams again objected to such an affirmation on the part of the meeting, because it could not unite all, though the resolution merely echoed his own utterances in the Legislature, and that body's agreement with him. He confessed sadly to have learned that the people at large were not behind him, that they were divided, and that a low tone must be adopted towards them. In other words, a right public sentiment had to be created, and to that end Wendell Phillips, while approving his friend's resolution, at the same time urged that a committee be

Lib. 15:177. formed. "As to disunion," he remarked, "it must and will come. Calhoun wants it at one end of the Union — Garrison wants it at the other. It is written in the counsels of God. Meantime, let all classes and orders and interests unite in using the present hour to prevent the consummation of this annexation of Texas."

Lib. 15:178. A State Anti-Texas Committee resulted from a mass meeting held in Faneuil Hall on November 4, with Charles Francis Adams in the chair; the stirring resolutions being offered by John G. Palfrey, the Massachusetts Secretary of State. At the head of this committee stood Mr. Adams, and Mr. Garrison was among his colleagues, consenting

Lib. 16:19. "to become a member of the Committee as an experiment, and to help more clearly to demonstrate the futility of any and every attempt to assail slavery in its incidents and details. The SLAVE POWER must be attacked and vanquished openly, as such, and no quarter given to it either in the gross or in part. To this conclusion, we are

Lib. 16:17. happy to say, the Committee unanimously came; and this is a sign of the times of no ordinary significance. In what mode it is best to assail that power, the Committee could not as unanimously agree; but we are every hour more deeply convinced that there is but one mode and one alternative presented to the people of the free States, and

that is, to have NO RELIGIOUS, NO POLITICAL UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS. On this ground we stand ready to unite again with Whigs, Democrats, and Liberty men; but on nothing short of this can we see any utility in attempting to make effectual resistance to the encroachments of Slavery."

Senate and House at Washington had, on the last day of February, 1845, agreed upon the joint resolution prescribing the terms of admission for Texas; Tyler sped the news with indecent haste, considering the nearness of his successor in office; the Mexican minister at the capital withdrew; the new President, Polk, made his disposition of forces by land and sea to deter Mexico from asserting in arms her claims to the territory of Texas, and at the same time began to negotiate for the purchase of California. When Congress assembled, the House was in no humor to entertain memorials against the admission of Texas, nor was John Quincy Adams disposed to struggle against a foregone conclusion. Stephen A. Douglas's resolution to admit Texas was promptly passed by a majority of five to two, and the Senate confirmed it (on Forefathers' Day) by a majority of nearly three to one. The year closed amid general despondency at the North in all anti-slavery breasts except those of the abolitionists. "Apparently," wrote Mr. Garrison to Richard Webb, with reference to annexation, "the slaveholding power has never been so strong — has never seemed to be so invincible — has never held such complete mastery over the whole country — has never so successfully hurled defiance at the Eternal and Just One — as at the present time; and yet never has it in reality been so weak, never has it had so many uncompromising assailants, never has it been so filled with doubt and consternation, never has it been so near its downfall, as at this moment. Upon the face of it, this statement looks absurdly paradoxical; but it is true, nevertheless. We are groping in thick darkness; but it is that darkest hour which is said to precede the dawn of day." And Edmund Quincy notified the same correspondent in

Lib. 15:18, 38, 39.

Mar. 3, 1845; *Lib.* 17:162.

Lib. 15:43, 54.

Lib. 15:197.

Lib. 15: [202].

Lib. 15:206.

Dec. 22, 1845; *Lib.* 16:2.

MS. Mar. 1, 1845.

MS. Mar. 29, 1845.

Eliza Lee Follen.

regard to Garrison — "He is in good spirits, . . . as he always is, and as we all have a trick of being. Mrs. Follen says that when she wants to be put in spirits, she goes among the abolitionists, and there she is sure to find cheerfulness, wit, humor, and fun. And who should be cheerful and merry, in this country, except the abolitionists?"

There can be no doubt that the acquisition of Texas hastened the overthrow of the Slave Power, by making it over-confident, by fostering dreams of an indefinite Southern expansion in case of separation from the North, by training the hot youth of the South to arms when Mexico was invaded and reduced — yet training not only Jefferson Davis, Lee, "Stonewall" Jackson, the two Johnstons, and so many other future chiefs of the Confederate army, but also Grant, Thomas, Meade, Hancock, and their fellow-emancipationists of the Federal army; above all, by enlarging with the national domain the points of contact between free and slave institutions, involving fresh conflicts and compromises — perpetual irritation of the national sore.[1] It also surely effected the division of the North into two political camps, by the open, shameless and final alliance of the Democratic Party with the Slave Power, for the sake of "an unchanging ascendancy" in national politics. For some time yet the Whig label would not necessarily connote a supporter of slavery; but with the Democratic label it was otherwise. From 1845 it meant nothing but complete subserviency to the mandates of the Southern oligarchy.

Lib. 15:42.

True to his instincts as a universal reformer, Mr. Garrison had varied his anti-slavery discourse with speeches before legislative committees and before conventions or simple meetings against capital punishment; or in favor of temperance and peace; on the Sabbath and on public worship. His progress towards greater theological enlight-

Lib. 15:27, 31, 84, 92, 158; *Lib.* 15:43, 115, 176; *Lib.* 15:47, 148.

[1] Thomas Corwin correctly predicted that, "in the event of a cession of territory by Mexico to the United States, the question of the *further extension* of slavery must arise in a form which would necessarily array the North and the South against each other," and ultimately lead to a dissolution of the Union (Letter of Sept. 23, 1847; *Lib.* 17:169).

enment was manifested in his treatment of Theodore Parker's heresies, at a time when the preacher's own denomination could not even tolerate a Unitarian clergyman who would exchange pulpits with him. Mr. Garrison was not shocked by the denial of a superhuman nature or attributes to Jesus. The pother, he declared, was caused by Mr. Parker's disbelief in the miraculous; yet, "surely, the obligations and duties of man to his fellow-man and to God are in no degree affected by the question whether miracles were wrought in Judea or not, with whatever interest that question may be invested." Later in the year, the publication of a Boston edition of the theological works of Thomas Paine brought the volume to him for review. His reception of it was characteristic:

Lib. 15:55.

Lib. 15:55.

"Until it was put into our hands a few days since, it had so happened that we had never perused a single page or paragraph of all the writings of Mr. Paine, whether theological or political. We were educated to regard him as a monster of iniquity, and were therefore intimidated in early life from seeking an acquaintance with his opinions and doctrines as expressed by himself, without priestly distortion or caricature. Since we have been delivered from the thraldom of tradition and authority, we have had no opportunity to examine any of Mr. Paine's sentiments respecting the Bible and Christianity, until the present time. His works are before us; we have given them a candid and careful perusal; and, though it may not be politic for us to do so, we feel in duty bound to state the impressions we have received."

Lib. 15:186. *Ante*, 1:219.

To the length of a full column of the *Liberator* Mr. Garrison proceeded with his judgment of Paine (whose anticipation of his favorite motto was still unknown to him), finding in him a great intellect and reasoning power, who attacked the marvellous in the Bible rather than its morality; an honest man, having the courage of his convictions; one who always addressed the reason and never the fears of his audience — as would appear from sundry citations.

Ante, 1:219.

"Of the millions who profess to believe in the Bible as the inspired word of God, how few there are who have had the

Lib. 15:186.

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wish or the courage to know on what ground they have formed their opinion! They have been taught that, to allow a doubt to arise in their minds on this point, would be sacrilegious, and to put in peril their salvation. They must believe in the plenary inspiration of the 'sacred volume,' or they are 'infidels,' who will justly deserve to be 'cast into the lake of fire and brimstone.' Imposture may always be suspected when reason is commanded to abdicate the throne; when investigation is made a criminal act; when the bodies or spirits of men are threatened with pains and penalties if they do not subscribe to the popular belief; when appeals are made to human credulity, and not to the understanding.

"Now, nothing can be more consonant to reason than that the more valuable a thing is, the more it will bear to be examined. If the Bible be, from Genesis to Revelation, divinely inspired, its warmest partisans need not be concerned as to its fate. It is to be examined with the same freedom as any other book, and taken precisely for what it is worth. It must stand or fall on its own inherent qualities, like any other volume. To know what it teaches, men must not stultify themselves, nor be made irrational by a blind homage. Their reason must be absolute in judgment, and act freely, or they cannot know the truth. They are not to object to what is simply incomprehensible — because no man can comprehend how it is that the sun gives light, or the acorn produces the oak; but what is clearly monstrous, or absurd, or impossible, cannot be endorsed by reason, and can never properly be made a test of religious faith, or an evidence of moral character.

Cf. Lib. 18:186.

"To say that everything contained within the lids of the Bible is divinely inspired, and to insist upon the dogma as fundamentally important, is to give utterance to a bold fiction, and to require the suspension of the reasoning faculties. To say that everything in the Bible is to be believed, simply because it is found in that volume, is equally absurd and pernicious. It is the province of reason to 'search the scriptures,' and determine what in them is true, and what false — what is probable, and what incredible — what is historically true, and what fabulous — what is compatible with the happiness of mankind, and what ought to be rejected as an example or rule of action — what is the letter that killeth, and what the spirit that maketh alive. When the various books of the Bible were written, or by whom they were written, no man living can tell. This is purely a matter of conjecture; and as conjecture is not

certainty, it ceases to be authoritative. Nor is it of vast consequence, in the eye of reason, whether they to whom the Bible is ascribed wrote it or not; whether Paul was the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, or of any other Epistle which is attributed to him; whether Moses wrote the Pentateuch, or Joshua the history of his own exploits, or David the Psalms, or Solomon the Proverbs; or whether the real authors were some unknown persons. 'What is writ, is writ,' and it must stand or fall by the test of just criticism, by its reasonableness and utility, by the probabilities of the case, by historical confirmation, by human experience and observation, by the facts of science, by the intuition of the spirit. Truth is older than any parchment, and would still exist though a universal conflagration should consume all the books in the world. To discard a portion of scripture is not necessarily to reject the truth, but may be the highest evidence that one can give of his love of truth."

Stephen Pearl Andrews.

Towards midsummer the art of phonography alighted in Boston, with Andrews and Boyle for its apostles and teachers. It found a cordial welcome in the *Liberator*. Mr. Garrison recalled his first visit to England in 1833, and his regret that his ignorance of any language but his own overruled his desire to cross to the Continent; how, on his second visit, in 1840, the need of a universal language for mankind was again impressed upon him at Bowring's table, when he could hold no conversation directly with Isambert and the other French delegates to the World's Convention, so that at the Crown and Anchor soirée he had to "testify against the existing diversity of tongues among mankind," to him so "unnatural, fraudulent, afflictive, insupportable." Phonography seemed a long stride towards the desideratum, as promising to "render each national dialect simple and exact," and make easy "the transition from many rectified languages to one pure language." With millennial hopefulness, he repeated his belief that some then living would witness a world's convention "either to devise a common language, or to provide ways and means for the universal propagation of such a language."

Lib. 15:110.

Ante, 2:378.

Ante, 2:384.

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The fancied every-day uses of the art he thus pictured in a letter to S. J. May:

MS. July 17, 1845.

"My attention has recently been drawn to the subject of Phonography and Phonotypy, and I want you, as a friend of universal reform, to look into it; for I am persuaded you will be delighted with it, as I have been. It is a new system of writing and printing, invented by Mr. Isaac Pitman, a teacher in Bath, England, by which the ignorant masses may be taught to read and write in an almost incredibly short space of time — compressing the labor of months into weeks, and of years into months. As a teacher and a scholar, you know how monstrous and endless are the absurdities and perplexities of English orthography, and how laborious is the ordinary mode of writing. But here is a system devised which brings order out of chaos, makes everything plain, simple, consistent, and infallibly sure, surpasses stenography in the rapidity of writing, and is perhaps next in importance to the discovery of printing in the fifteenth century. It is making great progress in England, and is receiving in this quarter a strong impetus. Several hundred persons in this city (a large number of school-teachers included) have already taken lessons in it, among whom I am one. Our teacher is Mr. Augustus F. Boyle, an English young gentleman, who has been teaching the French language for the last three years, and who enters into this new reform with zeal and spirit. He will probably hand this letter to you, as he leaves immediately to attend a convention of teachers which is to be held in a few days in Syracuse. As he will be able to give you all the information you may desire in regard to this matter, I need not add any more. I understand Mr. Peirce, of the Normal School, is much interested in it. This evening we meet to form an American Phonographic Society."

Cyrus Peirce.

Lib. 15:132. *Lib.* 15:140.

Of this Society Mr. Garrison became an officer, and his friend May was quickly made president of the branch organization established in Syracuse. Anyone who has ever attempted phonography will correctly surmise that Mr. Garrison, with his multiplicity of cares and engagements, and his rigid and laborious, if elegant, penmanship, never acquired the art he dabbled in. Its utility to the abolition cause was the one thing that escaped his prophetic vision. It enormously increased the audience

of every anti-slavery speaker whose words were worth quoting verbatim. An orator like Wendell Phillips[1] quickly appreciated the fact that he was addressing, not merely the little handful of the faithful who were gathered before him, but a bench of reporters for the local daily press, in addition to the official phonographer of the *Liberator* and the *Standard*.[2] These reports the telegraph by and by dispersed to all the newspapers in the country.

[1] See the first phonographic report of a speech by Mr. Phillips, taken down by Henry M. Parkhurst in Boston, Dec. 29, 1846 (*Lib.* 17 : 7), and the orator's testimony to the superiority of the new method of reporting (*Lib.* 17 : 83).

[2] The official report soon became a necessary self-defence against systematic caricature or neglect on the part of a hostile press. See *Lib.* 20 : 95, 96, 98.

CHAPTER VI.

Third Mission to England.—1846.

Chap. VI. 1846.

AT the annual meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society on January 30, 1846, the following resolution, of Mr. Garrison's moving, was adopted:

Lib. 16:22.

"That the special thanks of this Society are proffered to our untiring coadjutor, Henry C. Wright, for the fidelity with which he has unmasked the vaunted Free Church of Scotland for conniving at the great iniquity of American slavery, by soliciting and receiving its pecuniary assistance and religious coöperation; for all his labors abroad, to secure in aid of our anti-slavery enterprise the generous sympathies and Christian coöperation of the good and philanthropic in England and Europe; and, in particular, for the revelation which he has made to them as to the guilty compromises of the American Union — thus invoking their moral abhorrence of such an unholy compact, and securing their righteous testimony against it."

The secession of the Free Church of Scotland from the Established Church was consummated in May, 1843. The grounds of separation involved the voluntary abandonment of State support for the ministers of the denomination, and made necessary the raising of a Sustentation Fund. Before the date in question, therefore, Dr. Chalmers had arranged for an œcumenical collection, of which the American contingent was not to be despised. Charleston, the cradle of lovers of freedom — "in the abstract" — was very prompt to respond to this appeal. Seven different "Evangelical" denominations begged the Rev. Thomas Smyth, D. D., to preach a sermon on it and pass the contribution box in his Presbyterian church,

Rev. Thos. Chalmers.

Lib. 14:57.

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which he did, with many touching references to "tyranny and oppression," and many tropes in which Liberty cut a pretty figure. This discourse had the desired effect in raising a sum of money, to which the mayor of the city contributed his mite and his name. And so pleased was the schismatic pastor of Free St. David's, Glasgow, that he reprinted the Rev. Dr. Smyth's unmoral rhetoric, with a prefatory note. To his surprise, however, a well-informed, but irreverent, Glasgow editor exposed "the flashy, high-sounding, unmeaning words" of the Charleston divine; and, hoping that the money had not yet arrived, looked to see the Free Church treasurer send it back by return of steamer, as blood-stained, together with a sermon "suited to the circumstances of slaveholders," for the special benefit of the Rev. Dr. Smyth.

Lib. 14:57.

The poor editor found his excuse, perhaps, in the fact that religious Scotland was just then greatly exercised by the news that a South Carolina judge had passed sentence of death on a Northern man, John L. Brown, for aiding the escape of a female slave. The incident, except among abolitionists,[1] created no excitement in this country. In England it was pathetically commented on in the House of Lords by Brougham and by the Lord Chief-Justice Denman, who spoke, as William Ashurst[2] wrote to the *Liberator*, "in the name of all the Judges of England on this horrible iniquity." O'Connell thundered against it before the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. A memorial to the nonentity known as the Churches of Christ in South Carolina, "as representing those of other provinces, confederated in the United States of America," was drawn up and signed by more than 1300 "ministers and office-bearers of Christian churches and benevolent societies in Lancashire, London, and elsewhere in England." Hardly was this surpassed by the Scotch conscience, which called great meetings —

Lib. 14:34, 51, 62, 66, 67.

Lib. 14:67.

Lib. 14:67, 87.

Lib. 14:87.

Lib. 14:102.

Lib. 14:67, 77.

[1] See Whittier's poem and prefatory note on this incident on p. 89, vol. 3, of his Writings, ed. 1888.

[2] Under the *nom de guerre* of "Edward Search."

Lib. 14:66, 67, 77. some under the lead of the Glasgow Emancipation Society, but vigorously supported by the clergy; one, a town meeting, at Edinburgh, summoned by the Magistrates and Council. What more natural than to couple Brown's case with the action of the Free Church in accepting contributions from American slaveholders — and South Carolinian in particular?

Lib. 14:67.

Lib. 14:77.

The British protest — O'Connell's above all, the Southern judge bearing an Irish name[1] — was heard and felt in South Carolina; and, whether or not it was heeded, Brown's sentence was commuted to whipping. The Free Church was less sensitive, and its collecting agents, already landed in America, were guided neither by the home feeling nor by the timely admonition of the abolitionists. From the Tappans and their associates of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society they received in silence a long and solemn warning not to prosecute their tour through the South, since it would inevitably commit them to the palliation of slavery. They were also fully advised, in the same communication, of the pro-slavery character of the Presbyterian organization in this country.

John Belton O'Neall; *Lib.* 14:109.

Lib. 14:66.

Lib. 14:65.

This letter, dated April 2, 1844, was followed by one privately addressed on April 27 by Mr. Garrison to the Rev. William Chalmers, one of the Commissioners, inviting him to be one of the speakers at the approaching anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society in New York. Mr. Chalmers, however, was not prone to make entangling alliances. He had happened to be in New Bedford on April 13, 14, when Mr. Garrison was lecturing on Non-Resistance, the Sabbath, the Ministry, and the Church; and though he took good care not to go and listen to him, he prudently preserved the placard announcing the lectures, and carried it to Scotland, that it might serve to explain the difficulties of the American churches with reference to the anti-slavery movement. Not only was he shocked by the subjects presented, and

Lib. 16:73.

[1] "How he [O'Connell] abhorred him for his name! Let his O be blotted out at any rate, and then *nail* the rap to the counter" (*Lib.* 14:102).

the reported views advanced by the lecturer, but his keen eye detected on the placard a sneer at the Sabbath, which had not been designated by its holy name, but simply as "the *next* day"—to Saturday! So on May 1 he sat down and declined the invitation on the ground of conflicting engagements—not, however, withholding the pointed remark to Mr. Garrison, that, while having his own views as to slavery, he did not itemize Sabbath, Ministry, and Church among the sum of all villanies. Then, on the good advice of a shrewder friend, he pocketed the letter instead of mailing it, and gave it to the light through a Scotch paper a year later—meantime having, with his colleagues, picked up some twenty thousand dollars of American money as the reward of discretion on the controverted topic of slavery.

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Lib. 16:73.

MS. Jan. 29, 1846, *F. Douglass to F. Jackson.*

Nevertheless, the cry of the Glasgow Emancipation Society, "Send back the money!" was not relaxed. Henry C. Wright, who had survived the rigors of the water-cure at Graefenberg and returned to Scotland, gave a powerful reënforcement to the movement, to which rallied also, across the border, Clarkson and George Thompson, and the Chartist leader, Henry Vincent. To their aid came over ocean, in the autumn of 1845, James N. Buffum of Lynn, and Frederick Douglass, who first took Ireland in their way, and then lent a hand in the agitation, till, in January, 1846, the latter could report, "Old Scotland boils like a pot!" The most extraordinary popular demonstrations were made against Free Church edifices—of course without the instigation or sanction of the abolitionists proper. The slaves' blood was realistically imitated with splotches of red paint on walls or steps, with or without the corresponding legend; and "Send back the money!" was placarded all over Auld Reekie. Not a newspaper in Scotland could abstain from the mêlée, at the height of which Thompson was presented with the freedom of the city of Edinburgh.

Lib. 14:206.

Lib. 15:66, 73, 75.

Lib. 15:83.

Lib. 15:135.

Lib. 15:178, 189, 190.

MS. to F. Jackson.

Lib. 16:53, 87.

Lib. 16:87.

The thoughts of the American group naturally turned to their old leader at home, as if his presence might give

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the *coup de grâce*. The disunion doctrine — political non-fellowship with American slaveholders — had been vigorously expounded by Henry C. Wright, and coupled with the burning and related doctrine of ecclesiastical non-fellowship; and a tract of his on the former subject was circulated by the thousand. The Free Church leaders, bent on retaining the American contributions, passed from general apologies for slaveholding to attacks on the Old Organization, and in especial on Wright and Garrison for their Sabbatarian heresies. On April 21, this phase of the controversy was dwelt upon by Mr. Wright at a great meeting of the Emancipation Society at the City Hall in Glasgow; and George Thompson, after paying a most sincere and feeling tribute to his transatlantic friend, offered on behalf of the Society a resolution of sympathy with Mr. Garrison and his co-workers, and an invitation to come over and help the cause in Great Britain — with particular reference to an anti-slavery conference to be held in London in August. These proceedings were published in the *Liberator* of May 29.

Lib. 16:35, 69.

Lib. 15:1, 75, 81; 16:73, 85, 102.

Lib. 16:86, 87.

The proposal was very tempting. The opening year had found Mr. Garrison in poor health and much pecuniary embarrassment arising from the financial condition of the *Liberator*. Generous friends could and did gratefully relieve the one;[1] and all knew the truth of what Wendell Phillips expressed in writing to Mrs. Garrison of her husband: "I think his health needs, every few years, that he should throw completely off the burden of the paper." On the other hand, the country was now plunged in the Mexican War; never had there been a more signal occasion for impressing upon the popular conscience the

MS. July 22, 1846.

[1] MSS. Jan. 1, 1846, W. L. G. to Mrs. Louisa Loring; Jan. 6, Ann and Wendell Phillips to W. L. G. and wife; Jan. 12, W. L. G. to F. Jackson; Jan. 21, S. Philbrick to W. L. G. Mr. Phillips wrote: "I owe you, dear Garrison, more than you would let me express, and, my mother and wife excepted, more than to any other one. Since within the sphere of your influence, I trust I have lived a better man. I rejoice to say this here, because the very intimacy of our relation has always made me delicate of saying it in public, though I am glad to feel that most men know it to be true."

national guilt towards slavery; the abolition corps was already weakened by the absence of Wright, Douglass, and Buffum. Could the chief himself be spared? The New England Convention first, and afterwards the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society, unanimously answered yes, and a call for funds was immediately made. There remained the editorial conduct of the *Liberator*, of which Quincy, Phillips, Charles K. Whipple, and Mrs. Chapman offered to assume the not light burden. To part with wife and children was hard,—all the more because, as in 1840, there was a prospective increase of the family. Mrs. Garrison, with her customary self-abnegation, interposed no obstacles. In short, Mr. Garrison yielded, and sailed from Boston in the steamship *Britannia* on July 16, 1846:

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Lib. 16:90, 98.

Lib. 16:114, 190.

Ante, 2:363.

Lib. 16:114.

"I do not go," he said in his valedictory to his readers, "to flatter England, or to disparage my native land, but to protest against the foul deed of the Free Church of Scotland, in putting into its treasury the price of blood, and giving for it the right hand of Christian fellowship to the American slaveholder;[1] to enlist for the overthrow of slavery, by moral instrumentalities, all that is disinterested, humane, and free; to vindicate the American Anti-Slavery Society and its kindred auxiliaries from the aspersions of their betrayers and defamers, and as worthy of the most entire confidence and the most liberal encouragement; to avow principles which lay the axe at the root of all injustice, oppression, and war; and to labor for the overthrow of whatever stands opposed to the kingdom of peace and holiness."

Lib. 16:114.

This programme was carried out to the letter; but, as in both his previous visits to England, the main object was overruled and became subordinate.

Lib. 17:13.

1 "Her representatives are blameworthy, not because they got money in the Southern States, but because they got it most foully by keeping silence on the subject of slavery. . . . If they had obtained it after having uttered a faithful testimony in the ears of the South, every slave would say, Keep it" (W. L. G. to the colored people of Boston, at the farewell tendered him by them at Belknap-Street Church, July 15, 1846, reported by Mrs. Chapman in *Lib.* 16 : 118). Cf. *Lib.* 17 : 70, in which Mr. Garrison justifies the reception of money from the South towards the relief of the famine-stricken population of Ireland.

Lib. 16:123. Shipwreck, from striking on a reef while making Halifax harbor in a fog, was narrowly avoided, and the voyage completed in a leaking vessel. Richard Webb, the last to bid him adieu in 1840, was waiting anxiously at Liverpool to greet his return,[1] and with him Henry C. Wright. Their happy reunion took place on July 31, and, after a few days' rest, the three friends went up to London, where George Thompson met them and took the two Americans to his own home in Waterloo Place, some three miles from the heart of the city. Mr. Garrison wrote to his wife:

Ante, 2:404; *Lib.* 16:146.

Aug. 3, 1846.

No. 6.

MS. Aug. 1, 1846. *(The date is too early.)*

"To be once more with George, is a revival of days gone by. He is still the same loving, faithful friend — the same playful, mirthful, entertaining companion — the same modest, unpretending man — the same zealous and eloquent advocate — the same warm and sympathizing friend of suffering humanity — that he was eleven years ago, when he was in our country. I do not perceive that either time, or his immense labors, have made any striking change in his personal appearance. He looks about as young as he did in the U. S."

The first attraction and occupation for Mr. Garrison was the World's Temperance Convention, held on August 4 at the London Literary Institution. Though not a delegate, he had well-nigh the same title, of pioneer, to be the chief transatlantic figure in its proceedings that he had in the World's Anti-Slavery Convention of 1840.

[1] Webb had been remembered by his faithful correspondent, Edmund Quincy, who wrote by the hand of Garrison (MS. July 14, 1846): "You will be glad enough to see the bearer of this, that is, if he don't forget to deliver it to you or post it to you. The Pioneer may be depended upon in many capacities, but I am not quite sure of him as a two-penny postman. I cannot but think that he will do a good service to the cause on your side. At any rate, he must do your hearts and his own health good. We are sorry to part with him, but think it will be for the best. We think pretty well of him here, though he has one swingeing fault. It is a horrid trick he has of being *right*. Nothing illustrates the Christian character of the Cab [the *cabful* of old organizationists?] more than their willingness to forgive him for this vice. It is generally supposed that he rules us with a rod of iron, and that we can't call our souls our own; whereas, he is more often overruled on points of difference, and we have almost always had to acknowledge, in the end, that he was right and we were wrong. Now this you must allow to be very provoking and hard to bear. Still, I don't wish to prejudice you against the man. I only wish to put you on your guard."

But that distinction was reserved for the Rev. Dr. Lyman Beecher, who was introduced and often referred to as "the father of the temperance movement in America." *Lib.* 16: [150].

W. L. Garrison to his Wife.

LONDON, August 4, 1846. *Lib.* 16: 147.

This day the World's [Temperance] Convention began its sessions. The cause which it seeks to promote being the first that I ever publicly espoused, I went to the meeting for the purpose of observing its proceedings. It was held in a comparatively small room, and the public were not allowed to listen to the discussions. Though not a delegate from any temperance society at home, I was politely furnished (with others) with a ticket, which admitted me as a member of the Convention; but I soon perceived that the same spirit which controlled the Anti-Slavery Convention in 1840, had entire mastery over this. In the course of the afternoon session, the Rev. Mr. Kirk of Boston incidentally defended the American slaveholder, and eulogized the Sabbath as worthy of being maintained by pains and penalties, "not in the name of the Lord, but on the ground of expediency." As soon as I could, I rose to reply, and was at first received with very great applause; but the moment I began to rebuke Kirk for his conduct, sundry individuals raised the cry of personality, and protested against the discussion of extraneous topics! Great excitement followed, and the result was that Kirk took back his pro-slavery sentiment, not to repudiate it, but to avoid the issue and escape censure. Everything in the Convention is under the most stringent regulations. As for free discussion, its toleration is out of the question. I do not think, after the treatment that I have received, that I shall attend another session. Not that the Convention at all sympathized with Kirk, for they did not; but they were afraid of giving offence, or of getting into a controversy on another topic, aside from the object which had specially brought them together. Still, they behaved quite unfairly, and are under too much "management" to suit me — though Henry Clapp,[1] notwithstanding his horror of an organized meeting on our side

Edward N. Kirk.

[1] Editor of the *Pioneer* (lately the *Essex Co. Washingtonian*, owned by Christopher Robinson) at Lynn, Mass., and one of the most virulent of Rogers's supporters (*Lib.* 14 : 206; 15 : 2, 23, 42; MS. Dec. 14, 1844, Quincy to R. D. Webb).

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of the Atlantic, can act as Secretary, and discover nothing to dislike or censure!

The temperance cause in this kingdom has made very little progress, especially among the "respectable" and "good society" folks. Almost wherever I go to partake of the hospitalities proffered to me, decanters of wine are on the table, and not to take a glass of this poison is an act of singularity which immediately excites notice and observation.

One can imagine how much Mr. Garrison would have disturbed the harmony of the proceedings on the fifth day, had he not been better employed elsewhere. A resolution having been offered that it was essential to the reformation to "abstain from *giving*, as well as taking, intoxicating liquors," "Dr. Beecher (United States) recommended the terminating *the impolitic suggestion* by the previous question. If persevered in, the attempt at dictation would alienate their allies in America." The gag was accordingly applied, though the Convention unanimously agreed that it was a very naughty thing to manufacture and sell intoxicating drinks.

Lib. 16: [150].

Lib. 16: 146.

Mr. Garrison lost no time in seeking introductions to the conductors of the leading press of the metropolis. He had a very gratifying interview with Douglas Jerrold, who promised to aid the anti-slavery cause in his *Weekly Newspaper*, and presently reprinted several articles from the *Liberator*. He was well received by Dickens's *locum tenens* on the *Daily News*, the chief being at that time on the Continent. He opened relations with John Saunders, of the *People's Journal*, and renewed his friendship with William and Mary Howitt, now connected with this periodical.[1] The *Nonconformist*, edited by the Rev.

Ante, 2: 377.

[1] On Sept. 10, 1846, Mr. Garrison wrote to his wife (MS.): "Mary Howitt has completed her autobiography of me for the *People's Journal*." The solecism was felicitous, for the sketch which appeared in No. 37 of that magazine, accompanied by a villanous portrait on wood (*Lib.* 18: 22), was based on data furnished by him, and is fairly to be called autobiographic. It has been already cited (*ante*, 1: 13-15). It was copied in part in the *National A. S. Standard* (7: 96, 100), and in full in the *Pennsylvania Freeman* of Mar. 25, 1847. Readers of the first two volumes of the present work will notice some slight discrepancies in Mrs. Howitt's narrative, as

Edward Miall, was also approached. Dr. Bowring received him, with his old genuine cordiality, at breakfast with Thompson and Douglass. Ashurst welcomed him anew to Muswell Hill, and there made him acquainted with W. J. Fox, the eminent Unitarian preacher, and with the exiled Mazzini. He came to know and to esteem "William Lovett and Henry Vincent, the leaders of the moral-suasion Chartists ["as opposed to the violent course of Feargus O'Connor"]—the friends of temperance, peace, universal brotherhood. They are true men," vouched Mr. Garrison, "who will stand by us to the last—men who have been cast into prison in this country, and confined therein (the former one year, the latter twenty months), for pleading the cause of the starving operatives in this country, and contending for universal suffrage. Such men I honor and revere."[1]

Ante, 2:378. *Lib.* 16:146. *Ante*, 2:377. *Lib.* 16:[155]. *Lib.* 18:61. *Lib.* 16:[155]. *Lib.* 16:146. *At Newport, Wales*, 1839–40.

On the 10th of August, everything was in readiness for the formation of an Anti-Slavery League, to coöperate with the American Anti-Slavery Society. This took place at the Crown and Anchor Tavern. The preamble of union expressly indicated its transatlantic affiliation and was followed by these articles:

Lib. 16:146.

"1. That slaveholding is, under all circumstances, a sin of the deepest dye, and ought immediately to be abandoned.

Lib. 16:[150].

"2. That the members of this League shall consist of all per-

was to be expected under the circumstances. At the home of the Howitts, at Clapton, Mr. Garrison met the German poet of freedom, Ferdinand Freiligrath, then a refugee, and was "delighted with the modesty of his deportment and the beauty of his character" (*Lib.* 18:110).

[1] Lovett, in his 'Life and Struggles' (London, 1876), speaking of his new American acquaintances in 1846, says, p. 321: "During our friends' visit, I recall to memory a very delightful evening spent with them and other friends, at the house of Mr. J. H. Parry [*Lib.* 17:51]. On that occasion we had not only a very interesting account of the anti-slavery movement and its prominent advocates in America, but our friend Douglass, who had a fine voice, sang a number of negro melodies, Mr. Garrison sang several anti-slavery pieces, and our grave friend, H. C. Wright, sang an old Indian war song. Other friends contributed to the amusement of the evening, and among them our friend Vincent sang 'The Marseillaise.'" At Henry Vincent's home at Stoke Newington, Mr. Garrison spent a memorable day in company with Wright, Douglass, and James Haughton of Dublin—one of the stanchest and most influential Irish abolitionists (*Lib.* 16:146).

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sons subscribing to the foregoing principles, without respect of country, complexion, or religious or political creeds.

"3. That the sole object of the League shall be the overthrow, by means exclusively moral and peaceful, of slavery in every land, but with special reference to the system now existing in the United States."

The League's first public demonstration was in its own behalf and in furtherance of Mr. Garrison's mission, a meeting being held on the just-mentioned premises on the evening of August 17, 1846. The audience was large, "most intelligent, respectable, and enthusiastic." As Mr. Garrison wrote to his wife —

Lib. 16:146.

MS. Aug. 18, 1846.

"It was a real old-organized anti-slavery meeting, such as was never before held in this metropolis. George Thompson was in the chair, and made a brief but earnest speech, in which he referred to me in a very kind and complimentary manner. Henry C. Wright made the opening speech, and it was 'a scorcher,' and received great applause. I followed him — and, on rising, was received by the assembly with a tempest of applause, they rising from their seats, swinging their hats, and cheering loudly. I made a long speech, which elicited the strongest marks of approbation. Douglass was received in a similar manner, and made one of his very best efforts. I never saw an audience more delighted. Henry Vincent made the closing speech, which was eloquently uttered and warmly cheered. James Haughton, at the commencement, presented a resolution, welcoming us all to England, &c., &c. Rev. Mr. Kirk of Boston was in the meeting, but he found the atmosphere too warm for him at last, and left the room. We began at half-past 6 P. M., and did not adjourn till 12 o'clock, very few having left at that late hour. Everything was encouraging in the highest degree."

Lib. 16:157. *Lib.* 16:157. *Lib.* 16:157. *F. Douglass.* *Lib.* 16:157. *Lib.* 16:157. *Lib.* 16:157. *E. N. Kirk.*

A few samples of Mr. Garrison's remarks will show alike his tact and his method in addressing foreign auditors:

London Universe, Aug. 28, 1846; *Lib.* 16:157.

"He was received with enthusiastic cheering, hundreds rising from their seats. He wished to know if they were in earnest when they gave him that reception? Were they disposed to regard him as the friend of universal liberty? Then he begged

to tell them, that if they went over to America they would be deemed fit subjects for Lynch law. (Laughter and cheers.) What! were they in earnest? were there no apologists for slavery there? none to applaud those ancient slaveholding patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob? none to talk of sending Onesimus back to his master because he was a slave? Were there none to apologize for those pious men who plundered cradles of babes, tortured women by the slave-driver's lash, and sent men to the auction-block? 'Why, then,' said Mr. Garrison, 'here 's my hand for every one of you, and here 's a heart that beats in unison with your own. (Great cheering.) . . .

"'It is no common conflict in which we are engaged, because, whatever forms of political oppression you may have here, or in Europe, or in the world besides, there is no power so dreadful and exterminating as American slavery. It began with the very beginning of the Union (hear), and it has grown with our growth until it now holds complete mastery over the whole country, so that the two great political parties are eager to do its bidding, and religious sects bow before it and do it homage: in one word, it has completely subjected church and state. Above all, we are against church and state because they are on the side of slavery, and they shall go down together. (Great applause.) It is said that the abolitionists are assailing the American church: it is true. It is said they are assailing the American clergy in [as] a body: it is true. It is said that they are assailing the Government under which they live: it is true. It is said that they are seeking the dissolution of the Union: it is true. Why do I say this? Because the church is the stronghold of the system; because the clergy are active defenders of the system; because the Government was originally so constructed that it gives its entire support to slavery, so long as the slaveholder shall desire it.

"'Now, to come to facts, and to show you that I do not exaggerate in what I state, I will read for you a few extracts, giving you the very words of the abettors of slavery in the church. . . .

"'Such is slavery in America! And yet the abolitionists are stigmatized as infidels because they would have no such Christianity or republicanism as sanctioned such atrocities. Slavery is a curse wherever it is found. It not only smites with barrenness the most fertile soil in the world, but it makes human life cheap, and, in fact, of no value at all. (Cheers.) A year ago

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I thought I would collect from the newspapers all the horrible details of killing, maiming, &c., connected with slavery, and put them in my paper. My collection was imperfect, for I had no Southern papers, for they will not send papers to me from the South. I took the Northern papers, and took out of them the most bloody deeds. They are very few indeed, but they show the state of society there, and a state of insecurity for human life such as can nowhere else be found.[1] The list was begun a year ago, and this paper is full of short paragraphs. [Here Mr. Garrison unrolled a paper, the width of one of our columns, made up of short accounts of murders, etc., and unrolled it from end to end. It was above 12 yards long. There were calls for a few to be read. Mr. Garrison then read two or three, and then continued.] And yet there are those who attempt to excuse this state of things. I am sorry that there are Englishmen disposed to apologize for these American Christians who keep bloodhounds! They say, they are under a great mistake — they are in error, but you must call such Christians no hard or bad names. But I say the American people are excluded from apology. They hold the Declaration in their hand that all men are equal; then they enslave their brother, and whip him, and hunt him with bloodhounds, and profess the gospel of Christ. Now, no man can be excused for enslaving another, whether he be savage or civilized. (Great applause.) God has put a witness in every man's breast which protests against man holding a man in bondage. I never debate the question as to whether man may hold property in man. I never degrade myself by debating the question, "Is slavery a sin?" It is a self-evident truth, which God hath engraven on our very nature. Where I see the holder of a slave, I charge the sin upon him, and I denounce him. . . .

"'Now, what have we American abolitionists a right to ask of you Englishmen? You ought not to receive slaveholders as honest Christian men. You ought not to invite them to your pulpits, to your communion tables. Will you see to it that they never ascend your pulpits? If you will, then the slave will

[1] See the rubric "The Bloody and Oppressive South," in *Lib.* 15 : 20, 32, and *passim* in the volumes for 1845, 1846, etc., usually on the fourth page of the paper. This curse of slave society has long survived the abolition of slavery. See H. V. Redfield's 'Homicide, North and South' (Philadelphia, 1880), and the fusillade of satire directed against Southern public sentiment concerning passionate and cold-blooded murder, in the N. Y. *Evening Post* and *Nation* in 1882–84.

bless you, and thanks from the American abolitionists will come over in thunder tones for your decision, and you will give a blow to slavery from which it will not recover. We ask another thing of you. Send us no more delegates to the States, or, if you do, let there be no divinity about them. Nothing but common humanity can stand in the United States. (Cheers.) Send us no more Baptist clerical delegates, or Methodist, or Presbyterian, or Quaker clerical delegates. They have all played into the hands of slavery against the abolitionists. (Cheers.) From Dr. C—— down to the last delegation, they have all done an evil work, and have strengthened slavery against us. Like the priest and the Levite, they have passed us by and gone on the other side. They found the cause of abolitionism unpopular. The mass of society were pro-slavery, so they went with them, and we have gone to the wall. Send us no more, if you please. (Cheers.) We have had to say, Save us from our English friends, and we will take care of our enemies. There have been those who have gone over to America, and who have nobly stood their ground. They have passed through the fire, and no smell of it has been found on them. That man (pointing to the chairman, Mr. Thompson) has gone through it. (Immense cheering, continued for some time.) Though rising on the topmost wave of popularity at home, he consented to aid us, where he was sure to be mobbed and scouted. But he never blenched. He was not afraid to make himself the friend and companion of the negro; and if he had remained, his life would have been taken. If we had desired it, he would have remained and hazarded his life; but we said, Go. Now, I don't know if he had been divine he could have stood it. While a man remains common humanity, I can trust him; but when he gets up into the air, where there comes something superhuman about him, I am afraid of him. (Cheers.)

Rev. F. A. Cox; ante, 1:480.

"'Another thing don't do. Send no more men to the South to get money. The Free Church of Scotland is, like democratic America, stained with blood. It has the price of blood in its treasury. Oh! that Free Church of Scotland! I am for freedom everywhere, and rejoice that that church is a free one; but it has received a paltry bribe, and abetted slavery. I have no idea they will send back the money. The laity I believe would send it back, but the divinity prevents it.'"

Thompson had a speedy opportunity to turn the tables on his friend, without prejudice to the common cause:

Lib. 16:162. *Sept.* 18, 1846.

"The chief business we have had to do, recently," he wrote to Quincy, "has been to rescue the anti-slavery cause from the hands of your pro-slavery American divines, whose principal occupation for some weeks has been to hoodwink, deceive, and corrupt those with whom they have come in contact. Such men are a moral pestilence. Into whatsoever society they enter, they misrepresent the abolitionists of America; they cover up the most frightful features of slavery; they extenuate the criminality of *all* slaveholders, and boldly justify the conduct of such as belong to their own churches, and labor to destroy the hitherto sound views of the people of this country respecting the essential sinfulness of manstealing; and yet, they are as much opposed to slavery as any human beings in the world! and yet, they are the friends of the slave, and we are the slaves' worst enemies! Can you not keep such men at home? If you cannot, why then we must try what we can do to unmask them. I do trust we shall soon create a public sentiment here which will be such as will lead them to travel in any direction rather than towards the shores of Great Britain."

The allusion in this passage was to the great meeting of the newly formed League, in Exeter Hall, to review the proceedings of the Evangelical Alliance. This was another World's Convention, or rather Conference, convoked in October, 1845, on a sectarian basis, in which Methodists and Free Church men preponderated, and which met 1200 strong in London, in mid-August, full of great expectations, yet not without apprehensions of discord. A preliminary British conference had been held at Birmingham, attended by Scotch members who had already given public notice that slaveholders must be excluded from the London gathering. Dr. Candlish, an eminent Free Church leader, craftily procured the adoption of a policy of "not inviting" slaveholders, which was thus delicately formulated:

Lib. 16: [154], 198.

Aug. 19, 1846.

Lib. 16:67.

Rev. Robert S. Candlish.

Lib. 16:93, 98, 198.

Lib. 16:98.

"That, while this Committee deem it unnecessary and inexpedient to enter into any question, at present, on the subject of slaveholding, or on the difficult circumstances in which Christian brethren may be placed in countries where the law of slavery prevails, they are of opinion that invitations ought not to be sent to individuals who, whether by their own fault or other-

wise, may be in the unhappy position of holding their fellow-men as slaves."

This resolution neither precluded the discussion of slaveholding at the London Conference, nor propitiated the American brethren; the New School Presbyterian General Assembly at Philadelphia making it the express ground of a refusal to send delegates. On the 27th of August, the Conference passed from the smooth waters of "singing and canting" to breakers on a lee-shore threatening instant shipwreck. A motion was made to add to the declaration of the objects of the Alliance "Facts relating to slavery and the condition of our brethren in bonds in every part of the world." This proved very obnoxious, especially to the American delegates, the Rev. E. N. Kirk saying, with perfect truth, that it would hazard the very existence of the Alliance. It was accordingly withdrawn; but the next day the Rev. J. Howard Hinton, editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, moved the exclusion of slaveholders from the Alliance, and one voice from across the water was heard to second it, that of J. V. Himes, whose sympathizers in the American delegation numbered less than half a dozen. Great was the excitement produced in this delegation, with all their efforts to be calm. During the recess, the discussion went on informally, but with added earnestness. One overheard "an American patriarch (Beecher), whose eyes are moist with tears"— but not for the slave — saying: "Brethren, you are too warm. Remember the work you have to do, and be wise." Worldly-wise they were in going without their dinners and retiring to pray, with the reward of seeing the motion temporarily withdrawn. However, the Rev. F. A. Cox, trusting to his transatlantic experience in trimming, thought to ease matters by proposing that the Hinton resolution and others on the same subject be referred to a committee, on which, of course, America was well represented. On August 29, they reported, through the Rev. Samuel Hanson Cox, who had long since abandoned the abolition ranks in the time of the sectarian

Lib. 16:198.

Lib. 16:198.

Lib. 16: [154].

Lib. 16: [154], 185, 190.

Lib. 16:165.

Lib. 16: [154].

Lyman Beecher.

Lib. 16: [154], [155].

Ante, 1:480.

Ante, 1:461, 485.

Lib. 16: [154].

division.[1] They commended to the consideration of the several branches of the Alliance social evils like the profanation of the Lord's Day, intemperance, duelling, and the sin of slavery, with the hope that no branch would admit slaveholders "who, by their own fault, continue in that position, retaining their fellow-men in slavery from regard to their interests!" Mr. Hinton, who had made one of the Committee, moved the adoption of its report, and the Conference gladly accepted the seeming settlement of the vexed question.

Lib. 16: [154].

Lib. 16: 162, 198.

Two days later, at Freemasons' Hall, protests from the American delegates were presented, a reconsideration forced, and the action of the Conference rescinded, amid unanimous public condemnation. The Anti-Slavery League at once saw its opportunity, and called a great meeting in Exeter Hall to review the "Evangelical" proceedings.

W. L. Garrison to his Wife.

MS.

MUSWELL HILL, near LONDON, Sept. 17, 1846.

Sept. 14, 1846.

On Monday, Thompson and myself busied ourselves in some little preparation for the Exeter Hall meeting which we were to hold that evening, with special reference to the course pursued by the Evangelical Alliance on the subject of American slavery. Frederick joined us in the afternoon, having left Sheffield in the morning. Our meeting was a very triumphant one. The vast hall was densely crowded, and presented a brilliant spectacle. The interest and feeling manifested by the vast audience were of no ordinary character. Many of the friends, and some of the members, of the Alliance were present, some of them in no very amicable state of mind towards us. None of the American delegation showed their heads.

F. Douglass.

Lib. 16: 165; *London Patriot, Sept.* 17, 1846.

I spoke first, after some excellent prefatory remarks from the chairman, the Rev. John Burnet, a very able and independent

[1] See his resentment (before the New School General Assembly at Philadelphia in June, 1846) at the republication of a letter of his dated Auburn, N. Y., Feb. 10, 1836, and addressed to a brother minister, in which he hesitated "not a moment to say that, other things being equal, a slaveholder of any description ought to be excluded from the communion of the churches" (*Lib.* 16 : 185 ; *Penn. Freeman*, June 11, 1846, p. 2).

man. My speech was frequently interrupted by a certain portion of the audience, in a rowdyish manner, something after the pattern we occasionally exhibit in Boston and elsewhere. My remarks frequently stung to the quick, and the snakes hissed and twisted as though they felt that the hour of doom had come. Still, the applause overpowered all the opposition — but the interruption was very considerable, and made my speech less consecutive than it otherwise would have been. Knowing that Thompson and Douglass were to follow me, I had more to say about the sectarian character of the Alliance than about its pro-slavery action; and this it was that called down upon my head the special "blessings" of the priests and their tools in the vast assembly.

Thompson, though quite poorly all day, acquitted himself with more than ordinary ability, and made so powerful an impression that he swept away all symptoms of opposition; so that, when the resolutions were presented for adoption, only three or four hands were raised in opposition to them![1] Douglass followed in a very effective speech, and was warmly applauded. We regard the result of the meeting as a great triumph, and as giving a staggering blow to the Alliance at the very moment most opportune.

My manner of expressing my thoughts and feelings is somewhat novel, and not always palatable, in this country, on account of its plainness and directness; but it will do more good, in the end, than a smoother mode. At least, I think so, and will "bide my time." I am led to be more plain-spoken because almost every one here deals in circumlocution, and to offend nobody seems to be the aim of the speaker. *If I chose*, I could be as smooth and politic as any one; but I do not so choose, and much prefer nature to art.

The Alliance died by its own hand, though Mr. Garrison could rightly claim its demise as one of the results of *Lib.* 16:198.

[1] The last of the resolutions read as follows: "That the conduct of the Evangelical Alliance recently held in this city, first, in adopting a proposition, declaring that men might be slaveholders without any fault of their own, and from disinterested motives; and then, to gratify the pro-slavery spirit of the American delegates, erasing from their proceedings all reference to the subject of slavery, in order to prevent an explosion, was at variance with the uncompromising spirit of Christian truth, and a virtual approval of the acts of those who, while they profess to be the followers of the great Redeemer, make merchandise of slaves and the souls of men" (*Lib.* 16:166).

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his English mission. The public sentiment aroused by the Exeter Hall meeting, and by similar demonstrations all over the United Kingdom up to his sailing for home on November 4, admittedly constrained the British branch, when organizing at Manchester on that very date, to exclude slaveholders from membership — albeit leaving their personal Christianity an open question.[1] Meantime, more than fifty withdrawals had been reported to the Provisional Committee. In short, the effort to rehabilitate in Great Britain the spurious Christianity of the American Churches, by a guilty confederacy in silence or apology on the subject of slavery, was signally and finally defeated. Moreover, so little did the Free Church leaders prevail in their own section that, early in the summer, the Synod of the United Secession Church (one of the largest religious bodies in Scotland) committed to James N. Buffum, on his return to America, a "Memorial and Remonstrance respecting Slavery, to the Churches of the United States of America," and renounced fellowship with any church that sanctioned slavery.

Lib. 16:198.

Lib. 16:167, 199, 201.

In the interval between the two meetings of the League, Mr. Garrison had begun the whirl of journeying, lecturing, and visiting, which was not to cease while he remained in the United Kingdom. On August 20, in company with Thompson and Douglass, he was most affectionately received by the aged Clarkson at Ipswich, whom he found weak in body but active in mind, and who gave him, on parting, a paper, "Hints for the American People in the Event of a Dissolution of the Union"— a consummation which he welcomed as a means to the abrogation of the legal sanction of slavery. "I consider, then," he wrote, "the dissolution of the Union, by affording the

Lib. 16:170, 173; 18:29; *London Patriot*, *Oct.* 1, 1846; *Life of Douglass*, 1882, *p.* 246.

[1] Ashurst expressly declared of this Manchester resolution: "We owe this check to their backsliding to you. No one mixed up with them in daily intercourse would have been so free from restraining influences as yourself and friends, nor, but for your mission, should we have had the necessary facts as to the American priests upon authority; and upon personal questions this is essential. Therefore, again thanks to you and your friends for the mission and the missionary" (*Lib.* 16 : 199).

opportunity of making such a change, among the greatest blessings; and, in all probability, nothing but a dissolution of the Union could produce such a glorious opportunity." The paper was incomplete, and he reserved the privilege of perfecting it. On August 25 he wrote to say that he was very ill, was probably inditing his last note, and that the paper must be considered concluded. On September 26 the great abolitionist passed away, affording the singular parallel with Wilberforce that each died while Mr. Garrison was in England, after recent interviews with him, and after publicly assenting to his most advanced strategy for the destruction of slavery.[1] "It is a fact for a poet to celebrate," wrote S. J. May to his friend on his return, "that you should have been in England to attend the burial of Clarkson, as you were of his co-worker Wilberforce." But in this particular only the parallel fails, as Mr. Garrison was denied the privilege of following Clarkson's remains to the grave. On October 1, in "beautiful and affecting" terms, at a public meeting in Glasgow, he took notice of his venerated predecessor's

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Ante, 1: 357-361, 365, 379.

Lib. 16: 194.

Glasgow Argus, Oct. 15, 1846.

"Repose at length, firm Friend of human kind."

A few days after their last meeting at Playford Hall, Mr. Garrison, with Douglass for his companion, betook himself to Bristol and Exeter. At the former place he was the guest of John Bishop Estlin, an eminent surgeon and oculist.

Aug. 24-28, 1846.

47 *Park St.*

W. L. Garrison to H. C. Wright.

BRISTOL, August 26, 1846. *MS.*

Yesterday afternoon, we had a public meeting at the Victoria Rooms (a splendid building), which was attended by a most

1 To disunion Clarkson gave ready assent as soon as it was presented to him by Henry C. Wright (MS. April 23, 1845, Clarkson to Wright). The noble old man wrote to this American friend on Oct. 24, 1845, when he had been for nearly a year confined to his bedroom — "Never mind wearying me — consider what a glorious cause we have" (MS.). See the resolution offered by Edmund Quincy in Faneuil Hall on Mr. Garrison's return, touching these coincidences of Clarkson and Wilberforce (*Lib.* 16: 202).

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select assemblage, the Mayor of the city presiding on the occasion, who introduced us in a very handsome manner. The hall was filled — a considerable part of the assembly being members of the Society of Friends, of the affluent class. Very marked attention was paid to our remarks, and all seemed to be highly gratified; but, to me, it was anything but an animated time. So much formality and *selectness* takes all the warmth out of me; and I felt as dull and flat as though I had neither perception nor instinct. Frederick seemed to labor under embarrassment, but he did much better than myself. I thought he would greatly disturb the Mayor and our cautious and considerate friend Mr. Estlin — the former, by his severe remarks upon slaveholders as "vagabonds" and "villains" (for you will recollect that Bristol is the headquarters of the West India planters in this kingdom, and it was bringing up old reminiscences not the most pleasant to them and their friends) — and the latter by his "indiscriminate" assault on the American church and clergy. How the Mayor really felt at such plain talk, I cannot say; but he concluded the meeting with some commendatory remarks, and, to my surprise, Mr. Estlin took exception at nothing that was said, but seemed to be very much pleased, and declared that he believed a very salutary impression had been made. The more I see of him, the more I am satisfied that he means to be a true friend of the cause, and that he is the main spoke in the anti-slavery wheel in all this region.

F. Douglass.

Last evening, we had a large circle of persons, of various religious denominations, convened at friend Estlin's, and a most animating conversation followed, on a variety of topics, but chiefly on *non-resistance* — when I gave them all my heresies on that point. I wish you could have seen us — yes, and been one of the group. I had half a dozen opponents, ministers, lawyers, merchants, etc.; but they were so effectually answered that they knew not which way to turn. The discussion, however, was very amicably conducted.

Some would say, that it was very poor policy to be talking about such subjects, if I wished to secure aid to the anti-slavery cause, and to make my mission a successful one. Thank God! it is not policy, but principle, by which I mean to be governed in my intercourse with my fellow-men; and while I desire at all times to be governed by a sound judgment, and not to be guilty of rashness, I will not desist from declaring "the whole counsel of God," as opportunity may offer, whether men will

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hear or forbear. As Wendell Phillips once finely remarked — "God has not sent me into the world to abolish slavery, but to do my duty." It seems to me that our intercourse with our fellow-men will be to little benefit if we confine ourselves to the consideration of topics about which we are already agreed, or which are of a trivial character. Phrenologically speaking, my caution is large, and my combativeness not very active; and as I pay no regard whatever to the question of numbers, but everything to the question of right, I am not very forward in the work of proselytism.

Rev. F. Bishop.

I have received a very kind note from Francis Bishop, of Exeter, in which he says, in relation to the coming of Douglass and myself to that place — "I have spoken to several friends on the subject, and they all agree that a public meeting is most desirable. We have accordingly decided on having such a meeting on Friday evening, in the largest and best public room in Exeter. The people only want to know the facts of American slavery, to be heart and soul with you. I trust we shall form an auxiliary to the League in Exeter." We are to meet with a select number of friends at Bishop's residence, to-morrow (Thursday) evening. Thus, you see, our way is fully prepared before us.

Aug. 28, 1846.

Aug. 27, 1846.

Mr. Estlin thinks there ought to be an auxiliary to the League in Bristol. This will probably be agreed upon at the close of our meeting this evening. Thus far, everything here looks auspiciously.

MS. Sept. 3, 1846, *M. Carpenter to W. L. G.; Lib.* 16:206.

Among other friendships cemented in Bristol on this visit was that with Mary Carpenter, the philanthropic daughter of the Rev. Lant Carpenter, famous in English Unitarian annals. To mingle much with this denomination abroad was a novel experience for Mr. Garrison. On September 10, 1846, he wrote to his wife: "Unitarianism is as odious in this country as 'infidelity' is in ours; but, thus far, those who have most zealously espoused my mission have been the Unitarians."[1]

MS.

[1] To S. J. May Mr. Garrison wrote from Boston on Dec. 19, 1846 (MS.): "I am under great obligations to Francis Bishop, William James, H. Solly, Philip Carpenter, George Harris, and other Unitarian clergymen, and have formed for them a strong personal friendship, which they appear heartily to reciprocate. By a letter just received from my dear friend Bishop, he informs me that, since I left, his wife has given birth to a daughter, whom they have named Caroline *Garrison* Bishop. This is an indication of their

Lib. 16:166. At Exeter, Mr. Garrison was received, at a meeting in the Subscription Rooms, "with enthusiastic shouts of welcome." His personal appearance was thus described in a local paper:

Lib. 16:166. "He is an extraordinary man — no one could even casually look at his grave and thoughtful countenance, beaming with love, and tinctured with a shade of profound melancholy, without feelings of the deepest interest. Although under 40, his head is quite bald, and he bears strong traces on his countenance of the severe intellectual labor he has gone through. . . . His voice is clear, calm, and moderate, in the most harmonious tone, and inspired a feeling in his hearers of veneration and awe. It may be said of him that he has the courage of a hero, the fortitude of a martyr, the piety of a saint, and the zeal of an apostle."

Under 41.

Returning to London, Mr. Garrison was plunged into fresh activity.

W. L. Garrison to his Wife.

Lib. 16: [155].

London, Sept. 3, 1846.

Procrastinating, as usual, here I am at the desk of George Thompson, at the last moment before the closing of the mail for Boston, with pen in hand to send you a few words of greeting, with assurances of my health, which never fails to be excellent in this climate.[1] My cheeks are quite ruddy, and I have little

personal regard for me. James Martineau was absent from Liverpool when I was there, and I did not see him. I was told that he is considerably prejudiced against the true anti-slavery band in this country, and sympathizes with such men as Drs. [Orville] Dewey and [Francis] Parkman. I meant to have visited Harriet [Martineau], at Ambleside, before my return; but she left for Egypt a few days before I sailed, and I missed the coveted opportunity. I saw her mother and sister at Newcastle [*Lib.* 16:187]." As to the second of the American divines here mentioned, the Rev. Samuel May, jr., wrote to Mary Carpenter on July 15, 1851 (MS.): "Years ago, Dr. Parkman declared to me, and others, that 'no resolution, or action of any kind, about slavery, should ever go forth from the American Unitarian Association.' None ever has. He has carried his point and made good his word, and the Unitarian Association is a lifeless, soulless thing, having but a name to live."

[1] "The climate of Old England is much more congenial to me than that of New England. It affects my voice and lungs much more to give one lecture here than it did to deliver half-a-dozen abroad" (MS. Boston, Mar. 1, 1847, W. L. G. to H. C. Wright).

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doubt that, on my return home, you will find me in a much better bodily condition than when I left you. That word *home* excites a yearning sensation within me; but I must not think too much about it, or I shall be quite unfitted to discharge the duties of my mission. . . .

In addition to addressing a large meeting at the Crown and Anchor, I have spoken at a public meeting in regard to the atrocious case of the afflicted Rajah of Sattara (of which comparatively little is known in America).[1] I was cheered to the echo, not so much in consequence of what I said, though that was warmly responded to, but because Thompson told them a few particulars of my labors in the anti-slavery cause in America. Last evening I addressed a large meeting of the Moral Suasion Chartists, for the space of two hours, in the National Hall, George Thompson in the chair, and, of course, warmly commending me to the affection and coöperation of the workingmen of England. I wish you could have been present to see the enthusiasm that was excited. When I rose to address them, the applause was long protracted and overpowering. Peal after peal, like a thunder-storm, made the building quake; and, at the conclusion of my remarks, they gave me nine hearty cheers, and adopted by acclamation a highly flattering resolution. I did not appear before them in my official capacity, or as an abolitionist, technically speaking, but on my own responsibility, uttering such *heresies* in regard to Church and State as occurred to me, and fully identifying myself with all the unpopular reformatory movements in this country. This will probably alienate some "good society folks" from me, but no matter. I know that the cause of my enslaved countrymen cannot possibly be injured by my advocacy of the rights of all men, or by my opposition to all tyranny.

Sept. 2, 1846.

I have done a good deal in private as well as in public to advance the great object I have in view; and though with me day is turned into night, and night into day, I continue to keep in good health — which fact will give you as much comfort as any that I could possibly send you.

The next excursion was to Birmingham, with Thompson and Douglass, where, besides a good public meeting, there

Sept. 4, 1846.

[1] This anti-slavery prince was one of the victims of the East India Company. Thompson had been his advocate and champion against the Court of Directors for the past seven years, and was at this time in the thick of the conflict in London (*Lib.* 16: 74, and MS. Sept. 23, 1846, Thompson to W. L. G.).

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was a memorable breakfast with Joseph Sturge, on his invitation. "In the presence of a considerable number of his relatives," wrote Mr. Garrison to his wife, "for more than an hour, I had a very plain and faithful conversation with him, in regard to his treatment of me personally as an abolitionist, and to the unfair and dishonorable course of the London Committee towards the American Anti-Slavery Society. I have not time to give you the particulars of the interview; but it was one of confusion to himself, and it deepened my conviction that he is anything but a candid, straightforward man. My *facts* he did not attempt to invalidate, but he shuffled in a manner truly pitiable." At Sheffield, on September 10, the three orators again met in public at the Friends' Meeting-house — "the first one that has yet been offered to us in this country, and I presume [it] will be the last; for the opposition to us, in this country, runs almost exclusively in the channels of Quakerism, in consequence of the poisonous influence exerted by the Broad-Street Committee in London, of which Joseph Sturge is a member." The poet Montgomery was present, and was deeply affected by the proceedings. Another auditor was the ex-Methodist Rev. Joseph Barker, whom Mr. Garrison had just visited expressly at Leeds, at the instance of his Unitarian friends — Mr. Barker having recently gone over to that body, to the great scandal of his former cosectaries. This able but shifting character was well calculated to impress Mr. Garrison as one of the most remarkable men he had yet met. With eager sympathy the American surveyed his host's printing-office, and "set some types, just to see how natural it seemed," and listened to Barker's glowing exposition of the wonders he was about to accomplish in the direction of cheap literature, by means of his new power press. Who more naturally than this pioneer should be chosen printer of the Anti-Slavery League's contemplated organ?

MS. Sept. 10, 1846; *cf.* *MS. Sept.* 5, *W. L. G. to R. D. Webb, P. S. by G. Thompson.*

MS. Sept. 10, 1846, *W. L. G. to H. E. G.*

MS. Sept. 9, 1846, *James Montgomery to M. and R. Brady.*

MS. Sept. 10, 1846, *W. L. G. to H. E. G.*

MS. Sept. 12, 1846, *W. L. G. to R. D. Webb.*

See the Barker Library, etc.; Lib. 17:57.

Ante, p. 166. *Sept.* 18.

A few days after the Exeter Hall meeting, Mr. Garrison bade good-bye to London, and began his North British

tour, reaching Glasgow on September 19, by way of Newcastle and Berwick. His perfervid Scotch friends gave him even less rest than he had snatched in England. On October 3, he wrote from Belfast of the past fortnight: "I have been hurried from place to place, and held meeting after meeting, and turned day into night and night into day, and spoken in public, and talked almost incessantly in private, and come into contact with all sorts of minds, so that it is a marvel to me that, mentally, I am not in a fever, and, physically, entirely prostrated." Add to this the heavy correspondence which his mission entailed. In Glasgow he was the guest of Andrew Paton, and at a social tea renewed his friendship with the members of the Emancipation Society. A visit to John Murray at Bowling Bay and meeting at Greenock were followed at Paisley by the most crowded and enthusiastic meeting he had yet seen on that side of the water; but even for this there were climaxes in store. Thence he passed to Edinburgh, making numerous addresses; to Dundee, a stronghold of the Free Church, where, nevertheless, a large impromptu audience gave him hearty applause. Again in Edinburgh, where he especially enjoyed the warm hospitality of the Rev. James Robertson, Secretary of the Scottish Anti-Slavery Society, a farewell tea-party sped him on his way to Glasgow. Here fresh labors, under the most cheering auspices, won him a public breakfast at the Eagle Hotel, overpowering to his feelings as a testimonial of affectionate regard.

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Lib. 16:174.

Sept. 21, 1846.

Sept. 22.

Sept. 23; *Lib.* 16:174.

Sept. 24.

Sept. 28.

Sept. 29.

Lib. 16:174; 19:150.

Oct. 2, 1846.

Mr. Garrison's next destination was Belfast, where he landed on October 3, to find that sectarianism had, through a portion of the press of that city, been raising against him the cry of Infidel, with the customary misrepresentations and fictions. This cost him, however, neither an audience nor its approbation. "In fact," he recorded, "I have never had any difficulty, either in America or in this country, in commending the cause which I plead, and the doctrines which I enunciate, to any audience that will give me a candid hearing." The journey by stage from

Lib. 16:174.

Lib. 16:187.

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Belfast to Drogheda was through a district already showing the effects of the incipient famine, and Mr. Garrison was melted to tears by the frequent sight of human wretchedness and suffering along the road. Arrived in Dublin on October 5, he rejoined Henry C. Wright at the home of the Webbs, who could ill reconcile themselves to his limited stay in Ireland. Only one public meeting could be arranged, but his review of the Evangelical Alliance raised a salutary storm in the Pharisaism of Dublin.[1]

MS. Oct. 13, 1846, *R. D. Webb to W. L. G.*

Thompson and Douglass greeted him on October 10 in Liverpool, and took him directly to Wrexham, in Wales, to meet an engagement at the Town Hall, which was packed till midnight. At the Free Trade Hall in Manchester, on October 12, a glorious gathering of four thousand people next awaited him. A short respite permitted him to visit Elizabeth Pease in Darlington, and gratified him with the personal assurance of her improving health. At Newcastle, on October 16, the Mayor presided at a meeting which effaced the impression made at Paisley, and this was succeeded by a public breakfast. Liverpool was again reached (by way of Darlington), and, with no thanks to the philanthropists of the great port, a meeting at Concert Hall went off famously, with Thompson in the chair as President of the League.

Lib. 17:11.

Oct. 14, 1846.

Lib. 16:187.

Ante, p. 175.

Lib. 16:187; *MS. Oct.* 24, 1846, *W. L. G. to R. D. Webb.*

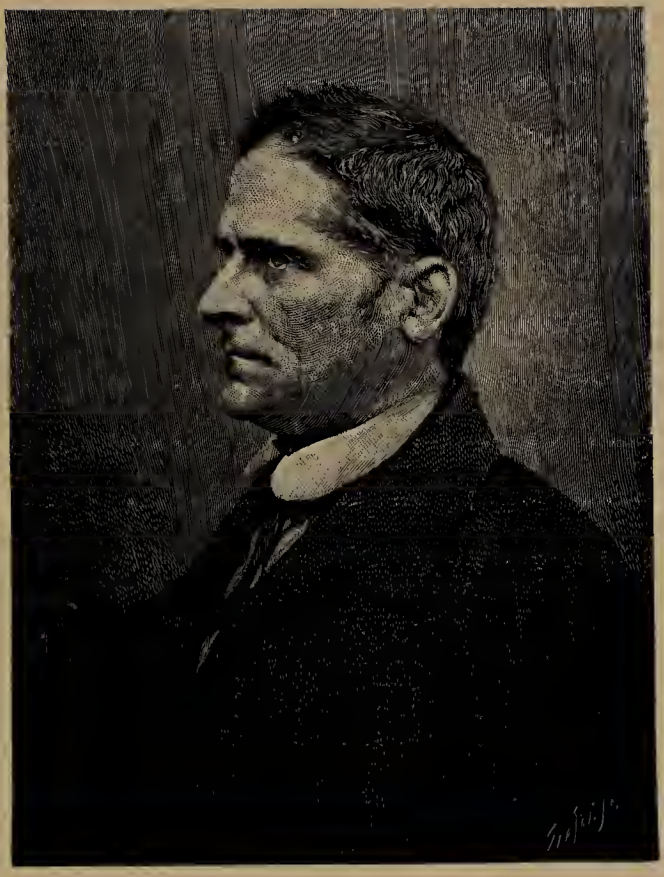
Scotland was again royally scoured, in parts already gone over (with a superlative occasion at Glasgow in the City Hall, lasting five hours on October 28), and also at Kirkcaldy, Perth, and Aberdeen. But the most interesting incident of all was the presentation to Mr. Garrison, on October 21 (the anniversary of the Boston mob), of

MS. Oct. 29, *W. L. G. to Webb.*

Oct. 22, 24, 26.

Lib. 16:205; *Edinburgh Chronicle, Oct.* 24.

[1] It was during this visit to Dublin that Mr. Garrison sat for the daguerreotype which furnished the frontispiece of the present volume. A son of Mr. Webb's accompanied him. "While we waited at the artist's we looked out of the window. It was a stormy day. The wind blew off a man's hat, and he had a stiff race after it, and I remember the shock to my feelings that such a great and good man as your father should remark, that he always enjoyed seeing a man running after his hat!" (MS. June 19, 1883, Alfred Webb to F. J. G.)



Mine - H. C. Wright.

a silver tea-service, elaborately chased and properly inscribed, together with a silk purse containing ten sovereigns, by the anti-slavery ladies of Edinburgh, in the Brighton-Street Church. "Such tokens," wrote the recipient to Richard Webb, "while they are cheering to me at the present crisis, when such malignant efforts are making to cover me with popular odium,[1] make me feel as though I had yet to perform much, fully to deserve them."[2] CHAP. VI. 1846. *MS. Oct.* 24, 1846.

On November 4, Mr. Garrison sailed from Liverpool on the *Acadia*. A large party of friends — representatives of the three kingdoms — who had gathered the night before expressly to bid him farewell at the house of Richard Rathbone, waved him their long adieus. The voices of Thompson and Webb and H. C. Wright swelled the cheering led by Frederick Douglass. More than twenty years would elapse before the voyager's eye should again behold the pleasant English shores now vanishing behind him. From Halifax on the eleventh day he pencilled a line to Elizabeth Pease, informing her of the smooth and safe passage, attended, nevertheless, with more than the ordinary discomforts for his overtaxed system.[3] On November 17, he landed in *Lib.* 16:201. *MS. Nov.* 15, 1846.

[1] Speaking in the City Hall at Glasgow with reference to the underhand calumniation of himself and his associates, Mr. Garrison "solemnly declared, after an eighteen years' anti-slavery experience in the United States of America, that he had seen nothing more wicked or malicious, more wanton and cruel, than he had beheld within the last three or four weeks emanating from the apologists of the Free Church and the Evangelical Alliance" (Glasgow *Argus*, Oct. 29, 1846; and see, in the *Argus* for Oct. 15, Mr. Garrison's dissection of a hostile article in the *Scottish Guardian*. Further, for charges of infidelity by Dr. Campbell in his *Christian Witness*, see *Lib.* 17:5, 21, 121; and by Dr. Cunningham, *Lib.* 17:9). His clerical traducers never faced him in public.

[2] A breakfast by invitation with George Combe, perhaps on Oct. 22, in company with Thompson, Douglass, and Buffum, was another pleasurable incident of this visit to Edinburgh ('Life of Douglass,' ed. 1882, p. 245).

[3] On December 11, 1846, Mr. Garrison wrote to Geo. W. Benson (MS.): "The Garrisonian ranks are filling up. This morning, dear Helen presented me with a new-comer into this breathing world,—a daughter,—and the finest babe ever yet born in Boston!" On Dec. 19 he informed S. J. May (MS.) that the little girl had been named Elizabeth Pease. Wendell Phillips

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Boston, having just rounded the fourth month of his absence.

Lib. 16:191, 194, 202.

We pass over the receptions given to him by the colored people at Belknap-Street Church; in Salem; in Faneuil Hall. Rather let us look in, with a poet's eye, on the reunited abolitionists at the Anti-Slavery Bazaar, opened in the same hall on December 22. Never was more humor combined with a finer discernment of character and more exquisite portraiture than in these lines, written as a "Letter from Boston" to the editor of the *Pennsylvania Freeman*, by James Russell Lowell:

Lib. 17:6, *and MS.*

Jas. Miller McKim. The letter is post-marked Dec. 27, 1846.

Dear M.,
By way of saving time,
I 'll do this letter up in rhyme,
Whose slim stream through four pages flows
Ere one is packed with tight-screwed prose,
Threading the tube of an epistle
Smooth as a child's breath through a whistle.

The great attraction now of all
Is the "Bazaar" at Faneuil Hall,
Where swarm the Anti-Slavery folks
As thick, dear Miller, as your jokes.
There 's Garrison, his features very
Benign for an incendiary,
Beaming forth sunshine through his glasses
On the surrounding lads and lasses,
(No bee could blither be or brisker,) —
A Pickwick somehow turned John Ziska,
His bump of firmness swelling up
Like a rye cupcake from its cup.
And there, too, was his English tea-set,
Which in his ear a kind of flea set,
His Uncle Samuel for its beauty
Demanding sixty dollars duty,
('T was natural Sam should serve his trunk ill,
For G., you know, has cut his uncle,)

wrote to her namesake on Jan. 31, 1847 (MS.): "Garrison's child is a nice, healthy, dark-eyed little thing, much like his other little one, Helen. I am glad he has called it E. P., for you will feel more fully than ever convinced that the best ones on your side the water do not love and value you more than *the best one* here does."

Whereas, had he but once made tea in it,
His uncle's ear had had the flea in it,
There being not a cent of duty
On any pot that ever drew tea.[1]

There was Maria Chapman, too,
With her swift eyes of clear steel-blue,
The coiled-up mainspring of the Fair,
Originating everywhere
The expansive force without a sound
That whirled a hundred wheels around,
Herself meanwhile as calm and still
As the bare crown of Prospect Hill; *Somerville, Mass.*
A noble woman, brave and apt,
Cumæa's sybil not more rapt,
Who might, with those fair tresses shorn,
The Maid of Orleans' casque have worn,
Herself the Joan of our Ark,
For every shaft a shining mark.

And there, too, was Eliza Follen,
Who scatters fruit-creating pollen
Where'er a blossom she can find
Hardy enough for Truth's north wind,
Each several point of all her face
Tremblingly bright with the inward grace,
As if all motion gave it light
Like phosphorescent seas at night.

There jokes our Edmund, plainly son *E. Quincy.*
Of him who bearded Jefferson,—

[1] The tea-set was appraised at £40. Mr. Garrison's protest to the Collector of the port of Boston, on the ground of the obvious uncommercial nature of the entry, was disregarded (*Lib.* 16:206; 17:6). Had the service been imported (say) by Daniel Webster, under like circumstances, it is incredible that the duty would not have been remitted (*Lib.* 17:122). The sum extorted was refunded to Mr. Garrison by his female friends, through the exertions of Mrs. Eliza F. Meriam, daughter of Francis Jackson. In thanking one of the donors, Mr. Garrison wrote: "Next to a fort, arsenal, naval vessel, and military array, I hate a custom-house — not because of the tax it imposed on the friendly Scottish gift, but as a matter of principle. I go for free trade and free intercommunication the world over, and deny the right of any body of men to erect geographical or national barriers in opposition to these natural, essential, and sacred rights" (M.S. July 30, 1847, to Mrs. Louisa Loring).

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A non-resistant by conviction,
But with a bump in contradiction,
So that whene'er it gets a chance
His pen delights to play the lance,
And — you may doubt it or believe it —
Full at the head of Joshua Leavitt
The very calumet he 'd launch,
And scourge him with the olive-branch.
A master with the foils of wit,
'T is natural he should love a hit;
A gentleman, withal, and scholar,
Only base things excite his choler,
And then his satire 's keen and thin
As the lithe blade of Saladin.
Good letters are a gift apart,
And his are gems of Flemish art,
True offspring of the fireside Muse,
Not a chip-gathering of news
Like a new hopfield which is all poles,
But of one blood with Horace Walpole's.

W. Phillips.

There, with one hand behind his back,
Stands Phillips buttoned in a sack,
Our Attic orator, our Chatham;
Old fogies, when he lightens at 'em,
Shrivel like leaves; to him 't is granted
Always to say the word that 's wanted,
So that he seems but speaking clearer
The tiptoe thought of every hearer;
Each flash his brooding heart lets fall
Fires what 's combustible in all,
And sends the applauses bursting in
Like an exploded magazine.
His eloquence no frothy show,
The gutter's street-polluted flow,
No Mississippi's yellow flood
Whose shoalness can't be seen for mud; —
So simply clear, serenely deep,
So silent-strong its graceful sweep,
None measures its unrippling force
Who has not striven to stem its course;
How fare their barques who think to play
With smooth Niagara's mane of spray,

Let Austin's total shipwreck say. *Jas. T. Austin; ante*, 2: 189.
He never spoke a word too much —
Except of Story, or some such, *Joseph Story; Lib.* 12: 174.
Whom, though condemned by ethics strict,
The heart refuses to convict.

Beyond, a crater in each eye,
Sways brown, broad-shouldered Pillsbury,[1]
Who tears up words like trees by the roots,
A Theseus in stout cowhide boots,
The wager of eternal war
Against that loathsome Minotaur
To whom we sacrifice each year
The best blood of our Athens here —
(Dear M., pray brush up your Lempriere.)
A terrible denouncer he,
Old Sinai burns unquenchably
Upon his lips; he well might be a
Hot-blazing soul from fierce Judæa,
Habakkuk, Ezra, or Hosea.
His words burn as with iron searers,
And nightmare-like he mounts his hearers,
Spurring them like avenging Fate, or
As Waterton his alligator. *Chas. Waterton.*

Hard by, as calm as summer even,
Smiles the reviled and pelted Stephen, *S. S. Foster.*
The unappeasable Boanerges
To all the Churches and the Clergies,
The grim *savant* who, to complete
His own peculiar cabinet,
Contrived to label with his kicks
One from the followers of Hicks; *Elias Hicks.*

[1] Parker Pillsbury, though a native of Massachusetts, became identified by his home life and anti-slavery labors principally with New Hampshire. He succeeded to the editorship of the *Herald of Freedom* when N. P. Rogers broke with his old associates. His autobiography is to be gathered from his 'Acts of the Anti-Slavery Apostles.' "Could you know him and his history, you would value him," wrote Wendell Phillips to Elizabeth Pease, Jan. 10, 1853 (MS.). "Originally a wagoner, he earned enough to get educated. When just ready to be settled, the Faculty of Andover Theological Institution threatened him that they would never recommend him to a parish unless he gave up speaking in anti-slavery meetings. He chose us, and sacrificed *all* the benefits (worldly and pecuniary) of his hard-earned education. His course since has been worthy of this beginning."

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Who studied mineralogy
Not with soft book upon the knee,
But learned the properties of stones
By contact sharp of flesh and bones,
And made the *experimentum crucis*
With his own body's vital juices:
A man with caoutchouc endurance,
A perfect gem for life insurance,
A kind of maddened John the Baptist,
To whom the harshest word comes aptest,
Who, struck by stone or brick ill-starred,
Hurls back an epithet as hard,
Which, deadlier than stone or brick,
Has a propensity to stick.
His oratory is like the scream
Of the iron horse's phrenzied steam
Which warns the world to leave wide space
For the black engine's swerveless race.
Ye men with neckcloths white, I warn you —
Habet a whole haymow *in cornu*.

I. e., the clergy.

A Judith, there, turned Quakeress,
Sits Abby in her modest dress,
Serving a table quietly,
As if that mild and downcast eye
Flashed never, with its scorn intense,
More than Medea's eloquence.
So the same force which shakes its dread
Far-blazing locks o'er Ætna's head.
Along the wires in silence fares
And messages of commerce bears.
No nobler gift of heart and brain,
No life more white from spot or stain,
Was e'er on Freedom's altar laid
Than hers — the simple Quaker maid.

Abby Kelley Foster.

These last three (leaving in the lurch
Some other themes) assault the Church,
Who therefore writes them in her lists
As Satan's limbs and atheists;
For each sect has one argument
Whereby the rest to hell are sent,
Which serves them like the Graiæ's tooth,

Passed round in turn from mouth to mouth ; —
If any *ism* should arise,
They look on it with constable's eyes,
Tie round its neck a heavy *athe-*,
And give it kittens' hydropathy.
This trick with other (useful very) tricks
Is laid to the Babylonian *meretrix*,
But 't was in vogue before her day
Wherever priesthoods had their way,
And Buddha's Popes with this struck dumb
The followers of Fi and Fum.

Well, if the world with prudent fear
Pays God a seventh of the year,
And as a Farmer, who would pack
All his religion in one stack,
For this world works six days in seven
And on the seventh works for Heaven,
Expecting, for his Sunday's sowing,
In the next world to go a-mowing
The crop of all his meeting-going ; —
If the poor Church, by power enticed,
Finds none so infidel as Christ,
Quite backward reads his Gospel meek,
(As 't were in Hebrew writ, not Greek,)
Fencing the gallows and the sword
With conscripts drafted from his word,
And makes one gate of Heaven so wide
That the rich orthodox might ride
Through on their camels, while the poor
Squirm through the scant, unyielding door,
Which, of the Gospel's straitest size,
Is narrower than beadneedles' eyes,—
What wonder World and Church should call
The true faith atheistical ?

Yet, after all, 'twixt you and me,
Dear Miller, I could never see
That Sin's and Error's ugly smirch
Stained the walls only of the Church ; —
There are good priests, and men who take
Freedom's torn cloak for lucre's sake,—
I can't believe the Church so strong,

CHAP. VI. 1846.

As some men do, for Right or Wrong.
But for this subject (long and vext)
I must refer you to my next,
As also for a list exact
Of goods with which the Hall was packed.[1]

The author of the 'Biglow Papers' had already begun that inimitable satire of the national crime against Mexico, marked, so far, by Taylor's military successes at Matamoras and Monterey. The demoralization which war immediately produces as a mere *status*, was lamentably shown by the compliance of the Whig governors Briggs and Slade (of Massachusetts and Vermont respectively) with the President's request for a State call for volunteers. This action did not prevent the party from renominating Briggs, nor did Robert C. Winthrop's acceptance of the war afford a sufficient handle to the Conscience Whigs (as Charles Francis Adams denominated those who were not Cotton Whigs) to deprive him of a renomination. The Cotton Whigs swept the State. One heard Daniel Webster proclaim in Faneuil Hall: "I am for the Constitution as our fathers left it to us, and standing by it and dying by it." But also one heard John Quincy Adams, from his home in Quincy, deny that there was anything left to stand by: "The Constitution of the United States — *stat magni nominis umbra*." This quotation, said the editor of the *Liberator*, "indicates pretty clearly the position and feelings of this venerable statesman in regard to the American Union. . . . Then if it be only a shadow that is left to us, it is at best but a mockery, and ought not to be treated as a reality. . . . Let Daniel Webster, the greatest and meanest of his countrymen, exhaust his powers of eulogy upon it, if he will: the effort will but

Lib. 16: 82, 167.

Geo. N. Briggs, Wm. Slade.

Lib. 16: 87, 90, 91, 113.

Ante, p. 139.

MS. Sept. 30, 1846, *F. Jackson to W. L. G.*

Lib. 16: 182.

Lib. 16: 194.

Lib. 16: 194.

[1] Referring to her husband's Hudibrastic production, Maria Lowell wrote from Cambridge to Maria Mott Davis (MS. Jan. 8, 1847): "I wonder if you enjoyed his description of the Fair as much as I did. I saw Garrison the other day, and he seemed to be especially pleased with it, and the account of Stephen Foster delighted him. Of that and Maria Chapman he spoke most particularly. Miller made one error, and only one, in his copy, and that was 'sweet' instead of 'swift' eyes. Mrs. Chapman's eyes are not sweet, but *swift* expresses exactly their rapid, comprehensive glance."

render his character base and contemptible with posterity. What the people need is a new government — a free government — no slavery — no guaranties to men-stealers — 'NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS!'" CHAP. VI. 1846.

We might end here, if it were not instructive to remark on Liberty Party endorsement of the Mexican War, even Gamaliel Bailey, in his *Philanthropist*, praying for the safety of the "noble" Taylor and his "brave army." There were other proofs that the party was in a bad way. In the spring of 1846 one of its thirty organs affirmed that "its present position is *inaction* — a perfect *standstill*." Almost "at a dead stand" was William Goodell's report of progress, speaking both for New York and for Massachusetts. In Maine the State Convention admitted that the party there merely held its own, and looked forward to "certain death" for the party at large if the stationary stage were not quickly escaped — Joshua Leavitt himself being present, and discounting the impending catastrophe by denying that the party and the ballot-box were the *sole* means of abolishing slavery. Bailey gave a discouraging account of the Ohio section, and predicted that all would be over with it if it manifested no strength in the coming gubernatorial election. Gerrit Smith lamented in New York a falling away on all sides, and W. L. Chaplin and J. C. Jackson confirmed his statements. Only one dollar was raised to ten formerly. Edmund Quincy judged it at this time to be on its last legs; and the fall elections showed that it could send only five Representatives out of 232 to the Massachusetts lower House, polling a total vote of about 10,000. In New York it cast but 12,000 votes, against 16,000 in 1844. Quincy was quite right in assuring Webb that —

Lib. 16:115; 17:14.

Lib. 16:57.

Lib. 16:57.

Cf. ante, 2:310.

Lib. 16:77.

Lib. 16:174, 175.

Lib. 16:194.

Lib. 17:11.

Lib. 16:194.

"There are many more A. S. Whigs and Democrats than Third Party men, and many more Whig papers, especially, which are more thoroughly anti-slavery than any of the Third Party ones. There is not a Third Party paper that compares in thoroughness and usefulness with the Boston *Whig*, or even the N. Y. *Tribune*. And they have not a man who comes near Charles

MS. Mar. 28, 1847. *Cf. Lib.* 17:170.

CHAP. VI. 1846. F. Adams (son of J. Q. A.), editor of the *Whig*, Charles Sumner, J. G. Palfrey, S. G. Howe, Stephen C. Phillips, and others of the A. S. Whigs, in point of character, talent, or social standing. These gentlemen are high-minded, honorable, well-educated men, who would compare favorably with any public men you have in Parliament. And they have actually sacrificed political prospects and *caste* by their A. S. course, which is more than can be said of a single Third Party man — because I know of none who had anything of the sort to lose. Yet we cannot admit these men — though so much better abolitionists, and so many more of them — to be the real thing, any more than the Third Party men, as long as, like them, they are ready to swear to support the U. S. Constitution and to perform its pro-slavery provisions."

CHAPTER VII.

First Western Tour.— 1847.

EARLY in 1847, Mr. Garrison was solicited by the abolitionists of Ohio to visit their section of the country; and in the *Liberator* of March 19 he gave notice that he would spend the month of August in that State. This decision led to numerous invitations from friends in Central New York, as well as in Pennsylvania, along the two lines of Western travel. The programme, as finally made up, chose the Southern route for the outward trip, and the Northern for the homeward.

MS. Mar. 8, 1847, *J. Elizabeth Jones to W. L. G.* *Lib.* 17:46. *MSS. Feb.* 28, 1847, *Charlotte G. Coffin to H. E. G.; Mar.* 23, *O. A. Bowe to W. L. G.* *Lib.* 17:122.

The intervening months were spent in the usual manner — in editorial drudgery, in occasional lecturing, in attendance at the three great anniversaries in Boston and New York. Opposition to the Mexican War, and reiterated appeals for a peaceable dissolution of the Union, were the regular anti-slavery work of the year, to which was added support of the Wilmot Proviso, or the attempt in Congress to ensure freedom to the territory certain to be acquired, by force or purchase, of Mexico. In Massachusetts, little was needed to maintain the Legislature in its attitude of aversion to the war, or to procure its endorsement of the Proviso; but to disunion it of course turned a cold shoulder.

Lib. 17:2, 10, 22, 26, 30, 42, 46, 207.

Lib. 17:193.

Lib. 17:14, 74.

Lib. 17:58.

As usual, too, Mr. Garrison's lecture topics embraced religion and peace as well as abolition; and in the philanthropic anniversary month we have a glimpse of him amid kindred spirits. The Rev. Samuel May, Jr.,[1] writes to Mary Carpenter from Boston, May 29, 1847:

[1] Mr. May — a Unitarian clergyman residing at Leicester, Mass., and universally esteemed and beloved in his own denomination; a cousin of S. J.

MS. "We had an exceedingly interesting meeting yesterday afternoon and evening, at the house of Rev. Theodore Parker, in this city. He styled it, in his notes of invitation, a 'Council of Reformers,' and the object was to discuss the general principles of Reform, and the best means of promoting it. Let me give you the names of some of those present — Ralph Waldo Emerson, Amos B. Alcott, William Henry Channing, James F. Clarke, William Lloyd Garrison, Wendell Phillips, Edmund Quincy, Mrs. M. W. Chapman, Mrs. Follen, James and Lucretia Mott and daughter of Philadelphia, Caleb Stetson, John L. Russell, Francis Jackson, Charles Sumner, Samuel G. Howe, E. H. Chapin, Joshua P. Blanchard, Samuel E. Coues of Portsmouth, Elizur Wright, Jr., Walter Channing. I have not yet given *all* the names. It was a matter of deep interest even to *see* this collection of the *men alive* of our neighborhood and day. From 4 to 10 P. M., with a short interval for tea, a most spirited conversation was held on all the great Reform subjects of the day. I am more than ever convinced that the Anti-Slavery Reform carries all others with it, and that its triumph will be theirs."

Mr. Garrison set out from Boston on the 2d of August,
Lib. 17:122. 1847. With the utmost disinterestedness, Edmund Quincy had again assumed the charge of conducting the *Liberator* in his absence, neither of them foreseeing how long a time would elapse before the editor could resume his chair.

May, and worthy to be such; a graduate of Harvard College in the class of 1829 with Wm. Henry Channing, J. F. Clarke, and other men of national and world-wide reputation — had now become the General Agent of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society (*Lib.* 17 : 94). This position he filled, with the greatest fidelity and self-abnegation, to the close of the anti-slavery struggle, to which no one brought richer gifts of integrity, humanity, culture — inherited and personal. "I was," he wrote to Miss Carpenter, July 15, 1851, "a 'birthright' Unitarian — grew up to think their ministers faultless men, almost — honest and fearless seekers for the truth and the right. I was for many years their fellow-laborer, admirer, and defender,— and devoted to the Unitarian cause. My eyes opened very slowly to the defection and decline of the early Unitarian spirit. Many preceded me in their witness against the bigotry, narrowness, and worldliness which crept into and subjected the Unitarian body — till now, in its organized movement at least, it has become what I have already expressed ["a lifeless, soulless thing"]. It was with a great price — at a great sacrifice of feeling, ease, and social consideration (I may say this to you, which I would not wish to dwell upon at all) — that I purchased my freedom from those chains of sectarianism; which I would not reassume this hour, if the whole world's wealth were the bribe to do so. I look now upon those chains with something like loathing" (MS.).

Nor, happily, could Mrs. Garrison realize that her husband, whose health latterly had been far from good, was taking leave of her at a risk surpassing that of the voyage to England the year before. The progress of his tour, in which he was to have the companionship of Frederick Douglass, can best be shown from his letters to her:

MS. June 26, 1847. W. L. G. to G. W. Benson.

W. L. Garrison to his Wife.

PHILADELPHIA, Aug. 3, 1847. *MS.*

A year ago, this day, I arrived in London, and was, therefore, at a distance of three thousand miles from you. Now I am in Philadelphia, some three hundred miles away. So far as *separation* is concerned, it is the same whether we are hundreds or thousands of miles apart; but then, as a matter of speedy return, it is a matter of very great consequence as to what the relative distance may be. I could be with you in less than twenty-four hours, if necessary — that is comforting. . . . . *Ante, p.* 156.

Our trip from Norwich to New York was as serene and quiet as possible, where we arrived at 5 o'clock. At 9 o'clock, I crossed the ferry and took the cars for Philadelphia — arriving at 2 o'clock, J. M. McKim being at the wharf to escort me to the dear home of our beloved friends, James and Lucretia Mott, who gave me a warm reception, of course. *Aug.* 2-3. *Aug.* 3.

August 7. *MS., and Lib.* 17: 135.

Our three-days' meeting at Norristown closed last evening, and a famous time we have had of it. Every day, two or three hundred of our friends from Philadelphia came up in the cars, and the meetings were uniformly crowded by an array of men and women who, for thorough-going anti-slavery spirit and solidity of character, are not surpassed by any in the world. Douglass arrived on the second day, and was justly the "lion" of the occasion, though a considerable number participated in the discussions; our friend Lucretia Mott speaking with excellent propriety and effect. Thomas Earle was present to annoy us, as usual. Our meetings were not molested in any manner, excepting one evening when Douglass and I held a meeting after dark, when a few panes of glass were broken by some rowdy boys while D. was speaking. It was a grand meeting, nevertheless, and the house crowded with a noble auditory to the end. The meetings will have a powerful effect in the prose- *10th annual meeting E. Penn. A. S. S.* *Aug.* 5. *Lib.* 17: 137.

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cution of our cause for the coming year. It was worth a trip from Boston to Norristown merely to *look* at those who assembled on the occasion. I regret that I have as yet found no time to write a sketch of this anniversary for the *Liberator*. As Sydney H. Gay was present, both the *Standard* and *Pennsylvania Freeman* must be referred to for an account of it, prior to any that I shall be able to make of it.

Lib. 17:137, 147.

This morning, we leave in the cars for Harrisburg, which, though the capital of the State, is very much under the influence of Slavery. I do not anticipate a quiet meeting, but we shall bear our testimony boldly, nevertheless.

W. L. Garrison to his Wife.

HARRISBURG, Aug. 9, 1847.

MS., and Lib. 17:135 *Aug.* 7.

On Saturday morning, Douglass and I bade farewell to our kind friends in Philadelphia, and took the cars for this place, . . . a distance of 106 miles. Before we started, an incident occurred which evinced something of that venomous pro-slavery spirit which pervades the public sentiment in proportion as you approach the borders of the slave States. There is no distinction made at Philadelphia in the cars on account of complexion, though colored persons usually sit near the doors. Douglass took a seat in one of the back cars before I arrived; and, while quietly looking out at the window, was suddenly accosted in a slave-driving tone, and ordered to "get out of that seat," by a man who had a lady with him, and who might have claimed the right to eject any other passenger for his accommodation with as much propriety. Douglass quietly replied, that if he would make his demand in the form of a gentlemanly request, he would readily vacate his seat. His lordly commander at once laid violent hands upon him, and dragged him out. Douglass submitted to this outrage unresistingly, but told his assailant that he behaved like a bully, and therefore precluded him (D.) from meeting him with his own weapons. The only response of the other was, that he would knock D.'s teeth down his throat if he repeated the charge. The name of this man was soon ascertained to be John A. Fisher of Harrisburg, a lawyer; and the only palliation (if it be one) that I hear offered for his conduct is, that he was undoubtedly under the influence of intoxicating liquor. This was a foretaste of the violence to be experienced on our attempting to lecture here, and which I anticipated even before I left Boston.

Though the cars (compared with our Eastern ones) look as if they were made a century ago, and are quite uncomfortable, yet the ride was far from being irksome, on account of the all-pervading beauty and opulence of the country through which we passed, so far as a fine soil and natural scenery are concerned. We passed through the counties of Philadelphia, Chester, Lancaster, and a portion of Dauphin, and, through the whole distance, saw but a single spot that reminded us of our rocky New England. Arriving at 3 o'clock, we found at the depot, awaiting our coming, Dr. Rutherford, an old subscriber to the *Liberator*, and his sister-in-law, Agnes Crane, both of them true and faithful to the anti-slavery cause in the midst of a perverse and prejudiced people; and also several of our colored friends, with one of whom (Mr. Wolf, an intelligent and worthy man) Douglass went home, having previously engaged to do so; while I went with Dr. Rutherford, and received a cordial welcome from his estimable lady.

Aug. 7. *W. W. Rutherford.* *Lib.* 17: 122.

The Court House had been obtained for us for Saturday and Sunday evenings. Hitherto, nearly all the anti-slavery lecturers have failed to gather any considerable number together; but, on this occasion, we had the room filled, some of the most respectable citizens being present. At an early period of the evening, before the services commenced, it was evident that mischief was brewing and an explosion would ultimately follow. I first addressed the meeting, and was listened to, not only without molestation, but with marked attention and respect, though my remarks were stringent, and my accusations severe. As soon, however, as Douglass rose to speak, the spirit of rowdyism began to show itself outside of the building, around the door and windows. It was the first time that a "nigger" had attempted to address the people of Harrisburg in public, and it was regarded by the mob as an act of unparalleled audacity. They knew nothing at all of Douglass, except that he was a "nigger." They came equipped with rotten eggs and brickbats, firecrackers, and other missiles, and made use of them somewhat freely — breaking panes of glass, and soiling the clothes of some who were struck by the eggs. One of these bespattered my head and back somewhat freely. Of course there was a great deal of yelling and shouting, and of violent exclamation — such as, "Out with the damned nigger," etc., etc. The audience at first manifested considerable alarm, but I was enabled to obtain a silent hearing for a few moments, when I told the meeting that if this was a specimen of Harrisburg decorum

Aug. 7, 8.

CHAP. VII. 1847. and love of liberty, instead of wasting our breath upon the place, we should turn our backs upon it, shaking off the dust of our feet, etc., etc.

W. L. Garrison to his Wife.

PITTSBURGH, Aug. 12, 1847.

MS. Thursday A.M. Aug. 9. I endeavored to complete a letter for you at Harrisburg, before leaving for this place on Monday morning, but was able to write only a portion of one before it was time to be at the depot. In my perplexity, not knowing what else to do, I requested a colored friend to finish my letter, explaining to you the reason why he did so, and put it into the post-office. He promised to do so, and I hope was faithful to his promise. As I left off, just as I was giving you the particulars of the rowdyish outbreak at our meeting at H., I requested Mr. Brown to mention that no attempt was made to molest me, and that Douglass escaped without any serious injury, although he was struck in the back by a stone, and a brickbat just grazed his head. All the venom of the rowdies seemed to be directed against him, as they were profoundly ignorant of his character. . . .

Aug. 8. On Sunday forenoon and afternoon, we addressed our colored friends in their meeting-house at H., at which a number of white ones were also present. The meetings were crowded, and a most happy time we had indeed. Not the slightest molestation was offered.

Aug. 9. On Monday, we left Harrisburg in the cars for Chambersburg, a distance of fifty-four miles. On arriving, to our serious regret we found that the ticket which Douglass obtained at H. for Pittsburgh enabled him to go directly through in the 2 o'clock stage, while I should be compelled to wait until 8 o'clock (it proved to be 11 o'clock) in the evening. This was annoying and unpleasant in the extreme. Douglass had a hard time of it, after we parted. The route over the Allegheny mountains, although a very beautiful and sublime one, is a very slow and difficult one, and, with a crowded stage, in a melting hot day, is quite overpowering. It seemed to me almost interminable — almost equal to a trip across the Atlantic.

Lib. 17:149. Douglass was not allowed to sit at the eating-table, on the way, and for two days and nights scarcely tasted a morsel of food. O, what brutality! Only think of it, and then of the splendid reception given to him in all parts of Great Britain! On his arriving at Pittsburgh, however, a different reception awaited

him, which was also intended for me. A committee of twenty white and colored friends, with a colored band of music, who had sat up all night till 3 o'clock in the morning, met him to welcome him to the place, and to discourse eloquent music to him. Of course, they were greatly disappointed at my not coming at that time. CHAP. VII. 1847. *Aug.* 11, 1847.

I arrived towards evening, entirely exhausted, but soon recovered myself by a good warm bath. A meeting had been held in the afternoon in the Temperance Hall, which was ably addressed by Douglass. In the evening, we held one together in the same place, crowded to overflowing.—[August 13.] Yesterday, Friday [Thursday], we held *three* large meetings, two of them in the open air, and concluded last night with the greatest enthusiasm. I have seen nothing like to it on this side of the Atlantic. The place seems to be electrified, and the hearts of many are leaping for joy. *Aug.* 11. *Aug.* 12.

This morning, Saturday [Friday], we are off for New Brighton, where we are to have a meeting this afternoon, and others to-morrow. I have not a moment of time, scarcely, left to myself. Company without end — meetings continuously from day to day — little or no sleep — it is [with] the greatest difficulty I can find time to send you a single line in regard to my tour. As for the *Liberator*, I cannot give any sketch for the public eye, but hope to be able to do so in a few days. *Beaver Co., Penn.*

W. L. Garrison to his Wife.

YOUNGSTOWN [Ohio], Aug. 16, 1847. *MS.*

I scribbled a few hasty lines for you at Pittsburgh, just before leaving that busy, though dingy and homely city—a city which so closely resembles the manufacturing towns in England that I almost fancied I was once more on the other side of the Atlantic. So, too, the enthusiasm manifested at our meetings was altogether in the English style. For example, at the close of our last meeting, three tremendous cheers were given to Douglass, three for Foster, and three for myself. Everything passed off in the most spirited and agreeable manner. *Ante, p.* 173. *S. S. Foster.*

On Friday, we took the steamer for Beaver, on the Ohio River, . . . and from thence rode to New Brighton in an omnibus, some three or four miles, accompanied by several of our colored Pittsburgh friends — J. B. Vashon and son (George B.), Dr. Peck, Dr. Delaney (editor of the *Mystery*, black as jet, *Aug.* 13. *M. R. Delaney.*

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and a fine fellow of great energy and spirit), and others — where we had a most cordial welcome from Milo A. Townsend and his wife and parents, Dr. Weaver, Timothy White, etc., etc. Milo is one of the truest reformers in the land, and wields a potent reformatory pen, but his organ of hope is not quite large enough. There seems to be no branch of reform to which he has not given some attention.

New Brighton is a small village of eight hundred inhabitants, but there are several other villages in its immediate neighborhood. There have been a good many lectures on slavery given in it by our leading anti-slavery lecturers such as Stephen and A. K. Foster, Burleigh, Pillsbury, Douglass, etc.; but the people generally remain incorrigible. The secret is, they are much priest-ridden — thus confirming afresh the assertion of the prophet, "like people, like priest." The Hicksite Quakers have a meeting-house here, but they are generally pro-slavery in spirit. No place could be obtained for our meeting excepting the upper room of a large store, which was crowded to excess, afternoon and evening, several hundred persons being present, and many other persons not being able to obtain admittance. In the evening, there were some symptoms of pro-slavery rowdyism outside the building, but nothing beyond the yelling of young men and boys. Over our heads in the room, were piled up across the beams many barrels of flour; and while we were speaking, the mice were busy in nibbling at them, causing their contents to whiten some of our dresses, and thinking, perchance, that our speeches needed to be a little more *floury*. . . . The meetings were addressed at considerable length by Douglass and myself, and also by Dr. Delaney, who spoke on the subject of prejudice against color in a very witty and energetic manner. Douglass was well-nigh run down, and spoke with much physical debility. . . .

C. C. Burleigh, P. Pillsbury.

Hosea 4: 9.

Aug. 14, 1847.

Saturday forenoon, Milo [Townsend], Dr. Peck, Dr. Weaver, Charles Schirras, and myself, ascended a very steep eminence across the river, three hundred feet high, where we had a beautiful prospect, reminding me somewhat of the view from the top of Mount Holyoke, at Northampton, though it was not so fine or extensive, of course. . . . On reaching Milo's house, I was thoroughly tired out, and wet through and through by the perspiration. Indeed, throughout our journey, the weather has been uniformly and exceedingly warm, and I have been "wet to the skin" nearly all the time. To make frequent and long harangues, under such circumstances, is

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quite overpowering. I have never perspired so much in my life. The quantity of water thus exuded through the pores of the skin has astonished me, and I marvel that anything is left of me in the shape of solid matter.

Aug. 14. *Youngstown, O.*

Saturday afternoon, at 4 o'clock, Dr. Peck (he is a fine, promising colored young man, son of my old friend John Peck, now of Pittsburgh, and formerly of Carlisle), who has lately graduated at the Rush Medical College at Chicago, Douglass and I, took passage for this place (a distance of forty miles) in a canal-boat, it being the first trip of the kind I had ever made on a canal. The day was excessively hot, and on the way one of the horses was almost melted, and came within a hair's-breadth of losing his life. Colored persons are not allowed, usually, to sit at the table at regular meals, even on board of these paltry canal-boats, and we expected to have some difficulty. When the hour for supper arrived, the captain came to us, and said he had no objection to our sitting down together, but he did not know but some of the passengers would object. "We will go and see," said I, with my feelings somewhat roused. Happily, no objection was made. Berths were also given to us all, but it was impossible for me to sleep in so confined an atmosphere, as the cabin was small and thronged. The scenery on the route was very pretty.

Aug. 15. *Youngstown, O.*

At 4 o'clock yesterday morning (Sunday) we arrived here, and immediately came up to the "Mansion House," kept by N. Andrews. It is a "rum tavern," but the landlord (strange to say) is friendly to our cause, and generally entertains the abolition lecturers without charge. This world presents some queer paradoxes, and this is one of them. Yesterday, we held three meetings, in a beautiful grove, which were well attended. During the day, the burden fell chiefly upon me, as Douglass was entirely exhausted and voiceless. I am afraid his old throat complaint, the swelling of the tonsils, etc., is upon him. He left for Salem after dinner, accompanied by Samuel Brooke, a distance of forty miles. J. W. Walker, S. S. Foster, and Dr. Peck helped to fill up the gap at the meetings. To-day, I leave for New Lyme (forty miles off), where the annual meeting commences on Wednesday, and will continue for three days. Thus far, I have stood the fatigues of the tour better than I anticipated. As yet, I have not had a word of intelligence from home. I trust you have written to me at Salem.

Aug. 15.

Gen. Agent W. A. S. S.

Aug. 16. *Western A. S. S.*

W. L. Garrison to his Wife.

MS.

NEW LYME [Ohio], Aug. 20, 1847.

Aug. 16. On our way to this place, we stopped on Monday night at a tavern in Hartford, a place settled originally by emigrants from Hartford, Ct.[1] In the evening, a lecture was advertised to be given on Phonography by a Mr. Alexander (an abolitionist), in the meeting-house. Before the meeting, the lecturer and a deputation of persons waited upon me, and urged me to go over and address the assembly at least for a few minutes, as there was a great curiosity to see me. I complied with their request, and spoke about fifteen minutes in favor of Phonography, and thus enabled the good folks to take a peep at the "elephant," but without his "trunk."

Aug. 17. *New Lyme, O.* On Tuesday afternoon, we arrived at this little village, the place selected for holding our grand convocation in this State — the anniversary of the Western Anti-Slavery Society. Just after our arrival, a very severe rain-storm ensued, accompanied with heavy thunder and vivid lightning. It was well for our clothes, if not for our skins, that we escaped it. A great change

Aug. 18. in the weather at once took place, and the next day it was so cold that I wanted to be sitting by a rousing fire to feel comfortable. The clouds were dark and lowering, and it rained more or less frequently during the day. Our great tent, capable of holding four thousand persons, which was put up the day before, was blown down by the wind during the night, and, as it was thoroughly saturated with the rain, it required considerable effort to erect it again.

Notwithstanding the unpropitious state of the weather, at an early hour vehicles of various descriptions began to pour into the place in great numbers. A small meeting-house or academy, close to the tent, was occupied by the Ladies' Fair, which I have, as yet, not found time to visit; but, for want of good management, I am told it is not likely to realize any considerable amount of funds for the cause, though I believe they have a good variety of articles. We held two meetings in the tent on

Aug. 18. the first day, which were attended by a large concourse, among them some of the choicest friends of our cause in the land —

Joshua R. Giddings. Daniel R. Tilden. ay, and choicest women, too. Messrs. Giddings and Tilden, members of Congress, who have nobly battled for freedom in that body, were also present. After the organization of the

[1] Mr. Garrison was now in that north-eastern part of Ohio known as the (Connecticut) Western Reserve.

meeting, a poetical welcome to Douglass, Foster, and myself, written by Benjamin S. Jones, was sung with exquisite taste and feeling by a choir, causing many eyes to be moistened with tears. I then addressed the great multitude at considerable length, and was followed by Douglass in a capital speech. In the afternoon, we again occupied the most of the time. The interest manifested, from beginning to end, was of the most gratifying character, and all seemed refreshed and greatly pleased. As the night approached, there appeared to be some symptoms of rowdyism, and it became necessary for some of our friends to watch all night, lest the tent should be damaged. *Lib.* 17:176.

Yesterday, all day, our meetings were still more thronged — four thousand persons being on the ground. The Disunion question was the principal topic of discussion, the speakers being Douglass, Foster, and myself, in favor of Disunion, and Mr. Giddings against it. Mr. G. exhibited the utmost kindness and generosity towards us, and alluded to me in very handsome terms, as also to Douglass; but his arguments were very specious, and I think we had with us the understanding and conscience of an overwhelming majority of those who listened to the debate. As a large proportion of the abolitionists in this section of the country belong to the Liberty Party, we have had to bring them to the same test of judgment as the Whigs and the Democrats, for supporting a pro-slavery Constitution; but they are generally very candid, and incomparably more kind and friendly to us than those of their party at the East. *Aug.* 19, 1847. *Cf. Lib.* 13: 143, 155.

To-day (Friday), we shall close this cheering anniversary; after which, Douglass and I must ride forty miles to attend another convention at Painesville, which commences to-morrow morning at 10 o'clock; at the conclusion of which we must take another long jaunt, to hold meetings on Sunday at Munson. Our friends here have so multiplied the meetings that not an hour is left us for rest. They are unmerciful to us, and how we are to fulfil all the engagements made, without utterly breaking down, I do not know. Douglass is not able to speak at any length without becoming very hoarse, and, in some cases, losing the ability to make himself heard. This makes my task the more arduous. On the whole, I am enabled to sustain it pretty well, and shall endeavor to act as prudently as I can. *Aug.* 20.

Our reception has been very kind. The manners of the people are primitive and simple. The country, of course, looks like a newly settled one, as compared with our New England States,

CHAP. VII. 1847.

but it is comparatively thickly settled on this Western Reserve. In regard to contributing money towards carrying forward our cause, they are not so liberal as we are at the East; indeed, money here is not usually plenty, although they have everything else in abundance.

No quotations must be made from my hasty scrawls to you for the *Liberator*. I have not a moment's time to prepare anything fit for the public eye, and must refer our friends at home to the *Bugle* for information.

Eliza F. Meriam.

My best regards to the Jacksons, Mrs. Meriam, the Wallcuts, and the other dear friends. Glad shall I be when my mission is ended.

Wendell Phillips to Mrs. Garrison.

MS. Friday.

NATICK [Mass.], Aug. 20 [1847].

Mrs. Phillips.

You must not think we have forgotten you. I ought to have written long ago. Dear Ann has not really been able, though she has talked of you, and wanted to know this, that, and the other, which I was to have found out during my hurried visits to Boston, but, like all husbands, forgot the duty when I got to town. My time has been so hurried and filled that I have never been able to get to Pine Street, but shall yet. Those unruly boys need somebody to take them in hand. Get Francis Jackson or me to box their ears once or twice, and then they 'll begin to value their non-resistant mother and father.

Ann has been very poorly ever since we left Boston — when one pain ceases, another begins, and sometimes they are not even kind enough to wait thus for each other, but very impolitely come two at once. This week, toothache even compelled her to the horrid task of coming into Boston. We shall return to little noisy, sunny, dusty, cosy, dirty, snug Essex Street very early — sometime in September.

Now for the "Pioneer." Does he do his duty and write you every other day? I 'm afraid not. I 've no doubt the jaunt will do his health good. He 'll go dancing along, and forget Yerrinton, types, proofs and all — buying dozens of newspapers at every depot so as to imagine he is enjoying the delight of looking over exchanges; but, alas, he can't cut out scraps as he does at home — for you to — burn. . . .

J. B. Yerrinton.

You must not add to your other cares that of writing to us, but if those *girls* are ever quiet — boys, I know, give no trouble — and you should find a leisure fifteen minutes, we would

welcome a letter — not, though, if you are going to give orders that *I* should not see it. That I call abominable!

How delighted Garrison will be to hear of Geo. Thompson in Parliament.[1] Tell your Geo. he must get up early to keep up with his great namesake; and you may add to Wendy, that I shall end in being nothing, and we look to him to exert himself and keep up the honor of the name.

G. T. G.
W. P. G.

Ann hopes Elizabeth has done well and you 've got many garments made. She hears through Mrs. Garnaut (just returned from the South), that " there never was such a woman as Mrs. Garrison," etc., etc. . . . Well, I *partly* believe it! Remember us to W. L. G. when you write, and believe us very affectionately yours,

E. P. G.
Eliza Garnaut.

ANN and WENDELL PHILLIPS.

W. L. Garrison to his Wife.

RICHFIELD, Ohio, Aug. 25, 1847.

Lib. 17:146. *MS. wanting, but the letter certainly belongs in the home series.*

Our great anniversary meeting closed at New Lyme on Friday, the 20th instant. The discussions of the last day were of a spirited character, and up to the last hour the audience was immense. We adjourned at half-past 2 o'clock, P. M., and were then busily engaged for some time in shaking hands and bidding farewell to a host of friends. When the dense mass moved off in their long array of vehicles, dispersing in every direction to their several homes, some a distance of ten, others of twenty, others of forty, others of eighty, and others of a hundred miles, it was a wonderful spectacle. One man (colored) rode three hundred miles on horseback to be at the meeting!

After taking some refreshment, we left New Lyme about 4 o'clock for Painesville, passing through Austinburg, and taking supper at the house of Cornelia and Betsey Cowles's brother, where we had a hearty welcome. The girls arrived with Douglass soon after we did, who remained under their roof until the next morning, when he rode over to Painesville. The girls are very fine singers, especially Cornelia, and we sang together a number of songs before we left. Dr. Peck . . . was my companion — Mr. Jackson, a colored citizen of P., carrying us in his two-horse vehicle to the house of Deacon Horace Ensign

Aug. 21.

[1] Thompson was elected from the London district of the Tower Hamlets, on a platform calling for the separation of Church and State, free trade, universal suffrage, etc. (*Lib.* 17: 50, 126, 138).

CHAP. VII. 1847. at Madison, where we arrived between 10 and 11 o'clock at night. The deacon had invited us at New Lyme to spend the night at his house, but had retired with his family to rest, supposing we had concluded to stop in Austinburg. He, and his son and daughter, soon made their appearance, and about midnight all was quiet again. The deacon is a Liberty Party man, but very kind and hearty in his feelings towards us, and his house is always open to anti-slavery lecturers and runaway slaves.

Aug. 21, 1847. After breakfast, the next morning, we rode to Painesville, Lake County (within three miles of Lake Erie), arriving at 10 o'clock. It is a very pleasant and well-built village, the prettiest and most populous of any that we have yet seen — containing about 1500 inhabitants. The *Telegraph*, a Whig paper, is the only paper printed in it. The politics of the place are strongly Whig. The same remark applies to nearly every town and village on the Western Reserve.[1] Not having been invited to stop with any one at P., we went to Higley's tavern to brush off the dust, wash ourselves, and prepare for the meeting. The landlord came out and took off our luggage, supposing that Dr. Peck was Mr. Douglass. I requested him to show us a chamber, and he did so, without saying a word. As soon as he left us, I said to my friend Peck, "Dr., I am inclined to think, from the looks of the landlord, that our company is not desirable here." In a few minutes a person came into our room, saying that his name was Briggs — that he was the brother of

Geo. N. Briggs. the present Governor of Massachusetts — that he had taken the liberty of introducing himself to us in consequence of a conversation he had just had with the landlord, who declared to him that no nigger could be allowed to sit at his table, and that if any such attempt were made, there would be a *muss* — not that he had any objection himself, but his boarders would not allow it. A genuine specimen of American democratic, Christian colorphobia. Mr. Briggs invited us to his house, and we accordingly left the tavern. Our meeting was convened in a grove in the immediate vicinity, and several hundred persons were present. Gen. Paine, a lawyer (Liberty Party), presided. The day was fine, and the attention given was all that we could

F. Douglass. desire. Most of the day's talking devolved on me. Frederick's voice was much impaired, and he had to have a bad tooth

[1] This fact should be noted in connection with the cordiality shown by the Liberty Party abolitionists of Ohio to the representatives of the Old Organization.

extracted during the meeting. I took dinner at Gen. Paine's with a company of friends, and at the close of the afternoon meeting I went home to spend the night with J. Gillet, a true friend of our cause, and was very hospitably treated. CHAP. VII. 1847.

On Sunday morning, Mr. Gillet carried me to Munson (fourteen miles), with his wife and another lady, in his carryall. The ride was a charming one, during which I discussed all sorts of theological questions with Mrs. Gillet, a lady of considerable quickness of intellect. On arriving at Munson, we saw the great Oberlin tent in a distant field; but no village was to be seen, and only here and there a solitary log cabin. "Strange," said I to myself, "that our friends should pitch their tent in such a place. From whence are we to get our audience?" But, on going to the spot, I found a large company already assembled, and in a short time the vast tent was densely filled, even to overflowing; so that the multitude was greater than we had even at New Lyme! It was a grand and imposing spectacle. Poor Frederick was still unwell, and could only say a few words in the forenoon; and in the afternoon he absented himself altogether from the meeting, and put a wet bandage round his throat. This threw the labor mainly upon me, though our sterling friends S. S. Foster and J. W. Walker made long and able speeches, which aided me considerably. The enthusiasm was general and very great. We continued our meeting through the next day, with a large and most intelligent audience, and made a powerful impression. Douglass was much improved, and spoke with inimitable humor, showing up the religion of the South in particular, and of the country in general. At the close, Dr. Richmond (one of our most intelligent and active come-outers, last from the Liberty Party) offered a series of resolutions, strongly commendatory to Douglass and myself, which were *unanimously* adopted by a tremendous "Ay!"— after which six cheers were given in the heartiest manner. Altogether, it was the most interesting meeting I have ever attended in this country. . . .

Aug. 22.

F. Douglass.

Aug. 23, 1847.

Monday afternoon, we all started for Twinsburg, [Samuel] Brooke and I coming by the way of Chagrin Falls village, . . . and Douglass, Foster, etc., going by the way of Bainbridge. In the morning we rode over to Twinsburg, where we found collected in a beautiful grove about a thousand persons, whom Douglass and I addressed at great length, both forenoon and afternoon. Douglass almost surpassed himself. It was a most gratifying occasion to all, and a good work was done. We

Aug. 23.

Aug. 24.

CHAP. VII. 1847.

were all hospitably entertained by a stanch abolitionist, Ezra Clark, a subscriber to the *Liberator*. As at New Lyme, Painesville, Munson, and other places, multitudes crowded around us to give us their blessing and God-speed, and to express the strong gratification they felt to see us in the flesh. A great many anti-slavery publications were sold, subscribers obtained for newspapers, etc., etc. Before dark we left for this place, at which to tarry overnight at the house of Deacon Ellsworth, on our way to Oberlin.

Aug. 25. To-day is commencement day at O., and we shall leave here soon after breakfast, hoping to arrive at O. in season for the afternoon exercises. I have long desired to see Oberlin, but do not expect to accomplish much in that place, as we are to have only one day's meeting (to-morrow), and a good deal of prejudice is cherished against me on account of my "infidelity" and "come-outerism." We are prepared, however, to give our testimony, both in regard to the Church and State, whatever may be thought or said of us.

W. L. Garrison to his Wife.

MS. OBERLIN, Aug. 28, 1847.

You know that, from the commencement of the Institution in Oberlin, I took a lively interest in its welfare, particularly on account of its springing up in a wilderness, only thirteen years since, through the indomitable and sublime spirit of freedom by which the seceding students of Lane Seminary were actuated. When Messrs. Keep and Dawes went over to England, a few years since, to obtain pecuniary aid in its behalf from the friends of a freedom-giving Christianity, I commended them to the confidence and liberality of all British abolitionists; and while in that country with them in 1840, I did what I could to facilitate their mission. Oberlin has done much for the relief of the flying fugitives from the Southern prison-house, multitudes of whom have found it a refuge from their pursuers, and been fed, clad, sheltered, comforted, and kindly assisted on their way out of this horrible land to Canada. It has also promoted the cause of emancipation in various ways, and its church refuses to be connected with any slaveholding or pro-slavery church by religious fellowship, though it is said to be involved in ecclesiastical and political relations which impair the strength of its testimony, and diminish the power of its example. From these, if they exist, it is to be hoped it will be wholly extricated ere long, as

Ante, 1:421, 454; 2:37, 108.

Ante, 2:377.

light increases and duty is made manifest. So thoroughly has the poison of slavery circulated through every vein and artery of this nation that it infects every part of the body politic, whether religiously or politically considered.

Aug. 26. The desire that I had long cherished to visit Oberlin was gratified on Thursday last. In company with Douglass, Foster, Walker, and the indefatigable General Agent of the Western Anti-Slavery Society, Samuel Brooke, I arrived in season to attend the exercises of the graduating class in theology. The number of persons present was immense — not less than four thousand. The meeting-house is as spacious as the Broadway Tabernacle in New York, but much better arranged. Two of the graduates took occasion, in their addresses, to denounce "the fanaticism of Come-outerism and Disunionism," and to make a thrust at those who, in the guise of anti-slavery, temperance, etc., are endeavoring to promote "infidelity"! Prof. Finney, in his address to the graduates, gave them some very good advice — telling them that denouncing Come-outerism, on the one hand, or talking about the importance of preserving harmony and union in the church, on the other, would avail them nothing. They must go heartily into all the reforms of the age, and be "anti-devil all over" — and if they were not ready to do this, he advised them to go to the workshop, the farm, or anywhere else, rather than into the ministry. This was talking very plainly — but if those young men should attempt to carry his advice into practice, where could they hope to find congregations and salaries?

S. S. Foster, J. W. Walker.

C. G. Finney.

Aug. 27, 1847. Yesterday, at 10 o'clock, we began our meetings in the church — nearly three thousand persons in attendance. Another was held in the afternoon, another in the evening, — and this forenoon we have had another long session. Douglass and myself have done nearly all the talking, on our side, friend Foster saying but little. The principal topics of discussion have been Come-outerism from the Church and the State. Pres. Mahan entered into the debate in favor of the U. S. Constitution as an anti-slavery instrument, and, consequently, of the Liberty Party. He was perfectly respectful, and submitted to our interrogations with good temper and courtesy. As a disputant, he is adroit and plausible, but neither vigorous nor profound. I shall say nothing about my visit here, for the public eye, until my return. What impression we made at Oberlin, I cannot say; but I was abundantly satisfied as to the apparent effect. I think our visit was an important one, and very timely withal. Douglass and

Aug. 28.

Asa Mahan.

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I have been hospitably entertained by Hamilton Hill, the Treasurer of the Institution, an English gentleman, who formerly resided in London, and is well acquainted with George Thompson and other anti-slavery friends. He is a very worthy man, and his lady is an amiable woman. . . . We dined yesterday with Prof. Hudson, and were invited to dine with Pres. Mahan to-day, but could not afford the time. Prof. Morgan called to see us, but my old friend James A. Thome has given us "the go-by"— why, I do not know. Among others with whom I have become acquainted is Miss Lucy Stone, who has just graduated, and yesterday left for her home in Brookfield, Mass. She is a very superior young woman, and has a soul as free as the air, and is preparing to go forth as a lecturer, particularly in vindication of the rights of woman. Her course here has been very firm and independent, and she has caused no small uneasiness to the spirit of sectarianism in the Institution.

Timothy B. Hudson.
John Morgan.
Ante, 1 : 454; 2 : 327.

But I must throw down my pen, as the carriage is at the door, to take us to Richfield, where we are to have a large meeting to-day under the Oberlin tent, which is capable of holding four thousand persons.

Aug. 28.
Lib. 17 : 185.

SALEM, Sept. 5, 1847.

Sunday evening.

Here I am, under the roof of Benj. S. and E. Jones,[1] with a company below stairs singing a variety of songs and hymns — the Cowles[es], from Austinburg — while I am trying to do, what I have in vain sought to do since I was at Oberlin — and that is, to finish this letter.

J. Elizabeth Jones.

Our meetings at Richfield were eminently successful — five thousand present, and the weather superb. We held six meetings in all. Stopped with Dea. Ellsworth, a come-outer. From thence we went to Medina, and held two meetings in the court-house, which was filled with an intelligent audience. The effect produced, good. We next went to Massillon, and held three meetings in the Tremont Hall, to a respectable and deeply interested assembly. Stopped with R. H. Folger, a talented lawyer and good abolitionist, and a relation of Lucretia Mott. Next we went to Leesburg, the residence of J. W. Walker — a long and tedious ride. Stopped on the way overnight at a

[1] At this time, and for two years longer, editors of the *Anti-Slavery Bugle*, being succeeded by Oliver Johnson *(Lib.* 19 : 102). Mr. Jones had a poetic knack, sometimes happily employed in characterization of his anti-slavery colleagues *(ante*, p. 197).

tavern in Zoar, a place owned by an association of German communists and highly improved. We held several meetings at Leesburg — attendance small, but much interest manifested on the part of those present. A Methodist priest wished to know whether I believed in the inspiration of the Bible. This led to a rich scene. Stopped with Mr. Millisack, an old subscriber to the *Liberator*, who has a beautiful situation. On the way from Leesburg to this place, stopped for the night at a miserable tavern in Augusta, and arrived here yesterday morning, and had the happiness to obtain a letter from you, giving me the assurance of all being well at home. Of course, I devoured every word of it greedily.

Noyes's Am. Socialisms, p. 135.

Sept. 4, 1847.

We have held four immense meetings here — two yesterday and two to-day — five thousand persons on the ground. Our friends are in the best possible spirits. The tide of anti-slavery is rising daily. Everything looks encouraging. This afternoon, while a vast concourse was assembled in the tent, just as I had concluded my speech, a thunder-storm broke upon us, and the rain poured down in torrents, giving us all a pretty thorough baptism; but the people would not disperse, and we looked the storm out of countenance, and wound up gloriously. Our dear friends James and Lucretia Mott are here—Lucretia has spoken twice from our platform, and will go with us to other places. To-morrow we leave for New Lisbon — on Tuesday and Wednesday we must be at Warren — on Thursday and Friday at Ravenna — on Saturday and Sunday at Cleveland — and then farewell to Ohio! My health is good, but I am excessively jaded out. Write to me at Syracuse. Love to everybody.

Salem, O.

Sept. 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12.

W. L. Garrison to his Wife.

CLEVELAND, Ohio, Sept. 18, 1847. *MS.*

The bitter with the sweet — the thorn with the rose. Here I am — on my back; of course, "looking up," literally. I came to this place just a week ago (with Douglass) to complete my mission to Ohio, expecting to leave for Buffalo on Monday. Our first meeting was held in the large Advent Chapel, and was densely crowded, hundreds not being able to gain admittance. Sunday forenoon, we held another crowded meeting in the same place; in the afternoon, to accommodate the throng, we went into a pleasant grove, where we addressed a large auditory. The effect produced at all these meetings seemed to be excellent.

Sept. 11.

Sept. 13.

Sept. 12.

CHAP. VII. — 1847.

Unfortunately for me, the atmosphere in the grove was damp, and it sprinkled occasionally during the meeting — the clouds being very dark and lowering. But this, in itself, was a very trifling circumstance. My labors, for the last four weeks, had been excessive — in severity far exceeding anything in my experience. Too much work was laid out for both Douglass and myself, to be completed in so short a time; yet it was natural that our Ohio friends should wish to "make the most of us" whilst we were in their hands. Sunday night was a very restless one to me, and on Monday morning I arose feeling as if my labors in Western New York must be dispensed with. My brain was terribly oppressed and highly inflamed — my system full of pain — my tongue began to give symptoms of a fever that might be more or less protracted — and I felt indescribably wretched. In an hour, as it were, I was a crushed man — helpless as an infant. During the day I went to the bed to which I am still confined. . . . In the evening, feeling it would be imprudent longer to tamper with so determined a foe, I sent for Dr. Williams, a skilful homœopathic physician, and gave myself unreservedly to his care. My case he soon ascertained to be that of a bilious, intermittent type, with a tendency to typhoid. Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday were days of great restlessness, distress, and anxiety; the fever was upon me in its strength; not a moment's sleep could I realize, day or night. It reminded me of my scarlatina sickness, though it was not quite so dreadful as that.

Sept. 12.

Sept. 13.

Sept. 14, 15, 16.

Ante, p. 71.

Sept. 17.

Yesterday, I began to feel better, and have since been improving up to the present hour. I am now decidedly convalescent, though still exceedingly weak, as a matter of course. In the course of another week, I expect to be so far recovered as to leave for home. Eight hundred miles is the distance which separates us — 200 by steam across Lake Erie, and 600 miles by railroad from Buffalo to Boston. This would be formidable indeed without the power of steam.

Now, my dear, I have given you the worst of the ease, that you may have no scope left for the imagination. Possibly you may see the following paragraph, which appeared (very imprudently indeed) yesterday in the *True Democrat:*

Sept. 17.

Thomas Jones.

"Mr. Garrison was so unwell as to be unable to proceed to Buffalo with his friends on Monday last. He is now at Mr. Jones's, quite low with the bilious fever. Visitors are prohibited by his physician from calling upon him."

It is true that, for a day or two (so numerous were the calls upon me), Dr. Williams forbade visitors coming to my room, but

this was only a wise injunction. As my case is becoming known, it naturally brings in many persons, both from the city and neighboring villages, to make inquiries after my health. Benjamin and J. Elizabeth Jones of Salem have been to see me; so has a sister of S. S. Foster, who is residing here. George Bradburn is a daily visitor at my bedside. Everybody is kindly offering me all needed assistance. Fortunately, I am in one of the best families in the world,[1] and have everything done for me, by day and by night, that you could desire. I miss nothing, need nothing, but your dear presence and that of the darling children. God preserve you all from harm. A thousand kisses for them — as many for you — on my return. Should you have written to me at Syracuse, I shall get the letter, as I intend to spend a day with dear S. J. May. Douglass left here on Tuesday noon. *Sept.* 14.

Your *improving* husband.

Nothing but the indiscreet newspaper report of Mr. Garrison's condition could have justified his putting pen to paper at this stage of the disease. The relief which it brought to his distracted wife was followed by a fortnight of acute anxiety before her husband's recovery could positively be announced. On October 4 he was able to dictate letters, but was still confined to his bed, which he did not leave till October 13. On the following day he was joined by Henry C. Wright, who had returned from Europe in September, and, hearing in Boston first on October 8 of his friend's condition, had travelled as fast as the elements would permit to his bedside. On the 18th the sick man, after five weeks of prostration, during which his life had hung in the balance, was able to drive out. *Lib.* 17:162. *MS. Oct.* 17, 1847, *Thos. McClintock to W. L. G.* *Lib.* 17:151, 174. *Lib.* 17:175.

W. L. Garrison to his Wife.

CLEVELAND, Oct. 19, 1847. *MS.*

I am going to try to write you a few lines, "with my own hand," as Paul says; but whether I shall succeed, or not, is at least problematical. My hand is unsteady, and I am too weak as yet to make an effort of any kind without considerable difficulty.

[1] That of Thomas and Marian Jones, parents of the future Senator Jones of Nevada (*Lib.* 17 : 174).

Oct. 14, 1847. The arrival in Cleveland of dear H. C. Wright took me almost as much by surprise as if he had descended from the clouds. Of course, I was very deeply affected by his presence; but though my heart leaped to see him, I almost felt to regret that a few dear friends had taxed themselves to defray the expenses of his long journey from Boston to this city. But it is another instance of their unbounded kindness to me, and it presses upon my heart somewhat heavily. I am *so* glad that you did not come with him, much as I yearn to see you; for, under all the circumstances, it would have been not only a useless and expensive, but a very imprudent act. Indeed, at no stage of my illness did I deem it at all advisable to send for you. I am specially glad, therefore, that you deemed it not best to come at this late period, during my convalescence. But my heart's overflowing gratitude to those generous friends who offered to defray all the expenses of your journey!

On another account, nothing could have been more opportune than the journey of H. C. W. at this time. The great National *Oct.* 20, 21, 1847. Liberty Party Convention will meet at Buffalo to-morrow and next day, and the occasion will doubtless be one of tremendous interest and excitement. There will, I think, be a complete blow-up of the party. In order that we may have a correct report of its proceedings, and "gather up the fragments that nothing may be lost," I have urged Henry (as there is really nothing for him to do here) to go to Buffalo, and there watch the Convention as a cat does a mouse, allowing nothing to escape, and putting down in his note-book everything worth recording. Disliking to part from me, he at first hesitated; but, seeing the importance of having that body looked after, he consented to *Oct.* 19. go, and accordingly took the steamer this forenoon for Buffalo (accompanied by Sam'l Brooke, who is also going on to Boston), *Buffalo.* where he will remain until my arrival at B., which I trust will be in all this week.

You will be glad to hear that I rode out yesterday, and enjoyed the ride, and also to-day with benefit. I am now only waiting for the arrival of S. S. Foster, who expects to be here on Thurs- *Oct.* 22. day, when, if the weather be fair, we shall leave on Friday for Buffalo. In the course of a fortnight from this date, I hope to embrace you and the children in my arms.

I have lost twenty pounds of flesh by my illness, and am quite thin and weak. This effort has been most exhausting to me. I *must* stop. Best regards to all.

Your weary but loving husband.

W. L. Garrison to his Wife.

CLEVELAND, Oct. 20, 1847. *MS.*

As on a previous occasion, I received a letter from you last evening only an hour or two after I had mailed one for you. It came quite unexpectedly, and its contents were of a comforting character. To be assured that all is well at home, and that you lack for nothing, is a very great relief to my mind. O, the blessing of health! It is seldom appreciated until it is taken from us. I hope to prize it, hereafter, more highly than I have hitherto done.

The kind and unceasing attentions of our esteemed friends, Mr. and Mrs. Wallcut,[1] to which you gratefully allude, certainly demand of me the liveliest expressions of thankfulness. These you will proffer to them. Our indebtedness to them is very great, and ever increasing.

You also refer to the kind and efficient assistance rendered by Mrs. Garnaut. She is one of the ministering spirits of Love and Goodness in this world — too rare, alas! — and but for whom the world would present a dreary aspect indeed. Give her my warmest remembrances. . . . *Eliza Garnaut; see Lib.* 19:163.

I cannot specify the friends to whom I desire to be affectionately remembered. None of them are forgotten.

It is a most painful effort for me to write. This short letter has cost me the labor of hours.

P. S.—H. C. Wright will accompany me as far as Albany, and from thence go to Philadelphia. S. S. Foster will go with me as far as Worcester; and Sam'l Brooke will go with me all the way through to Boston. You must have a bed ready for him.[2]

Is it not strange that Douglass has not written a single line to me, or to anyone in this place, inquiring after my health, since he left me on a bed of illness?[3] It will also greatly surprise our

[1] Robert F. Wallcut *(ante,* 2: 422) was now the General Agent of the *Liberator,* succeeding Henry W. Williams *(Lib.* 16 : 30).

[2] In the end, Mr. Wright, instead of Mr. Brooke, made the through journey with Mr. Garrison (MS. Oct. 26, 1847, W. L. G. to H. E. G.).

[3] S. J. May wrote from Waterloo to Mr. Garrison (MS. Oct. 8, 1847): "Frederick Douglass was very much troubled that he did not get any tidings from you when he reached Syracuse on the 24th of September. He left you reluctantly, yet thinking that you would follow on in a day or two; and as he did not get any word from you at Waterloo, nor at Auburn, he was almost sure he should meet you at my house. His countenance fell, and his heart failed him, when he found me likewise in sad suspense about you. Not until he arrived at West Winfield did he get any relief, and then through the *Liberator* of the 23d."

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friends in Boston to hear that, in regard to his project for establishing a paper here, to be called the *North Star*, . . . he never opened to me his lips on the subject, nor asked my advice in any particular whatever! Such conduct grieves me to the heart. His conduct [about the] paper has been impulsive, inconsiderate, and highly inconsistent with his decision in Boston. What will his English friends say of such a strange somerset? I am sorry that friend Quincy did not express himself more strongly against this project in the *Liberator*. It is a delicate matter, I know, but it must be met with firmness. I am sorry to add, that our friend Sam'l Brooke is at the bottom of all this, and has influenced Douglass to take this extraordinary step, as he thinks the *Bugle* might as well be discontinued, or merged in Douglass's paper! Strange want of forecast and judgment. But no more now.[1]

Lib. 17:158.

[1] Douglass had returned to America a free man, his English friends having negotiated his ransom (*Lib.* 17 : 10). Mr. Garrison not only contributed while abroad to the amount raised for this purpose (*Lib.* 17 : 10), but justified Douglass in consenting to be freed by purchase — a point as to which the abolitionists were curiously divided, the scruple being shared by the editors of the *Standard*, *Pennsylvania Freeman*, and *Bugle*, and by many subscribers to the *Liberator*. Some Liberty Party editors were horrified. (See *Lib.* 17 : 10, 11, 18, 26, 38, 46, 47.) "We would rather," said Mr. Garrison (*Lib.* 17 : 38), "if this must be the alternative, that the most exorbitant pecuniary exactions of the slave tyrants should be complied with than that their victims should never be set free." "We deny," he said further, in reply to the position taken by the Philadelphia Female A. S. Society, "that such a purchase is necessarily 'inconsistent with the principles set forth in the Declaration of Sentiments of the American A. S. Society.' Of the sixty-one signers of the Declaration, we doubt whether any one of them dreamed at that time of affirming, under his own signature, that it was an act wrong *per se* to procure the ransom of a slave; and we have very little doubt that, since that time, every one of them has again and again contributed towards purchasing either a parent or child, or husband or wife, out of slavery. The language of the Declaration was never intended to be construed as the Philadelphia Society understands it. It denies that a human being can justly be held as property; it also denies that the slaveholder can present any just claim to compensation for emancipating his slaves; but it neither affirms nor implies, nor was it designed to affirm or imply, that it would be a violation of principle to submit to an unjust demand on the part of the slaveholder, in order to secure the legal as well as natural freedom of a slave" (*Lib.* 17 : 46).

Douglass's English admirers did more than free him: they raised money to buy him a press, intending to send over one of English make. This enterprise was not regarded with favor by the leading abolitionists, who knew only too well the precarious support which a fifth anti-slavery paper edited by a colored man (*Lib.* 17 : [102]) must have, and who appreciated to the full Douglass's unrivalled powers as a lecturer in the field (*Lib.* 17 : [102], 114). With much reluctance he abandoned the project, publicly

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While Mr. Garrison is overtaking his companion at Buffalo, we may pause to consider the state of the Liberty Party about to meet in that city, for the last time in its collective capacity. Rather it was a question whether the organization was not already done for. In the second week in June a Fourth Party had gone out from it, forming a Liberty League at Macedon Lock, N. Y., under the auspices of J. G. Birney, Gerrit Smith, William Goodell, Beriah Green, William L. Chaplin, James C. Jackson, and others. Its twenty articles consisted of those "extraneous topics" which began to press for admittance as soon as the Third Party had been launched

June 8–10, 1847.

Lib. 17 : 106.

Ante, 2 : 435.

acquitting Mr. Garrison, whose disinterested friendship he could not question, and the Massachusetts Board of having unduly pressed him to his decision (*Lib.* 17 : 118). Before he started on his Western tour with Mr. Garrison, it was announced that he would help edit Thomas Van Rensselaer's *Ram's Horn* in New York, and would write for the *Standard* (*Lib.* 17 : 135). The British remittance was made in money (*Lib.* 17 : 153), and Douglass's Eastern friends were surprised to read in the Cleveland *True Democrat* that he would set up his *North Star* in that city (*Lib.* 17 : 158). A little later, Rochester was selected as the place of publication (*Lib.* 17 : 178), and before the end of the year the paper was put forth (*Lib.* 17 : 202). As had been anticipated (MS. Aug. 29, 1847, Wendell Phillips to Elizabeth Pease), it nearly proved the ruin of its projector, but by extraordinary exertions it was kept alive — not, however, on the platform of Garrisonian abolitionism. The necessary support could only be secured by a change of principles in accordance with Mr. Douglass's immediate (political abolition) environment. (See Chap. vii. of Douglass's Life, ed. 1882, p. 264.) This defection was early foreseen by the clear-sighted Mrs. Chapman. In her report on the 14th National A. S. Bazaar (*Lib.* 18 : 6, Jan. 14, 1848), she wished well to the *North Star* and its editor; and "may he never . . . be seduced by party or sect to purchase popularity at the expense of fidelity; nor to increase the subscription to his paper by diminishing its anti-slavery power; nor deem it possible to be respected and sustained at the same time by things so opposite in their nature and moving springs as Liberty Party and Liberty League, and that earliest, and latest, and purest anti-slavery which that Party and League scoff at as 'Garrisonism.'"

To Mary Carpenter, one of the most zealous and useful friends of the *North Star* in England, Samuel May, jr., wrote on March 4, 1848: "I believe I told you that Douglass had determined to establish his paper without consulting Mr. Garrison about it, though they had been spending weeks together, in journeying and lecturing, in Pennsylvania and Ohio. It is only common justice to F. D. to inform you that he says this is a mistake — that, on the contrary, he did speak to Mr. G. about it just before he was taken ill at Cleveland. Mr. Garrison, however, has no recollection whatever of it" (MS.).

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on the nominal basis of immediate emancipation,— as, for example, free trade, direct taxation, abolition of the Government monopoly of carrying the mails,[1] disbanding of the army and navy ("no human government" heresy), distribution of the public lands. Gerrit Smith was nominated for the Presidency.

Lib. 17:106, 113.

MS. Aug. 29, 1847.

"Our old enemy, Liberty Party," wrote Wendell Phillips to Elizabeth Pease in August, "is fulfilling, oh, how exactly! our prophecies in 1840. I never saw predictions so accurately verified. We said she would be obliged to adopt more than one principle (hatred to slavery) before she would increase. Lo! Goodell and all New York have confessed it, and joined the Democrats on Free Trade, the Land Reformers on Land Limitation, etc., etc.,—19 points in all. (In Goodell's Declaration of Principles there was a ludicrous sentence. He began by laying down the principle that *every immortal and responsible agent* was entitled to share in the Government; hence he inferred the right of universal suffrage for *men*, forgetting that there were other 'immortal and responsible agents' in the world, the women! But he dared not add woman's rights as the 20th point to his 19 — that would have lost *numbers*, the prime aim of parties.) It was prophesied that the party would be obliged to desert its main principle, separate organization, in any real anti-slavery struggle. It did so in the only two it has met — in New York, on the Constitution; in New Hampshire, on J. P. Hale's election.[2] It was prophesied that when

N. Y. Constitution of 1846.

[1] The hobby of Lysander Spooner, now — superseding Goodell (*Lib.* 17:170) — the high priest of the doctrine of the "unconstitutionality of slavery." See his pamphlet bearing this title, Boston, 1845 (*Lib.* 15:134), and Wendell Phillips's pamphlet reply (*Lib.* 15:139; 17:86).

[2] On Aug. 6, 1846, Gerrit Smith wrote: "Since the Liberty Party has subscribed to the doctrine of voting for pro-slavery men, I have no desire to attend its meetings. Until the last nine months, I had taken it for granted that not to vote for a pro-slavery man was a settled, immovable, never, no never-to-be-departed-from doctrine of the Liberty Party. But I learned my mistake when I found that most of the members of the Liberty Party in this State, and most of the Liberty Party newspapers in the nation, were in favor of voting for pro-slavery men to construct the fundamental and organic law of the State of New York [Constitution of 1846]. I had another and very painful proof of this mistake when I saw the Liberty Party members of the New Hampshire Legislature voting for a pro-slavery man for Governor of their State — for a man who, whatever his words, is, nevertheless, pro-slavery in his influence, so long as he votes for the buyers and sellers of men" (*Lib.* 16:167).

pressed it would be forced to gain strength by selecting for candidates men not of their party. Leavitt, desirous to equal Goodell, is about to select Hale as their Presidential candidate — a man never of their party. It was prophesied that so fast as men became politicians, they would cease to be frank-spoken, active reformers; and so it has proved. Liberty Party *as such* is dying, and merging under other names in other movements."

The New York bolt was distasteful to the Eastern wing of the Liberty Party. Samuel Fessenden of Maine wrote to the *Emancipator*: "I feel chafed at the idea of our greatest and best men lugging in, as seems to me, by the head and shoulders, so many things to embarrass and cripple our great and glorious cause in which we are engaged. How have we blamed Garrison, and that class of anti-slavery men, for bringing in and mingling with the cause so many exciting topics!"[1] The schismatics strenuously sought to postpone the national convention at Buffalo till the spring of 1848, but were overruled. The two factions meantime met at the State Convention held at Worcester, Mass., in September, when a resolution indirectly nominating John P. Hale for President was voted down after an acrimonious debate. On Octo-

Lib. 17:106.

Lib. 17:106, [130].

Lib. 17:158.

[1] In explanation of this passage, Mr. Fessenden wrote to the editor of the *Liberator* (MS. July 13, 1847, *Lib.* 17:106, 117): "When I saw such men as Birney and Goodell, claiming Gerrit Smith as a coadjutor, mixing up with the simple principles of the Liberty Party a variety of extraneous topics, I confess I was mortified at what seemed to me to be gross inconsistency of good and great men, and calculated to be seriously injurious to a cause which was near and dear to my heart. My design, in my letter, was simply to call attention to what I thought inconsistent in the conduct of those friends with views and opinions previously expressed by them. I did not mean to give any opinion of my own as to the fact whether you, Sir, had or not mingled with the anti-slavery cause *exciting topics*. I used the word *we* as I should have done in writing to you an account of the result of an election of a mayor of our little city. As the case might be, I should say *we* have elected a Whig or Democratic mayor, though I might have been opposed to the prevailing candidate, and voted against him. . . . I believe no one has ever heard me speak of you but in terms of respect and high regard. I have never thought otherwise of you. If I could covet anything of posthumous fame, it would be the fame which William Lloyd Garrison will have as the pioneer in the anti-slavery cause in the United States, and the tried, and constant, and devoted friend of the oppressed."

ber 21 this outcast of the Democratic Party (thanks to his manly opposition to the annexation of Texas and the Mexican War) received the nomination of the convention at Buffalo.

Lib. 18:7.

Lib. 17:178, 185; 18:18.

It was, however, a strong Gerrit Smith delegation which H. C. Wright accompanied on the boat from Cleveland. For six hours during the passage the saloon was crowded with a caucus over which Owen Lovejoy presided, with George Bradburn and Asa Mahan among the disputants as to men and measures. What was left undiscussed overnight was taken up the next morning. The drift was for a diversity of planks in the party platform, and, by general consent, land reform should be one; nor did the Western mind shrink from anticipating that woman suffrage might ultimately be another. Some wild talk concerning the power of Congress to abolish slavery in the States, and the power of the President in disregard of the Supreme Court, was heard and noted by Mr. Wright.

Lib. 17:178.

Two days and nights were consumed by the Convention in adjusting differences. Joshua Leavitt led the Eastern wing, with the aid of Henry B. Stanton, whose politician's progress had been shown in January at a Liberty Party Convention in Faneuil Hall, Boston, where he said openly that there were in the community "a set of soulless scamps that could only be brought into our cause by the prospect of office; and if the Liberty Party could only get 40,000 votes, as a capital to trade upon, they would soon have these miserable scamps jumping upon their backs to ride into office." Quite naturally at Buffalo he joined Leavitt in contending that the Liberty Party was not a permanent party, whereas Gerrit Smith and the Liberty Leaguers insisted that it was or should be, and should at once consider and advocate all the interests which ought to be represented in a civil government, in order to put them in practice on taking office. Leavitt was likewise in opposition to Goodell and Gerrit Smith and Lysander Spooner on the question of the constitutionality of

Lib. 17:185.

Jan. 20, 1847.

Lib. 17:19.

Cf. ante, 2:311.

Lib. 17:186; 18:14.

slavery; they holding that "no Constitution, no legislative enactments or judicial decisions, are *law* unless they are in accordance with natural justice"—an accordance which the President was at liberty to determine for himself. The Convention avoided taking the position that Congress could emancipate in the States, and admitted the existence of slave representation under the Constitution by declaring the three-fifths "allowance" unrepublican, and demanding its abrogation. The New England delegation went in a body for Hale of New Hampshire, already the Presidential nominee of his own select little party of Independent Democrats. As an opponent of slavery, his claims fell far short of those of many a Whig—for example, of Giddings. Birney's claims, too, whether for perpetual nomination, or for incense, or (now that he was physically disabled) for sympathy, were wholly ignored by the Convention.

Lib. 17:185. *J. P. Hale.* *Lib.* 17:186. *Lib.* 18:18. *J. R. Giddings.* *Lib.* 17:186; 18:14.

All this furnished food for conversation between Wright and Garrison as they journeyed Eastward to the invalid's home. Invalid he remained for two months after his arrival, suffering a partial relapse, and quite incapacitated up to the end of the year from taking any part in the conduct of the *Liberator*. Moreover, the finances of the paper, owing to an ill-advised reduction of the subscription price at the opening of the volume, were a weight upon his spirits.

Oct. 28, 1847. *MS. Dec.* 17, 1847. *W. L. G. to G. W. Benson;* *Lib.* 17:2, 202.

On the other hand, the state of the abolition cause gave no occasion for despondency. The war with Mexico had greatly enlarged the freedom of utterance in Congress on the subject of slavery; and the prospective territorial annexations, as they deeply affected the Constitution of the existing Union, called forth the liveliest protests from Northern States against any further extension of the area controlled by the Slave Power. Even the State of Delaware was among these protestants, and made so near an approach to enacting gradual emancipation for herself that Calhoun, forecasting the balance of power in Congress, reckoned her on the side of the free States. Sig-

Lib. 17:38. *Lib.* 17:22, 34, 38, 43, 149. *Lib.* 17:43. *Lib.* 17:42. *Lib.* 17:34.

nificant, though abortive, movements of the same kind were also made during the year in Kentucky and West Virginia, and these facts effectually dispose of the silly allegation that the abolitionists hindered spontaneous emancipation on the part of the South. Henry Clay so far chimed in with the sentiment of his native State as to oppose, in a public speech at Lexington, the dismemberment of Mexico, or the acquisition of territory for slaveholding propagandism.

Lib. 17:174, 194.

Nov. 13, 1847; *Lib.* 17:189, 193.

Other symptoms that the occupation of the City of Mexico by the American army of invasion did not mean a truce to the "irrepressible conflict" were the passage, or attempted passage, of laws to protect colored citizens against the slave-hunter and the kidnapper by Northern States not already thus fortified; the secession of the New York Young Democracy (Barnburners) on the issue of slavery extension; and the consequent carrying of the State election by the Whigs by a vast majority — a prophecy, as it seemed to Edmund Quincy, of the new birth of a great Northern party.

Sept. 13–15, 1847.

Lib. 17:27, 147; 18:22.

Lib. 17:182.

The Wilmot Proviso was the token of the growing Northern purpose to make a stand on the principle of non-extension of slaveholding, slave soil, and slave representation. Offered in the House, and carried, as an amendment to the "Three Millions Bill" — or the measure providing for the purchase of a peace with Mexico — it was met in the Senate by John C. Calhoun, in the most important speech of the year. He showed that the slave States were already in a minority in the House of Representatives and in the Electoral College; in the Senate they were evenly balanced against the North, fourteen to fourteen. It was now proposed to stay Southern increase, and give full play to Northern preponderance.

Lib. 17:34.

Lib. 17:42.

Feb. 19, 1847; *Lib.* 17:34.

"Sir," declared Calhoun, "the day that the balance between the two sections of the country — the slaveholding States and the non-slaveholding States — is destroyed, is a day that will not be far removed from political revolution, anarchy, civil war, and widespread disaster. The balance of this system is in the slave-

Lib. 17:34.

holding States. They are the conservative portion — always have been the conservative portion — always will be the conservative portion; and, with a due balance on their part, may, for generations to come, uphold this glorious Union of ours. But if this policy should be carried out — if we are to be reduced to a handful — if we are to become a mere ball to play the Presidential game with — to count something in the Baltimore caucus — if this is to be the result — wo! wo! I say, to this Union!" CHAP. VII. 1847.

The Territories, he declared, were the common property of both sections. Every State coming into the Union had a right to determine whether it would be slave or free. "There is," he added, with that lack of humor which topsy-turvy morality begets, "but one qualification, and that is, that the Government shall be republican." He would have consented to an extension of the Missouri Compromise line, which had, however, twice been voted down. But he did not believe in sueh settlements. Prophetically he remarked, on this head: "A compromise is but an act of Congress. It may be overruled at any time. It gives us no security. But the Constitution is stable. . . . Let us go back and stand upon the Constitution!" So, for the sake of that institution which he pronounced "indispensable for the good of both races," he offered what Benton denominated, with good reason, a string of abstractions and firebrands. *Thomas H. Benton.*

"There is," wrote Mr. Garrison on March 1, 1847, to Richard Webb, "no other question so universally discussed as that of slavery, and within the last six months a most surprising change in public sentiment has undeniably taken place. The cowardly pro-slavery war which our national Administration is waging with Mexico, is producing a mighty reaction against the Slave Power, and, out of the slave States, is generally regarded with abhorrence. Mr. Calhoun, who is the Napoleon of slavery, is evidently anticipating a 'Waterloo defeat,' in due season. You will see his speech in the last number of the *Liberator*. He does not attempt to hide his fears as to the future. Unless slave States can be added to the Union as fast as free States, his cherished system of diabolism must ultimately be overturned. Mark his language. He is a man who means what he says, and who never blusters. He is no demagogue." *MS.*

CHAPTER VIII.

The Anti-Sabbath Convention.—1848.

MS. "GARRISON," as Wendell Phillips reported to Elizabeth Pease on February 11, 1848, "has quite recovered his flesh, looks quite hearty, and resumes work with ardor. His new Sabbath Call is finely drawn up, I think. I did not sign it, though agreeing with its principles; mainly because I feel no such necessity for a specific movement against the Sabbath as he and H. C. W. do. The popular mind seems to me clearing itself up fast enough for all practical purposes: these *theological* reforms have but a secondary interest for me."

Henry C. Wright.

Quincy, too, was antipathetic.

Edmund Quincy to R. D. Webb, in Dublin.

MS. Dedham, March 9, 1848.

The letter to Patrick Keogh I did my best to get to him. But as no such person was to be found at the address, and after having been sent on fool's errands into various parts of the town by your "finest pisantry on earth," I had to give it up, and was about consigning it to the "all-swallowing, indiscriminate orifice of the common post," as the divine Charles Lamb says (whose name you blasphemously take in vain by mentioning it in the same sentence with Nat. P. Rogers's), when Mrs. Chapman suggested that some of the priests might put it in the way of getting to him. So I proceeded to call upon the Bishop of Boston, Fitzpatrick by name, the more willingly as I had a curiosity to make the acquaintance of a live Catholic Bishop.

Cf. Whittier's Prose Works, 2: 216.

John Bernard Fitzpatrick.

I sent up my card, and was graciously received and my business taken in charge. His Lordship then wished to know if I was the individual that was endeavoring to destroy the Sabbath, whose Call he had seen. Upon my confessing the

soft impeachment, he said that he should like to see how the parsons would answer it; that it was impregnable on Protestant grounds; that Scripture was clear against the Puritanico-Judaic Sabbath; that the observation of the First Day rested on the Canons of the Church, like that of other holidays, etc. He liked the movement, evidently, very much. He knew all about me and the rest of us, clearly. He said that the absurdities of Calvinism had driven us into infidelity, but that he thought we should finally take refuge in the arms of Mother Church.

I told him that there was no tenable ground between the Come-outers (the genuine Quakers) and the Catholics, and that as soon as I doubted my own infallibility, I should go straight to Rome and kiss the Pope's Great Toe. To all of which he assented, and was good enough to recommend to me a course of Theology in Latin for my light reading. We abused the Protestants with great unanimity, and only differed on the trifling matter of Slavery, for all the evils of which (not the thing itself, which he seemed to consider rather an agreeable circumstance) Catholicism was the true remedy. And so we parted. . . .

Garrison seems quite well, considering how terribly he was pulled down by his dreadful fever. But such draughts upon the capital of life must seriously impair the amount. It was during the time of his convalescence that he and H. C. Wright got up this Anti-Sabbath Convention.

It really seems as if the Devil always would put his foot in it, whenever the anti-slavery cause has got into a tolerable position, so as to keep it in hot water. The Clique generally showed the project no great favor; not that they did not agree with the doctrines of the Call, and wish the Sabbath Superstition utterly demolished, but they thought they were doing as much incidentally, by their own example and their insisting upon using Sunday as a suitable time for holding A. S. meetings, etc., as they well could do, consistently with their A. S. work. And especially as we looked upon it as a *Theological* rather than *Moral* Reform — a question whether an Institution not a *malum in se*, like Slavery or Drinking, was Divinely Ordained. At the same time, we had no objection to their doing what they thought best about it. Phillips declined signing the Call, and I allowed my name to go upon it on the strict condition that no service of any sort was to be expected of me. I was content to ring the bell, but not to do any part of the preaching or evangelizing.

Ante, p. 90.

CHAP. VIII. 1848.

You will understand, of course, that there was nothing like unkindness between us. We agreed to differ as to the measure, as far as we did, in the most catholic and merriest spirit. There will be fun at the Convention, I doubt not. The movement has made a great stir in the community, and especially among the devouter sort of *Unitarians!*

Lib. 18:22.

MS. Jan. 8, 1848, *Thos. McClintock to W. L. G. MS. Jan.* 10, 1848.

The Call for an Anti-Sabbath Convention in Boston had begun to be sent out for signatures late in December, 1847. The author of it advised S. J. May that it had been "drawn up with great care and deliberation, and sanctioned by a large committee of our best reformatory spirits"; but Mr. May could not yield entire sympathy or allow his name to be appended. "I am sorry," he responded on January 15, 1848, "you are going to have a Convention, because it will help rather than hinder the project of the Sabbatarians. Opposition will give importance to their doings." He thought the Sabbath laws were a dead-letter. Theodore Parker, however, as in the time of the Chardon-Street Convention, was less disturbed than his Unitarian brother:

MS. to W. L. G.

Ante, 2: 422–426.

Theodore Parker to W. L. Garrison.

MS.

BOSTON, Jan. 9, 1848.

MY DEAR SIR: I heartily subscribe my name to the Call for the Convention which you speak of. But I don't think I shall be able to take any prominent part in the discussions at that Convention. Still, I will do what I can. Sometimes I have thought that hitherto, amid the fierce this-worldliness of N. E., nothing but superstition would keep [the people] (in their present low state) from perverting the Sunday yet worse by making all their time devoted to Mammon. But there is "a better time a-coming," and God bless you in all attempts to bring it *now*.

New England.

Jan. 21, 1848; *Lib.* 18:11.

By the time the Call was first printed in the *Liberator*, the following signatures had been obtained: W. L. Garrison, Francis Jackson, Theodore Parker, Edmund Jackson, Charles F. Hovey,[1] John W. Browne, Maria W. Chapman,

[1] "A rich, money-making merchant [of Boston]," as Quincy described him to Webb (MS. Oct. 3, 1848), "at the same time a thorough-going Garrisonian. He came into the cause some three years ago, by the way of

Charles K. Whipple, Samuel Philbrick, Loring Moody, Edmund Quincy, S. S. and Abby Kelley Foster, G. W. Benson, Andrew Robeson, Parker Pillsbury, James and Lucretia Mott, Edward M. Davis, C. C. Burleigh, H. C. Wright, J. Miller McKim, Thomas McClintock, and Joseph C. Hathaway. These were joined later by Samuel May, Jr., R. F. Wallcut, Increase S. Smith, William A. White, and Joshua T. Everett. The anti-slavery complexion of this list was unmistakable, and, in truth, if any experience could breed anti-Sabbath conventions, it had been precisely that of the abolitionists. On an earlier occasion, the Rev. Samuel May, Jr., had said: "The infidelity of the anti-slavery movement consists in this simple thing, that it has outstripped the churches of the land in the practical application of Christianity to the wants, wrongs, and oppressions of our own age and our own country." And since then, on his journeys as General Agent of the Massachusetts Society, he had "perceived that it was much more difficult to get the ear of the people at large, in order to lay before them the story of the wrongs and sufferings of their enslaved countrymen, on the first day of the week than on any other"— thus making Sunday not the best but the *worst* day of the week. Contrary to Phillips's and Quincy's view, therefore, anti-Sabbatarianism must, for abolitionists, be allowed to have been a moral rather than a theological reform. As for Mr. Garrison himself, his emancipation from the traditional views of the Sabbath proceeded on lines already displayed in this narrative; and

Lib. 17:3.

Lib. 18:67.

Ante, *pp.* 218, 219.

Ante, 2:51, 107–114, 152–154; 3:3, 9, 65.

Democracy, Free Trade, Hard Money, No Monopoly, Freedom of Public Land, etc. Finding out that all the political parties were equally selfish and unprincipled, and really wishing to do some good in the world, he bethought himself of anti-slavery, and the first thing he did was to call and make Mrs. Chapman's acquaintance, and give her fifty dollars for the Fair. Having thus come in at the gate and not over the wall, he was soon in line with us, and is now as thoroughly one of the *Cab* as if he had always belonged to it. He is a member of the American and Mass. Boards, and is always ready with his money, and has no reverences of any kind. He began by being a Come-outer. He is one of the best of fellows. A thorough man of business, managing a very large concern and making plenty of money, without being the slave of business or money."

CHAP. VIII. 1848. as far back as the summer of 1844, remarking the roving commission of the Rev. Justin Edwards, D. D., of Andover, *Lib.* 14: 110. for a year past, to enforce Sabbatarianism, he proposed a New England Convention to discuss the Sabbath. Occurrences meanwhile, on both sides of the Atlantic, had made such a meeting seem imperative, whether from the standpoint of an abolitionist or of a universal reformer. But now his rally was of *anti*-Sabbatarians who needed no converting, but should unite their voices in protest. *Ante*, 2: 111, 112. Hence the Address (germinated a dozen years before)

To the Friends of Civil and Religious Liberty.

Lib. 18: 11. THE right of every man to worship God according to the dictates of his own conscience is inherent, inalienable, self-evident. Yet it is notorious that, in all the States, excepting Louisiana,[1] there are laws enforcing the religious observance of the FIRST DAY OF THE WEEK AS THE SABBATH, and punishing as criminals such as attempt to pursue their usual avocations on that day,— avocations which even Sabbatarians recognize as innocent and laudable on all other days. It is true, some exceptions are made to the rigorous operation of these laws, in favor of the Seventh-Day Baptists, Jews, and others who keep the seventh day of the week as the Sabbath; but this freedom is granted in condescension to the scruples of particular sects, as a privilege, and not recognized as a natural right. For those (and the number is large, and steadily increasing) who believe that the Sabbath was exclusively a Jewish institution,—"a shadow of good things to come," which vanished eighteen hundred years ago before the light of the Christian dispensation, and therefore that it constitutes no part of Christianity,—*there is no exemption from the penalty of the law;* but, should they venture to labor even for bread on that day, or be guilty of what is called "Sabbath desecration," they are liable either to fine or imprisonment! Cases of this kind have occurred in Massachusetts, Vermont, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, within a comparatively short period, where conscientious and upright persons have been thrust into prison for an act no more intrinsically heinous than that of gathering in a crop of

[1] Originally a Catholic settlement, where the Civil Law obtained.

hay, or selling moral or philanthropic publications.[1] There is, therefore, no liberty of conscience allowed to the people of this country, *under the laws thereof*, in regard to the observance of a Sabbath day.[2]

In addition to these startling facts, within the last five years a religious combination has been formed in this land, styling itself "THE AMERICAN AND FOREIGN SABBATH UNION," whose specific object it is to impose the Sabbatical yoke yet more heavily on the necks of the American people. In a recent appeal made for pecuniary assistance by the Executive Committee of that Union, it is stated that "the Secretary (Rev. Dr. Edwards) has visited twenty of the United States, and travelled more than thirty thousand miles, addressing public bodies of all descriptions, and presenting reasons why, as a nation, we should keep the Sabbath,—all secular business, travelling, and amusement be confined to six days in a week, —and all people assemble on the Sabbath, and worship God." A "permanent (?) Sabbath document" has been prepared by the Secretary; and "what has already been done will put a copy of this document into more than three hundred thousand families." Still greater efforts are to be made by the "Union" for the furtherance of its object.

Justin Edwards.

That this combination is animated by the spirit of religious bigotry and ecclesiastical tyranny — the spirit which banished the Baptists from Massachusetts, and subjected the Quakers to imprisonment and death, in the early settlement of this country — admits of little doubt. It is managed and sustained by those who have secured the enactment of the penal laws against Sabbath-breaking (all that the spirit of the times will allow), and whose disposition it manifestly is, if they can increase their power, to obtain the passage of yet more stringent laws against those who do not "esteem one day above another," but esteem "every day [alike]"—who are not willing that any man shall judge them "in respect of a holy day, or the new moon, *or the Sabbath*"—and who mean to "stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made them free, and not to be entangled again

[1] Allusion is here made to the case of Charles C. Burleigh, who in February, 1847, was twice put in jail in West Chester, Pa. (the second time for six days), for selling anti-slavery books on Sunday (*Lib.* 17:54, 59; *Penn. Freeman*, Mar. 25, 1847). For the conviction of a Seventh-Day Baptist farmer for working, in Pennsylvania, on Sunday, see *Lib.* 18:119.

[2] The last sentence originally read, ". . . observance or non-observance of the first day of the week as a holy day."

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with the yoke of bondage." Its supporters do not rely solely upon reason, argument, persuasion, but also upon brute force — upon penal law; and thus, in seeking to crush by violence the rights of conscience, and religious liberty and equality, their real spirit is revealed as at war with the genius of republicanism and the spirit of Christianity.

Believing that the efforts of this "Sabbath Union" ought to be baffled by at least a corresponding energy on the part of the friends of civil and religious liberty; . . .

That the Sabbath, as now recognized and enforced, is one of the main pillars of Priestcraft and Superstition, and the stronghold of a merely ceremonial Religion;

That, in the hands of a Sabbatizing clergy, it is a mighty obstacle in the way of all the reforms of the age,— such as Anti-Slavery, Peace, Temperance, Purity, Human Brotherhood, etc., etc.,— and rendered adamantine in its aspect towards bleeding Humanity, whose cause must not be pleaded but whose cries must be stifled on its "sacred" occurrence; . . .

We, the undersigned, therefore, invite all who agree with us essentially in these views of the Sabbath question, to meet IN CONVENTION, in the city of Boston, on THURSDAY and FRIDAY, the 23d and 24th of March next, to confer together, and to decide upon such measures for the dissemination of light and knowledge, on this subject, as may be deemed expedient.

In publishing this call for an ANTI-SABBATH CONVENTION, we desire to be clearly understood. We have no objection either to the first or the seventh day of the week *as a day of rest from bodily toil*, both for man and beast. On the contrary, *such rest is not only desirable but indispensable.* Neither man nor beast can long endure unmitigated labor. But we do not believe that it is in harmony with the will of God, or the physical nature of man, that mankind should be doomed to hard and wasting toil six days out of seven to obtain a bare subsistence. Reduced to such a pitiable condition, the rest of one day in the week is indeed grateful, and must be regarded as a blessing; but it is totally inadequate wholly to repair the physical injury or the moral degradation consequent on such protracted labor. It is not in accordance with the law of life that our race should be thus worked, and only thus partially relieved from suffering and a premature death. *They need more,* AND MUST HAVE MORE, *instead of less rest;* and it is only for them to be enlightened and reclaimed — to put away those things which now cause them to grind in the prison-house of Toil, namely, idolatry, priestcraft,

Cf. ante, 2:358.

sectarism, slavery, war, intemperance, licentiousness, monopoly, and the like — in short, to live IN PEACE, obey the eternal law of being, strive for each other's welfare, and "glorify God in their bodies and spirits which are his"— and they will secure the rest, not only of one day in seven, but of a very large portion of their earthly existence.[1] To them shall be granted the mastery over every day and every hour of time, as against want and affliction; for the earth shall be filled with abundance for all.

Nor do we deny the right of any number of persons to observe a particular day of the week as holy time, by such religious rites and ceremonies as they may deem acceptable to God. To their own master they stand or fall. In regard to all such matters, it is for every one to be fully persuaded in his own mind, and to obey the promptings of his own conscience; conceding to others the liberty he claims for himself.

The sole and distinct issue that we make is this: We maintain that the seventh-day Sabbath was exclusively Jewish in its origin and design; that no holiness, in any sense, attaches to the first day of the week, more than to any other; and that the attempt to compel the observance of any day as "THE SABBATH," especially by penal enactments, is unauthorized by Scripture or reason, and a shameful act of imposture and tyranny. We claim for ourselves, and for all mankind, the right to worship God according to the dictates of OUR OWN CONSCIENCES. This right, inherent and inalienable, is cloven down in the United States; and we call upon all who desire to preserve civil and religious liberty to rally for its rescue. . . .

We are aware that we shall inevitably be accused, by the chief priests, scribes, and Pharisees of the present time, as was Jesus by the same class in his age, as "not of God," because we "do not keep the Sabbath day"; but we are persuaded that to expose the popular delusion which prevails on this subject is *to advance the cause of a pure Christianity, to promote true and acceptable worship, and to inculcate strict moral and religious accountability in all the concerns of life,* ON ALL DAYS OF THE WEEK ALIKE. . . .

The programme of the Convention, as it lay in Mr. Garrison's mind, embraced a number of essays on subdi- *Lib.* 18:26.

1 "Ce n'est pas que la pauvreté vienne de Dieu, mais elle est une suite de la corruption et des mauvaises convoitises des hommes. . . . Voulez-vous travailler à détruire la pauvreté, travaillez à détruire le péché, en vous premièrement, puis dans les autres, et la servitude dans la société" (Lamennais, 'Paroles d'un Croyant,' 1833). Compare *ante*, 2 : 358.

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visions of the main topic, calculated to give a permanent value to the pamphlet report. These he assigned with much fitness, as when Edmund Quincy was pitched upon to treat of "the assumed judgments upon Sabbath-breakers." But he could not command the necessary collaboration, and his scheme was very imperfectly carried out. Three sets of resolutions were introduced, and furnished matter for debate — the longest by Mr. Garrison, others by John W. Browne[1] and Theodore Parker; with supplementary ones by Charles K. Whipple. George W. Benson presided over the two days' session in the Melodeon — an ill-lighted hall used on week-days for secular entertainments, and on Sundays by Mr. Parker's congregation as their meeting-house. The orthodox religious press, as represented by the Boston *Recorder*, voted Charles C. Burleigh the ablest speaker, yet added: "The most influential speaker, whose dictates, whether opposed or not, swayed the whole course of things, was the redoubtable Garrison himself. At every turn in the business, his hand grasped the steering-oar; and, let his galley-slaves row with what intent they would, he guided all things at his will." For example, the "Prince of New England infidelity," as the same paper styled him, successfully opposed such of Mr. Parker's resolutions as deprecated a Sunday "devoted to common work or amusements," and contemplated one dedicated "to rest — to religious, moral, and intellectual culture, to social intercourse." "I would not," said this clergyman, "keep the Sunday like a fanatic; I would not, like a fanatic, destroy it."

MS. Jan. 10, 1848. W. L. G. to E. M. Davis; cf. ante, 2:426.

Lib. 18:50, 51.

Lib. 18:53.

Lib. 18:51.

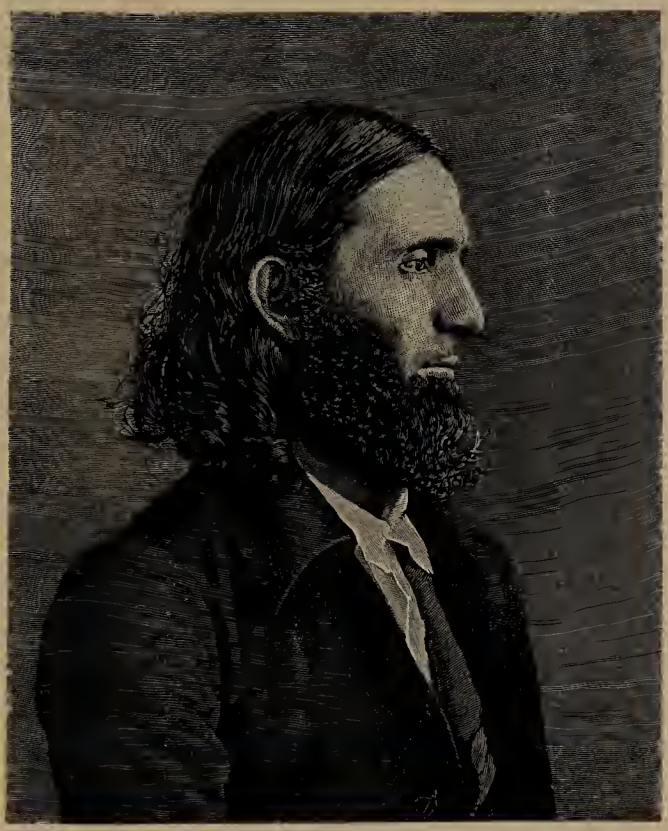
Lib. 18:76.

We will not dwell on the proceedings of the Convention, in which the promoter's part was foreshadowed by the Call. They were published in successive issues of the *Liberator*, and finally in pamphlet form — not without a manifestation of Divine displeasure by the medium of a thief, who stole Mr. Garrison's overcoat containing the

Lib. 18:50, 63, 67, 72, 76, 80, 88, 96, 100.

Lib. 18:62.

[1] A lawyer, originally of Salem, Mass., at this time of Boston; a classmate and most intimate friend at Harvard of Charles Sumner (*Lib.* 30: 71, 90, 91; Pierce's 'Life of Sumner,' 2: 294).



C. C. Burleigh.

phonographic report, and whose remorse was so nicely graduated that he returned the garment without the papers. The odium redoubled upon Mr. Garrison by the religious press had a special regard to his abolitionism. Concern for the "sanctity of a *day*" was, on both sides of the Atlantic, conspicuously manifested by those most indifferent to the "desecration of *man*." Thus, abroad, the Free Church of Scotland was raising money to support the operations of a Sabbath League. At home, a New England pro-slavery Sabbatarian press recoiled from the spectacle of the Rev. John G. Palfrey, a Massachusetts Representative in Congress, addressing to the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, candidate for the Speakership of the House, a catechism as to his probable use of the office with reference to slavery and the Mexican War—on Sunday! But no pain was caused by Mr. Winthrop's replying, on the same day, in a way to forfeit his anti-slavery colleague's support.

Lib. 18:22, 53, 64.

Lib. 18:50.

Lib. 18:50; *MS. Jan.* 10, 1848, *W. L. G. to E. M. Davis.*

Lib. 18:14.

The Anti-Sabbath Convention adjourned, on motion of Henry C. Wright, to meet at the call of the publishing committee in the following year. Meanwhile, this reformer, making free use of the columns of the *Liberator*, ventilated his disquieting views of the divine authority of the Bible in connection with war and slavery, in rough, axiomatic fashion, as under the caption, "The Bible a self-evident falsehood, if opposed to self-evident truth," and the like. The editor defended his correspondent's right of private judgment, whoever might be shocked, and, later, welcomed from another quarter a call for a Bible Convention. At the Non-Resistance anniversary meeting held on the last two days of the year, he offered a resolution denying that God, "as a just, beneficent, and unchangeable being," ever did or could authorize war, "any scriptures (whether styled sacred or profane) to the contrary notwithstanding"; holding, nevertheless, "that Non-Resistance is taught in the precepts, and illustrated in the life, of Jesus Christ; and, therefore, that no man who rejects the doctrine is entitled to be called a Chris-

Lib. 18:51.

Lib. 18:153.

Lib. 18:186.

Lib. 18:190, 191.

Lib. 19:3.

Lib. 19:3; *cf* 19:6.

tian or a disciple of Christ." "Why," he asked, "should we go to a book to settle the character of war, when we could judge of it by its fruits?"

As the spring approached, it became more and more manifest that Mr. Garrison's system had not recovered from the effects of his Ohio fever. Not only rest but treatment seemed necessary, and both inclination and counsel—H. C. Wright's above all others'—prescribed for him the water-cure. At Bensonville, near Northampton, Mass., the seat of the lately defunct Community of which George W. Benson had been a leading spirit, and still his home, a hydropathic establishment had been instituted by David Ruggles, a colored man of remarkable strength of character, who had lost his sight in the service of the "Underground Railroad,"—*i. e.*, in sheltering fugitive slaves and speeding them on their way.[1] In December, 1847, Dr. Ruggles, hearing of his relapse, had offered Mr. Garrison gratuitous treatment; but not until the following July did the patient present himself. Edmund Quincy, with inexhaustible self-abnegation, again granted this release to his friend by assuming the conduct of the *Liberator*, while Francis Jackson and Wendell Phillips conspired with others to defray Garrison's personal expenses and lighten his domestic burden.

Lib. 18:110; *MS. May* 3, 1848, *W. L. G. to E. Pease.*

Ante, pp. 81, 83.

Lib. 19:202.

MS. Dec. 6, 1847.

July 17, 1848.

Lib. 18:110. *MSS. July* 13, 1848, *W. L. G. to F. Jackson; Oct.* 5 (?), *Phillips to Jackson.*

W. L. Garrison to his Wife.

MS.

NORTHAMPTON, July 18, 1848.

Helen Frances Garrison.

The trip in the cars to this place, yesterday, was much more pleasant than the one I took with Fanny, as the heat was much less intense; but the dust and smoke were quite as disagreeable—so that I was not sorry when I arrived at the depot. There I met with our old friend David Lee Child, whom I had not seen for a long time, and the pleasure at meeting was mutual. There is to be a "Free Soil" Convention in this town next week; and to-morrow Mr. Child begins a short

[1] Thus, as secretary of the New York Vigilance Committee, he received Frederick Douglass and determined his destination ('Life of Douglass,' ed. 1882, p. 205.)

tour through the county, for the purpose of addressing the people, and urging upon them the importance of sending delegates to the meeting. Bro. George drove down to the depot a few minutes after my arrival, and carried me and my baggage, with Mr. Child and Mrs. Hammond[1] (whom we took up by the way), to Bensonville. On the way, we discussed the affairs of the nation as vigorously and actively as possible. Speaking of Mrs. Chapman's visit to Europe, for educational purposes in regard to her children, Mr. Child expressed much surprise and wonder at her choice, and said that he had supposed there was not steam power enough to drag her away from the anti-slavery cause to the extent that her absence must necessarily require. With us, and many others, he regretted the step, and thought it an ill-advised one.[2]

G. W. Benson.

[1] Eliza P. Hammond, formerly of New Ipswich, N. H., where her husband, an amateur portrait painter, had had Mr. Garrison for a sitter in January, 1844.

[2] To Mrs. Chapman herself Mr. Garrison wrote on the following day (MS. July 19, 1848): "How to feel resigned to your separation from our little anti-slavery band by a foreign residence of years, I scarcely know; but I know that the step has not been hastily taken on your part, and that there is not water enough in the Atlantic Ocean to quench the flame of your philanthropy. At home or abroad, you will be equally untiring to promote that sacred cause in which you have so long and so effectively labored. Still, we shall miss you more than words can express. We have few suggestive, creative, executive minds; and such is yours, in an eminent degree. Your absence, therefore, will not be the absence of one individual, but of many in one. How joyfully I testify to the clearness of your vision in the darkest hours! to the serenity and bravery of your spirit in the most perilous times! to the steadfastness of your faith when almost all others were faltering! to your uncompromising adherence to principle under the most powerful temptations! How immensely indebted am I to you for counsel, encouragement, commendation, and support! How could the *Liberator* have been sustained through such a conflict without your powerful co-operation? Where would have been the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society but for yourself? How could the Massachusetts and American Anti-Slavery Societies have put forth such exertions, independently of your own? The National Bazaar — what does it not owe to you? I know what others have done — what sacrifices they have made, what labors bestowed, what impulses they have given — (I speak with special reference to the women in our cause) — and I remember them all with gratitude and admiration; but your position and influence have been preëminently valuable. . . . Accept my thanks, fervent but poor, for all that you have done." Mrs. Chapman sailed with her children and her sister Caroline Weston on July 19, 1848 (*Lib.* 18:118). On Oct. 3, Edmund Quincy wrote to R. D. Webb (MS.): "You can hardly imagine what a difference the closing of Mrs. Chapman's house makes to me. Boston is a different place to me. Any of my own blood relations might go away and not make

W. L. Garrison to his Wife.

[BENSONVILLE], July 23, 1848.

MS. Sunday afternoon.

Aside from the daily incidents which occur under the Water-Cure roof (and these are very slightly varied, and of no interest to any but the patients), there is nothing in all this region to stimulate the mind, excepting a contemplation of the beautiful and grand in Nature — nothing occurring worth putting on record. Perhaps a continued residence in the country would operate upon me differently; but I have been so long accustomed to the bustle and excitement of a city life that it is quite essential to the activity of my brain. My ideality is a large organ — so the phrenologists say, and so I believe; and if I were sufficiently transcendental to live in an ideal state, I could well enjoy the solitude of a country residence, where one is cut off from intercourse with society. But I see too many things on terra firma that need to be corrected or destroyed — the earth is too much stained with human blood — there are too many of my race suffering for lack of food, trampled beneath the hoofs of tyranny, plundered of sacred and inalienable rights, groping in mental darkness, victimized by those twin monsters, bigotry and superstition, wallowing in the mire of sensuality, and sighing to be brought into the glorious "liberty of the sons of God" — to allow me to dwell in an ideal state, or to gaze upon imaginary rainbows in the clouds, pleasant as it might be under other circumstances. Therefore my benevolence overtops my ideality, and makes me greatly prefer the practical to the fanciful. I want, first of all, to see the horrid system of slavery abolished in this country; and then everything else that is evil.[1] . . .

Of the nineteen patients who are here, a majority are men. They are all well behaved, and very pleasant. I believe I am the gayest of the lot — perhaps it is because I am the least advanced in the "cure." My organ of mirthfulness is constantly excited. . . . Most of the females are young ladies, all of them remarkably silent (for their sex, of course), and none of them very interesting (though I dare say they are all very worthy), excepting a Miss Thayer from Rochester, N. Y., who,

Abby G. Thayer.

such a change. For I love not only the society of herself and her family, but in a great degree of all her sisters, too. But I have had the advantage of it for ten years, and that is a good slice of life."

[1] In this analysis we discern the limitations of Mr. Garrison's poetic faculty. As will have been remarked, his aversion to *living* in the country did not prevent him from being an ardent admirer of fine natural scenery.

being a "Garrisonian" abolitionist, and a thoroughgoing reformer, must, of course, be very agreeable. She reminds me a little of Elizabeth Pease of Darlington, though younger by one-half. She is a rigid Grahamite, and deems it wrong to take the life of any animal for food — even to destroy a spider or snake. She was surprised, she said, to see me, yesterday, take up a stone to kill a snake which lay across my pathway, a few yards from the house, with his forked tongue thrust out in self-defence; though he got away unharmed.

W. L. Garrison to his Wife.

BENSONVILLE, July 26, 1848. *MS.*

To-day there is to be a Free Soil Convention in Northampton, and several of us will go down this afternoon to judge of its character and spirit — dispensing with our usual bath. The defection from the Taylor and Cass ranks, in this section of the State, appears to be considerable, and is every day increasing. It seems probable, now, that there will be no choice of electors in Massachusetts, by the people, at the November election.[1] I long to see the day when the great issue with the Slave Power, of the immediate dissolution of the Union, will be made by all the free States, for then the conflict will be a short and decisive one, and liberty will triumph. The Free Soil movement inevitably leads to it, and hence I hail it as the beginning of the end.

Zachary Taylor. Lewis Cass.

The new movement had had a somewhat rapid development. From Cincinnati, in May, had issued a call for a People's Convention to be held at Columbus, Ohio, on June 21, to form a party based on opposition to slavery extension. Whigs, Democrats, and Liberty Party men mingled in the three thousand signers to the call. Mr. Garrison did not see in this combination and its object the "moral display" which its promoters alleged.

Lib. 18:82.

"Our gratification," he said, "at this movement is found only in the evidence that it gives, that the anti-slavery agitation is spreading among all classes at the North. As for the issue that is presented — free territory — it is weaker than the spider's web; a single breath of the Slave Power will blow it away. Never again, *while remaining in the Union*, will the free States

Lib. 18:82.

[1] So the event proved (*Lib.* 18 : 182).

CHAP. VIII. 1848. present so unanimous and formidable an opposition to the demands of that omnipotent Power as they did in regard to the annexation of Texas; and in consenting to ratify that direful act, they proclaimed their readiness to sanction any fresh deed of villany that Slavery might perpetrate. Every other movement, except that of a DISSOLUTION OF THE UNION, will be laughed at by the South."

He had already, speaking for the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, said of the Wilmot Proviso that it was interesting as a symptom of anti-slavery sentiment; but *Lib.* 18:18. "we regard it as a matter of comparative indifference whether that Proviso receives the sanction of Congress or not, feeling that the attempt to restrain slavery by laws and constitutions is precisely equivalent to damming up the Mississippi with bulrushes, and that the man who expects anything but failure from such a plan has still the a b c of his country's history to learn." To this Pro- *Lib.* 18:103. viso the four hundred delegates who met at Columbus pledged their votes and their concerted action, and ended by calling another convention at Buffalo, N. Y., on August 9. Meanwhile, a great mass convention on the same *Lib.* 18:106. lines was held at Worcester, Mass., on June 28, under the presidency of Samuel Hoar and leadership of Stephen C. Phillips and Charles Francis Adams, and with the assistance of Joshua R. Giddings; and in other parts of the State, as Mr. Garrison's letters have just shown, the agitation was carried on during the month of July. The *Lib.* 18:94, 98, 102. "Conscience Whigs" of Massachusetts were in revolt against the action of their party at Philadelphia on June 7, when the popular hero of the Mexican War, Gen. Zachary Taylor, a Louisiana slaveholder, was nominated for President, in disregard of the claims of Clay and of Webster.[1]

[1] Of these standing candidates *in petto* Mr. Garrison declared in May (*Lib.* 18:74): "Nothing can be more fallacious than their expectations. To those who have asked us privately, for the last twelve months, who would in our opinion be the Presidential candidate of the Whig Party, our reply has been, unhesitatingly and emphatically — Zachary Taylor." Press nominations of Taylor began as far back as the date indicated (*Lib.* 17:61).

Before the Buffalo Convention assembled, Mr. Garrison betook himself to the water-cure, and it fell to Quincy to counsel the readers of the *Liberator* in regard to the budding Free Soil Party. Though its aims were circumscribed, he said, abolitionists must incidentally give it help. "Their relation to it is of a totally different character from that they bore to the late Liberty Party," which was the antagonist and not the ally of the anti-slavery movement, and officered by deserters. The Free Soil movement sprang from an honest hatred of slavery, and it would be fed by the abolitionists — the first product of whose teachings was always political voters — as its predecessor had been.[1] "It was our agitation alone," continued Mr. Quincy, "that kept the Third Party alive until it was merged in the Independent Democratic Party by the nomination of Mr. Hale."

Lib. 18:126.

J. P. Hale.

Hale had, very deliberately, accepted the Liberty Party's nomination, declining to take the badge of its name, but consenting to its ends. Soon after, he gave the finishing stroke to the myth of sole heirship to immediate abolitionism so assiduously cherished by the Leavitt, Birney, and Stanton faction. Holding that faction's commission for the Presidency, he assured the U. S. Senate that "we desire no interference with, nor disturbance of, the existing institutions of the States. . . . Let us alone — it is all that we desire, all that we ask." Some weeks later

Lib. 18:17.

Lib. 18:30.

[1] Wendell Phillips wrote to Elizabeth Pease in October, 1844 (MS.): "In three towns where I lectured summer before this, the Liberty Party vote *trebled* the next election; and though some thought I did not, on these occasions, labor *as much* on the point of the sin of that party as I ought, still, with us all, the result is something like this. Wherever Abby Kelley lectured last winter, they followed the next week, and would often, notwithstanding all she could do, get more subscribers for their papers than she could for the *Liberator*. You, who know the *Liberator*, know that it requires a pretty *full*-grown *man* to relish its meat." Earlier in the same year, addressing the same correspondent, he wrote (MS. April, 1844): "As fast as *we*, the Old Organization, make abolitionists, the new converts run right into Liberty Party, and become almost or wholly hostile to us. This results from the strong leaning of our national character to politics. . . . It is disheartening to see that every blow we strike thus tells in a degree against ourselves, and yet duty bids us keep on striking."

Lib. 18:70. he denied, in the same place, that he had ever "counselled, advised, or aided in any way"—or ever would—"any encroachment upon the Constitution, in any of its provisions or compromises." So that his anti-slavery aggressiveness was purely in self-defence; and self-defence proceeded apologetically from the ground that slavery was no concern of the free States so long as the system kept within its own limits—but these limits were not those of 1789, nor of 1820, nor of 1845, but of any given year subsequent to the latest triumphant invasion of the
Lib. 18:130. national domain. "If it carry its point," said Quincy, of the Free Soil Party, "slavery will still exist and flourish"; but if it stop there, it had better never have been born.

Lib. 18:131. Whigs and Democrats managed the Buffalo Convention that resulted in placing before the country the nominations of Martin Van Buren for President, and Charles Francis Adams for Vice-President, on a plat-
Lib. 18:142. form of "Free Soil, Free Speech, Free Labor, and Free Men [wherever slavery is not established already]." The Liberty Party representatives were there to yield, not to dictate. They heard, with feeble protests, President Mahan of Oberlin claim the credit of the new movement for Ohio, and inquire whether, if they could have had the drawing up of the platform, they could have produced a better. In the conference committee over the nominations, Henry B. Stanton was authorized to say that John P. Hale would submit to the action of the Convention; and when Van Buren led largely on the first ballot, Joshua Leavitt completed the suicide of the Liberty Party by moving that Van Buren's nomination be made
Lib. 18:146. unanimous.[1] "The Free Soil Party exists," wrote Quincy, "not because, but in spite of" the Liberty Party.

Lib. 18:102. Van Buren had already come out against any further

[1] "The Liberty Party began well and ended badly. . . . With the desertion of it by Mr. Leavitt, Mr. Stanton, Lewis Tappan, and others, I had no sympathy. Mr. Leavitt's prominent part in the nominating of Van Buren was very offensive to me" (MS. November 26, 1870, Gerrit Smith to W. L. G.).

enlargement of the slave area, affirming the power of Congress in the premises, and refusing to support either Lewis Cass or Zachary Taylor. He had at once received the nomination of the Barnburners' Convention at Utica, which was thus imposed upon the Buffalo Convention. His letter of acceptance was adroit and plausible, and virtually retracted his pledge, made while President, to veto any bill abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia. Still, though the Liberty Party might swallow him without making a wry face, the venerable trickster could but excite the distrust of the abolition chiefs.

Ante, 2: 82, 198.

Mr. Garrison wrote privately in August to Mr. Quincy from Northampton:

"As for the Free Soil movement, I feel that great care is demanded of us Disunionists, both in the *Standard* and the *Liberator*, in giving credit to whom credit is due, and yet in no case even seeming to be satisfied with it. It is only placing the country in precisely the same condition, on the subject of slavery, that it occupied a quarter of a century since — to wit, that slavery ought not to be extended to new territories; that it ought to be abolished (when or how is not stated in the new creed) in all our Territorial possessions — (nothing, I believe, is said about its abolition in the District of Columbia); and that Congress has no Constitutional power to meddle with it in the several States — (another repudiation of Spooner's, Goodell's, and Smith's dogma on that point).

Lib. 18: 134.

Lysander Spooner. Wm. Goodell. Gerrit Smith.

"Our Disunion ground is invulnerable, and to it all parties at the North must come ere long. The temptation to vote, however, at the coming election, will be so great that I fear a considerable number of Disunionists, and even of professed non-resistants, will fall into the snare, and try to persuade themselves that, for this once, they may innocently, and even laudably, 'bow down in the house of Rimmon.' Calm yet earnest appeals must be made to our friends to preserve their integrity, and not to lose sight of the true issue. Already, in this region, I hear it said that a number of those who have hitherto acted with us think they can now vote, even for Martin Van Buren! What infatuation!"[1]

[1] As the election drew nigh, Quincy wrote to Webb (MS. Oct. 3, 1848), that the Free Soil fever "has carried off multitudes of our abolitionists, and it is to be feared that many of them will never recover themselves."

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Similar counsel, apropos of an impending anti-slavery meeting, was conveyed in a letter from Mr. Garrison to Samuel May, Jr., written after the Presidential election:

MS. Dec. 2, 1848.

"As for the 'Free Soil' movement, I am for hailing it as a cheering sign of the times, and an unmistakable proof of the progress we have made, under God, in changing public sentiment. Those who have left the Whig and Democratic parties, for conscience' sake, and joined that movement, deserve our commendation and sympathy; at the same time, it is our duty to show them, and all others, that there is a higher position to be attained by them, or they will have the blood of the slave staining their garments. This can be done charitably, yet faithfully. On the two old parties, especially the Whig-Taylor party, I would expend — *pro tempore*, at least — our heaviest ammunition."

The country found itself, in fact, as Mr. Garrison pointed out, where it was at the time of the Missouri controversy thirty years before, and on the eve of as base a compromise. The Free Soil Party arose as soon as possible after the enormous acquisitions of territory through the treaty with Mexico had intensified the dread of pro-slavery aggrandizement; but it was feeble in numbers on its first demonstration at the polls, and before it could be consolidated it was blighted by a settlement which temporarily removed the grounds of its agitation, and therefore of its excuse for being. It had no share, as a party, in the anti-slavery achievements of the year under consideration, when the South was forced to admit Oregon with its prohibition of slavery — Polk assenting on the pretext that the new State lay north of the Missouri Compromise parallel if protracted (as he, like Calhoun, would have had it); when, in the House of Representatives, the Committee on Territories was instructed to bring in a bill to organize New Mexico and California as free Territories; and the Committee on the District of Columbia, to bring in a bill abolishing the slave-trade there — a vote which sent the Southern Congressmen into a caucus breathing secession and revolution. Add the defeat by the House

Ante, p. 235.

Lib. 18:194; 19:3.

Lib. 18:130.

Lib. 18:133; 19:18.

36° 30′.

Lib. 18:202; 19:1.

Lib. 19:6.

Lib. 18:206; *cf. ante*, 2: 244.

of the Clayton compromise measure — the final Southern attempt to enforce the assumption that the free status of the Northwestern Territory was debatable, and to make a nominal concession to Oregon serve as a counter in the game to win New Mexico and California for slavery. *Lib.* 18:115, 118, 122, 123.

Amid all this, the contemner of compromise, John C. Calhoun, passed most unhappy days. He had, as Secretary of State, engineered the annexation of Texas, in order to forestall British (and therefore abolition) possession, but he was no "manifest destiny" filibuster, and he was filled with alarm at the wholesale dismemberment of Mexico contemplated by some of his section after the conquest. He dreaded the taking into a "white man's government" new States both free and inhabited by a mixed population. On that side, Actæon-like (in Whittier's fine metaphor), he shook to hear the bay of his own hounds. On the other, the "defensive" seizure of a vast, sparsely-settled wilderness to the north of the Gila and the Rio Grande, dedicated to freedom by the law of Mexico, and which slavery could not colonize as fast as freedom, returned to plague the inventor, by renewing his mortal apprehension of the loss of the slaveholding preponderance in Congress. He tried, by the Clayton makeshift, to gain time for Southern immigration and control, by forbidding the Territorial governments of New Mexico and California to take any action for or against the introduction of slave property. Beaten in this, he became frantic on the presentation, through Senator Benton, of a petition from the people of New Mexico asking for a Territorial organization exclusive of slavery. "Most insolent," he called it, from men whose confines had been conquered to the Union by the very slaveholders they wished to keep out. Equally wild and ruffianly (in slave-driving fashion) was his language in the debates growing out of the Drayton and Sayres adventure — a wholesale running off by water of a large body of slaves from the District of Columbia. Even to his Northern lieutenant, Stephen A. Douglas, who warned him that he was making capital for the political abolitionists, he

Lib. 17:33.

Lib. 18:10.

Lib. 18:10.

Lib. 18:24.

Ante, 1:158.

Ante, *p.* 216.

Lib. 18:118.

Lib. 18:202.

Lib. 18:69.

Lib. 18:62, 66, 67, 81, 127, 128, 130, 161, 190, 198.

Lib. 18:73.

retorted bitterly and offensively. In the Presidential canvass he had no heart and took no side. Party affiliations kept him from supporting Taylor, and for Cass he lacked the philosophy of Douglas, who advised the South generally to prefer doughface Presidents — *i. e.*, Northern men with Southern principles. If the Wilmot Proviso ever becomes a law, said this sagacious politician, it will be by the signature of a Southern President. "You [of the South] may get the *man*, and they [of the North] the *measure*."

Lib. 18:150.

Lib. 18:105.

The election of Taylor — a necessary choice of evils — had its chief significance for the abolitionists in the fact that his slaveholding gave no offence to the country at large. The Congressional debates of the year, touching every aspect of the slavery question, had vastly assisted their labors in moulding public sentiment. Their preëminent ally in that arena, John Quincy Adams, had, indeed, been taken away by death; but his place had been more than made good by Giddings, Palfrey, and Hale, as could be measured by their action to rid the District of slavery and the slave-trade. Mr. Garrison might well have left on record his deliberate judgment of the ex-President, but he chose rather to refer his readers to Theodore Parker's sermon upon him, tempering its excessive praise of his anti-slavery career by the nice, but absolutely just, qualification — "In Mr. Adams, the *slave* never had a champion."

Feb. 23, 1848; *Lib.* 18:35, 40.

Lib. 18:69, 73, 77, 119, 202, 206.

Lib. 18:93.

Chance, not long after, gave him an opportunity to revise his opinion of Dr. Channing. He read with great interest, and with much admiration for the execution of the work, William Henry Channing's Memoir of his uncle, upon its appearance. The following analysis of the character of the man whose hearty, personal coöperation Mr. Garrison had longed to secure, and who had met with silence the only advances that could in delicacy be made for an interview that might remove mutual misunderstanding, is perhaps not likely to be superseded. Its criticism is also, it need hardly be remarked, unconscious self-portraiture:

Lib. 18:82.

Ante, 1:464.

"My impressions of Dr. Channing were, that he was somewhat cold in temperament, timid in spirit, and oracular in feeling. But these have been greatly, if not entirely, removed by a perusal of this Memoir. I see him now in a new phase — in a better light. He certainly had no ardor of soul, but a mild and steady warmth of character appears to have been natural to him. I do not now think that he was timid, in a condemnatory sense; but his circumspection was almost excessive, his veneration large, and distrust of himself, rather than a fear of others, led him to appear to shrink from an uncompromising application of the principles he cherished. In the theological arena he exhibited more courage than elsewhere; yet, even there, he was far from being boldly aggressive, for controversy was not to his taste. In striving to be catholic and magnanimous, he was led to apologize for those who deserved severe condemnation. He was ever reluctant to believe that men sin wilfully, and, therefore, preferred to attack sin in the abstract than to deal with it personally. He was ready to condemn the fruit, but not the tree; for, by a strange moral discrimination, he could separate the one from the other. Hence, his testimonies were not very effective. In the abstract, the vilest of men are willing to admit that their conduct is reprehensible; but, practically, they demand exemption from condemnation.

Lib. 18:82.

Ante, 2:57, 61, 65.

Ante, 2:222.

"In a pioneering sense, Dr. Channing was not a reformer; sympathetically, and through a conscientious conviction, he was. If he had lived in the days of the prophets or the apostles, he would have deplored their excessive zeal, their denunciatory spirit, their indiscriminate condemnation, their rash procedure, their lack of charity and gentleness; yet he would have had no hand in their persecution, but would have commended them as actuated by a sincere purpose, and as having a righteous object in view. He would have felt that the priests and rulers who were subjected to their terrible rebukes were dealt with far too roughly; and this would have moved him to say a word in their favor, in order to mitigate the severity of the punishment; yet he would have confessed, and wept over, the prevalent guilt in the land, and acknowledged that both priest and ruler were largely to blame for it. This, it seems to me, was a serious defect in his character, and greatly impaired his moral usefulness.

Ante, 2:205.

"For example — he saw with great clearness, and deplored with much sincerity, the horrors of slavery and the injustice of slaveholding; but he did not like to hear slaveholders de-

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nounced, and regarded many of them as worthy of Christian recognition. He was for drawing out leviathan with a cord, or ensnaring him as a bird — forgetting that the monster regards iron as straw, and brass as rotten wood. No one ever seemed to be more deeply convinced of the iniquitous and desolating nature of war than himself; he was fervent in his pleas for peace; yet he held to the right of fighting in what is falsely called self-defence, and therefore failed to lay the axe at the root of the tree. It was so in his treatment of all other popular sins and sinners. He either lacked true moral discrimination, or stern integrity to principle.

"I believe he was a sincere man, and true to his own convictions of duty. I think, as far as he saw the light, he was disposed to walk in the light, however great the peril or startling the consequences. He had in an eminent degree self-respect, which kept him from self-degradation by wilfully doing that which he knew to be wrong. His Memoir impresses me with a deep sense of his purity and uprightness. If he had given himself to any specific reform, without compromise, as a lecturing agent, or in any other way that would have brought him in daily contact with the people of the land, I think his moral vision would have been purged, and his judgment of men and things rectified. In such a conflict, he had no practical experience whatever; and, without that experience, he was not qualified to sit in judgment on the language and measures of those who were valiantly contending for the right against a host of evil-doers. He was studious, contemplative, closet-bounded; it was impossible, therefore, for him to be in the stern battle of life, or to perceive in what quarter the assault was to be most vigorously made. Yet it is equally interesting and cheering, in reading his Memoir, to perceive his growing interest in reform and reformers. His voice of rebuke to a guilty nation was growing stronger, and his 'all hail' to the true-hearted more emphatic, continually.

"We must judge him by the position that he occupied; we must compare him with others who moved in the same sphere of life; otherwise, we shall be liable to undervalue his merits. He was a clergyman — an office which it is scarcely possible for any man to fill without loss of independence, or spiritual detriment. In his case, it seems to have been merely technical, though he might have made it subservient to personal ambition and selfishness, as thousands of others have done. That he did not do so, is something to his credit. A pulpit Abdiel is

seldom found in any land. He was, moreover, a doctor of divinity — by title, one of the class so correctly described by the intrepid reprover, Isaiah (lvi. 10). But, though a D. D., he was not a 'dumb dog.' Probably no one cared for titles less than himself. Compare him, in moral intrepidity, in popular usefulness, in reformatory labors, with the Rev. Dr. Codman, Rev. Dr. Woods, Rev. Dr. Humphrey, and a host of others, and what pigmies they are by his side! His preëminence was not intellectual — for he had not an extraordinary intellect — but moral, religious, humane, in the largest and best use of those terms. He was utterly divorced from bigotry and sectarism. He believed in eternal progress, and therefore never stood still, but went onward — if not rapidly, without faltering. He changed his views and positions from time to time, but only to advance — never to retreat. Theologically, he is to be regarded as a prodigy on the score of independent investigation and free utterance. In this field, his labors cannot be overestimated.

Ante, 2: 106.

John Codman. Leonard Woods. Heman Humphrey.

"Again — he moved in a wealthy and an aristocratic circle, or rather was surrounded by those who are the last to sympathize with outcast humanity, or to believe that any good thing can come out of Nazareth. To write and speak on the subject of slavery as he did — unsatisfactory as it was to the abolitionists, who yearned to have him take still higher ground — was, in his position, an act of true heroism and of positive self-sacrifice; and, for a time — extending almost to the hour of his death — cost him the friendship of many whose good opinions nothing but a sense of duty could induce him to forfeit. The Unitarian denomination, as such, was deeply afflicted and mortified at his abolition tendencies; and, in spite of its almost idolatrous attachment to him, it could scarcely be at peace with him. Now that he is dead and the times have greatly changed, there is nothing to which that denomination (especially when charged with being still pro-slavery) more complacently points, in the illustrious career of Dr. Channing, than to his efforts to extirpate slavery in the land.

Ante, p. 24.

"Much to my regret, I had no personal acquaintance with this remarkable man, though I longed for at least a single interview. But the *Liberator* was not to his taste, and my manner of conducting the anti-slavery enterprise seemed to him harsh, repulsive, and positively injurious. As he never expressed a wish to converse with me, I did not feel free to intrude myself upon his notice. For twelve years, he saw me

Ante, 1: 466; 2: 97, 98.

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struggling against all that was evil in the land — in a cause worthy of universal acclaim — with fidelity and an unfaltering spirit — but during all that time he never conveyed to me, directly or indirectly, a word of cheer, or a whisper of encouragement. Consequently, we never met for an interchange of sentiments. Had we done so, though there is no probability that we should have seen eye to eye in all things, we might have been mutually benefited. I am sure that he misjudged my spirit, as well as misapprehended the philosophy of the anti-slavery reform; and I now think that I did not fully appreciate the difficulties of his situation or the peculiarities of his mind. His great mistake was — it amounted almost to infatuation — in supposing that a national evil like that of slavery, two centuries old, which had subdued to itself all the religious and political elements, and which held omnipotent sway over the land, could be overthrown without a mighty convulsion, or even much agitation, if wisely and carefully treated. He thought that it was the manner and the spirit of the abolitionists, and not the object they sought to accomplish, that so greatly excited the country, especially the Southern portion of it; and so, to set them a good example — to show them how easily they might propitiate the slaveholders while pleading for the emancipation of their slaves — he wrote his work on slavery, the circulation of which was deemed incendiary at the South, and the publication of which caused Gen. Waddy Thompson of South Carolina to exclaim, on the floor of Congress, that 'Dr. Channing was playing second fiddle to Garrison and Thompson.' This was an instructive experiment to the Doctor, and he did not fail to profit by it."[1]

Ante, 1:439, 466; 2:54, *etc.*

Cf. ante, 1:466, 467; 2:57; *and Lib.* 23:154.

Geo. Thompson.

[1] In 1853, having occasion to review the incident of his meeting with Dr. Channing at the State House *(ante*, 2 : 96), Mr. Garrison wrote *(Lib.* 23 : 154): "When Dr. Channing took me by the hand, it was only an act of ordinary civility on his part, as he did not catch my name, and did not know me personally; and, therefore, *meant nothing at all by it.* No interchange of opinions took place between us on that occasion. If, afterward [as reported by Miss Martineau], on ascertaining distinctly who it was that had been introduced to him, he remarked that 'he was not the less happy to have shaken hands with' me, I can only say that never, at any subsequent period, to the hour of his death, did he intimate a desire to see me again; and neither by accident nor design did we ever again meet each other face to face. The truth is, I was no favorite of Dr. Channing, at any time. He never gave me one word of counsel or encouragement. He never invited me to see him, that he might understand, from my own lips, my real feelings and purposes, and afford me the benefit of his experience and advice. My early, faithful, clear-sighted friend, Prof. Follen, tried to induce him to

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In Theodore Parker Mr. Garrison found the accessibility and sympathy which were lacking in Dr. Channing; and a colleague in the anti-slavery and other philanthropic causes; a preacher, too, whose discourses gave him moral and intellectual satisfaction, and of whose slender congregation he now virtually became a member, without theological profession or attachment. More intimately still, in April of this year, on the death of his loved infant, Elizabeth Pease, he naturally turned to Mr. Parker for ministrations of comfort which were gladly rendered at the funeral. "No strange thing," he wrote to this clergyman on the morning of the fatal day, "has happened unto us, in view of human mortality — nothing dark or mysterious; yet we feel our bereavement deeply and tenderly."

Apr. 20, 1848; *Lib.* 18:67.

MS.

The grief of the parents over this first inroad on their little flock was softened by the birth of another child — their last — on October 29, 1848. Him, for weighty reasons of friendship and of obligation, they named after Francis Jackson.

make my acquaintance, believing it would be mutually serviceable; but he never manifested any desire to do so. Of this, I never made any complaint. My self-respect and strong sense of propriety would not allow me to thrust myself upon his attention, or the notice of any other public man. I do not think he cherished toward me any personal unkindness — far from it. But my mode of dealing with slavery and its abettors was very distasteful to him; and between my philosophy of reform and his own there was a very great difference, — the difference between principle and sentiment. . . . His nerves were delicately strung. The sound of a ram's horn was painfully distressing to him. He was firmly persuaded that nothing but a silver trumpet was needed to cause the walls of Jericho to fall; and so he did his best upon his own. . . ."

CHAPTER IX.

Father Mathew.—1849.

Chap. IX. 1849.

THE historian of the anti-slavery cause — or of the country — for the year we have now reached, must tell of the two great tides of feeling and passion surging from North to South and from South to North, over the question of the Federal Territories. Should the Wilmot Proviso secure to California and New Mexico [1] the freedom decreed them by the country from which they had been torn; should the Missouri Compromise line of 1820 be extended to the Pacific; or should the contention of the Southern extremists prevail, viz., that slave property had, equally with all other kinds of property, a right to be taken into any part of the national domain not definitively organized and admitted as one of the States of the Union? Should, again, the renewed efforts, described in the last chapter, to purge the seat of the national Government of the sin and scandal of slaveholding and slave-trading succeed, or be resisted even to the death of the Union itself?

Ante, p. 236.

Lib. 19:5, 6, 9, 10, 13, 14, 19, 27, 41, 62.

In the winter months of 1848–49 the North as a whole stood firm in its pledge to non-extension of slavery and emancipation in the District. On the other hand the South, through its legislatures and other organs of public opinion, was more truly unanimous in pronouncing for disunion in case either article of this programme should triumph in Congress. In spite of some reluctance in the

Lib. 19:1, 5, 14, 25, 27, 29.

[1] Not merely the area we now know by that name, but nearly the whole of Arizona, with parts of Nevada and Colorado. See Map XV., Statistical Atlas U. S. Census, 1880.

caucus of Southern delegates to take this menacing position, Calhoun's influence was paramount, and his Address in their name to their constituents was put forth, in the vain hope, by working upon Northern fears, to force the organization of California without the Proviso. It was, however, but a feeble document even in a rhetorical point of view, and did not march boldly up to the remedy of secession. As to slavery, it affirmed that the free and servile races at the South "cannot be separated, and cannot live together in peace and harmony, or to their mutual advantage, except in their present relation"; for suffrage would follow in the train of emancipation, and the white race then become subject.

Ante, p. 236.
Lib. 19:2, 10, 14, 18.
Lib. 19:41.
Lib. 19:18.

The closing of the Thirtieth Congress, with the prayer of California for a free constitution unheeded, but also with no legislation to the contrary, leaving the situation unchanged, was not calculated to allay the excitement at the South. Armed immigration to that Territory was set on foot. In May a practical disunion convention was held at Columbia, S. C., and gave its approval to Calhoun's Address. In November a similar body assembled at Jackson, Miss.; and, in advance of the opening of the Thirty-first Congress, the Governors of Tennessee, Georgia, and Alabama took, in their messages, corresponding ground as representatives of Southern sentiment. A little later, joint committees of the legislatures of Georgia and South Carolina applied the secession screw to Northern doughfaces, in resolutions fit to precipitate a crisis if the new Congress should not prove more subservient than the last.

Lib. 19:2.
Lib. 19:41.
Lib. 19:77.
May 14, 15.
Lib. 19:86.
Nov. 1, 1849; *Lib.* 19:185.
Lib. 19:181, 193.
Lib. 20:5.

Another cause helped to keep the South fretful and heated: the escape of slaves to the North was reaching alarming proportions, and recovery was blocked by the "personal liberty" laws whose passage, at the instance of the abolitionists, has been noticed in the several States. This was particularly felt along the border, in Maryland, Virginia, and in the Ohio Valley. In the Virginia Legislature, Pennsylvania's withdrawal of State aid to kidnap-

Ante, pp. 59, 92, 216;
Lib. 18:23.
Lib. 19:1, 153.
Lib. 19:1.

pers was declared occasion for war between independent
Lib. 19:10. nations, and new guarantees were demanded of Congress and unsuccessfully attempted to be procured. From the
Lib. 19:113. same source and from Missouri, appeal was next made to the legislatures of the several States for coöperation in obtaining a new fugitive-slave law, investing any Federal postmaster or collector of customs with the authority of the Federal courts in the matter of apprehension, custody, conviction, and rendition of the unhappy victims.

This Southern grievance had been fully ventilated in
Ante, p. 237. the U. S. Senate during the exciting debates growing out of the Drayton and Sayres case; and, on the complaint
Lib. 18:73. of Kentucky that her fugitive-slave processes were obstructed in Michigan, Senator Butler of South Carolina
Lib. 18:74. offered a bill to make slave-catching easy. Naturally, the
Ante, p. 245. subject was prominent in Calhoun's Address, and it was upon this portion that Mr. Garrison proudly but overconfidently commented, when he said:

Lib. 19:18. "The times have indeed changed, and a radical alteration has taken place in public opinion on this subject. Probably not another slave will be allowed to be seized, whether against law or in conformity thereto, on the soil of New England, to say nothing of the other free States, and hurried back to bondage. It would be at his peril for a slave-hunter to make his appearance in this quarter; and for several years past, ever
Ante, pp. 66–68. since the famous Latimer case, no attempt has been made to recapture a fugitive slave here."

At the New England Anti-Slavery Convention on May 29, Edmund Quincy spoke to his own resolution couched in these words:

Lib. 19: 89. "Resolved, That it is our duty to agitate the question of slavery till the soil of New England is pure enough to free every man who sets foot upon it; and meanwhile, we pledge ourselves to trample under foot any law which allows the slaveholder to hunt the fugitive slave through our borders, and not only to make New England, so far as in us lies, an asylum for the oppressed, but to proclaim the fact so loudly that the glad tidings may reach every slave hut of the South."

And at the same Convention two days afterwards, in Faneuil Hall, Wendell Phillips pointed to the platform crowded with "fugitives from the Church and State of America," including Henry "Box" Brown and William and Ellen Craft;[1] and, amid great applause, said of the former: "We say in behalf of this man, whom God created, and whom law-abiding Webster and Winthrop swore should find no shelter on the soil of Massachusetts — we say that they may make their little motions, and pass their little laws, in Washington, but that FANEUIL HALL REPEALS THEM, in the name of the humanity of Massachusetts." *May* 31, 1849. *Lib.* 19:90. *D. Webster.* *R. C. Winthrop.*

All this, with much more, as we have said, belongs to the general historian of the cause. Our main concern must be an incident personal to the subject of this biography, while yet of national interest and importance. In July, the Rev. Theobald Mathew, of world-wide fame as "The Apostle of Temperance," landed in New York, ostensibly in the prosecution of his mission, but also not without hope of bettering his pecuniary condition beyond the "paltry pension" he received from England. Being an Irish Catholic, the importance of making political capital out of him, especially by the Whigs, who had no hold on the Irish vote, was not overlooked. President Taylor invited him to be his guest at the White House, and everywhere official receptions were tendered him of the most flattering character. Having administered the pledge of total abstinence to some twenty thousand persons in New York and Brooklyn, he first journeyed eastward, and arrived in Boston on July 24. A barouche and four horses and a municipal committee awaited him *Lib.* 19:111. *Lib.* 19:194. *Lib.* 19:145. *Lib.* 19:115. *Lib.* 19:119.

[1] Two of the most daring and romantic escapes in the annals of slavery. Brown embarked from Virginia in a box (which nearly proved his coffin) as merchandise, shipped to Philadelphia, being the precursor of many less fortunate, if not less heroic, in this hazard of liberty or death (*Lib.* 19:62; Still's 'Underground Railroad,' p. 81). Ellen Craft, being almost white, disguised herself in male attire as an invalid seeking medical treatment at the North, with her darker husband as her negro "boy." They thus travelled openly by first-class conveyances from Georgia to Philadelphia (Still, p. 368).

at the city line. The temperance societies took charge of him, he was welcomed by Governor Briggs in the name of the Commonwealth, and addressed the people on the Common. Throngs of men, women, and children — and not Irish alone — took of him medals and pledges in Faneuil Hall. In one street, as Wendell Phillips wrote to Elizabeth Pease, where there were sixteen grog-shops, his presence closed all but three.

Geo. N. Briggs.

Lib. 19:122.

MS. July 29, 1849.

In the midst of this popularity Father Mathew was suddenly made the subject of vehement discussion all over the country, and even in the Capitol itself. He was now well on in years, being nearly sixty, and ill-prepared on this score to maintain in America the anti-slavery pretensions lightly made in Ireland. He was, moreover, a Catholic and a priest; and doubtless, during his stay with Bishop Hughes in New York, had been warned by that slaveite to avoid contact with the abolitionists. The Bishop had already had to resort to the pious fraud of impeaching the genuineness of Father Mathew's signature to the Irish Address, and was not anxious to be confuted by the Apostle's action on this side of the Atlantic. But the Board of Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society had a plain duty — out of respect to Father Mathew's integrity as a man, and gratitude for the aid he had proffered them by lending his name to the Address — to join in the general welcome of him to America. The date of his Eastern visit afforded the fittest possible opportunity for extending the following invitation, drafted by Mr. Garrison, who was made chairman of the committee charged with presenting it:

Lib. 18:126.

Ante, p. 44.

Lib. 19:126.

BOSTON, July 26, 1849.

ESTEEMED FRIEND OF HUMANITY: The anniversary of the most thrilling event of the nineteenth century, the abolition of slavery in the British West India islands, will be celebrated at Worcester, in this Commonwealth, on Friday, Aug. 3, commencing at 10 o'clock A. M., under the auspices of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society. In behalf of that Society, the undersigned are instructed to extend to you a cordial and an

earnest invitation to be present, and to participate in the proceedings of the meeting in such manner as may be most agreeable to your feelings. This they gladly now do; and, having no doubt of your heart-felt interest in this great event, and of your desire to see slavery everywhere abolished, on American as well as on British soil, they trust that you will be able so to make your arrangements as vastly to enhance the pleasure of the occasion, by your quickening presence. The celebration is one in which all the friends of freedom may joyfully unite, without distinction of sect, party, or country. A grand mass meeting of the people is confidently anticipated at Worcester, and able and distinguished advocates of liberty have pledged themselves to be present.

In the year 1842, an "*Address from the people of Ireland to their countrymen and countrywomen in America,*" signed by Ireland's lamented champion, DANIEL O'CONNELL, YOURSELF, and *seventy thousand* other inhabitants of Ireland, was sent to this country, in which it was truly declared that "Slavery is a sin against God and man — all who are not for it must be against it — none can be neutral"; and that "it is in vain that American citizens attempt to conceal their own and their country's degradation under this withering curse." Its final appeal was in the following emphatic language: "Irishmen and Irishwomen! *treat the colored people as your equals, as brethren.* By all your memories of Ireland, continue to love liberty — hate slavery — CLING BY THE ABOLITIONISTS — and in America *you will do honor to the name of Ireland.*"

Ante, p. 43.

We deeply regret that truth compels us to state, that the Address fell powerless on the ear and heart of the Irish population in this country; and while it urged them to exercise their moral and political power for the extermination of slavery, that power has been, and still is, wielded on the side of the oppressor and against the oppressed. Religiously and politically, like the American people generally, they are in such relations to those who "trade in slaves and the souls of men" as to sanction that horrible traffic, and to prolong the unmitigated servitude of three millions of the native-born inhabitants of the American Union. This melancholy and undeniable fact will cause you much grief; and, we doubt not, it will be a powerful incentive to you to improve every suitable opportunity, while you remain in this country, to bear a clear and unequivocal testimony, both in public and in private, against the enslavement of any portion of the human family; and to tell your countrymen here again,

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in the words of the Address alluded to, "America is cursed by Slavery! Never cease your efforts until perfect liberty be granted to every one of her inhabitants, the black man as well as the white man. Join with the Abolitionists everywhere; they are the only consistent advocates of liberty."

It will be doubly gratifying to you to know that the Abolitionists in America are thoroughgoing teetotallers; and it would be no less so to learn (what, alas! is not the fact) that teetotallers are uniformly Abolitionists.

Ante, p. 195.

Congratulating you on your safe arrival in this country, trusting that your mission of mercy will be crowned with unparalleled success, and assuring you of our sincere regard and heart-felt admiration, we remain, dear sir,

In behalf of three millions of Slaves,

Yours for universal liberty and sobriety,

WM. LLOYD GARRISON,
FRANCIS JACKSON,
WENDELL PHILLIPS,
H. I. BOWDITCH,
} *Committee.*

REV. THEOBALD MATHEW.

What followed the application of this touchstone shall be related in Mr. Garrison's own words:

Lib. 19: 126.

On Friday morning, July 27th, Dr. H. I. Bowditch and myself went to the Adams House, in order to obtain an introduction to Father Mathew, and to be sure that the letter of the Committee, inviting him to participate in the celebration of that great and glorious event, the entire abolition of British West India slavery, failed not to be put into his hands. Fortunately, we found him disengaged, and were introduced to each other by our esteemed friend, William A. White of Watertown.[1] What transpired during the interview (which was a very brief one, as we felt unwilling to trespass upon his time, and as we immediately perceived that the object of our visit was not particularly agreeable to him), was substantially as follows:

Ante, p. 101.

Turning to me, Father Mathew said — "Mr. Garrison, your name is very familiar to me." "Yes," I said, smiling, "I am somewhat notorious, though not as yet very popular." He then added — "You have some very warm friends in Cork."

[1] The host of Father Mathew on the eve of his entry into Boston (*Lib.* 19: 119).

I told him I was aware of the fact, and also that in Dublin and many other parts of Ireland there were many who deeply sympathized with the anti-slavery movement in this country. After expressing the strong desire I had felt to see him during my last visit to Ireland, and my great disappointment in not being able to visit Cork, I said — "In addition to the pleasure of taking you by the hand, and welcoming you to America, we have come to extend to you, in behalf of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, an invitation to be present at the celebration of the anniversary of British West India emancipation at Worcester, on Friday next. Here is a letter, containing an invitation in an official shape, which you are requested to read at your leisure, and answer as you may think duty requires." Taking the letter, with some agitation and embarrassment of manner he said, gesticulating in a somewhat deprecative manner, as though an indecent or unworthy proposition had been made to him — "I have as much as I can do to save men from the slavery of intemperance, without attempting the overthrow of any other kind of slavery! Besides, it would not be proper for me to commit myself on a question like this, under present circumstances. I am a Catholic priest; but, being here to promote the cause of temperance, I should not be justified in turning aside from my mission for the purpose of subserving the cause of Catholicism."[1] "True, you would not," I replied, "for, in that capacity, you would occupy very narrow ground, and be acting for a sectarian object. But I do not perceive any analogy in the case supposed, to the one presented to you. The cause of liberty and emancipation, like that of temperance, covers the whole ground of humanity, and is as broad as the whole earth; and, therefore, you may as freely advocate the one as

[1] The essential jesuitry of this remark will be apparent to any one who reads Henry C. Wright's account of Father Mathew's rebuke of a fellow-priest and philanthropist, Father (John) Spratt of Dublin, for having, in 1846, heeded a popular call from Belfast to preach the gospel of temperance there, in spite of the opposition of the local Catholic hierarchy. Father Mathew, who had equally been prohibited, but had submitted, argued that Father Spratt's insubordination was infinitely more pernicious than his greatest possible conversions to teetotalism could be beneficent *(Lib.* 19: 145; 20: 40). In accusing, further, Father Spratt of having taught the Catholic people that "they can do without their pastors," Father Mathew took the ground of priestly monopoly already occupied with reference to abolition lecturers by the Congregational Associations of Connecticut and Massachusetts a decade earlier *(ante,* 2: 130, 131, 135).

CHAP. IX. 1849. the other." "Oh," said he, "I am not in favor of slavery — I should never think of advocating it — though I don't know as we can say that there is any specific injunction against it in the Scriptures." "Oh," said I, interrupting him, and placing my hand on my heart, "the injunction is here — inside of every human being." "Catholic priests are not in favor of slavery," he replied. "Do you intend visiting the slave States?" I inquired, and, on receiving an affirmative answer, I said — "Well, I am confident you will find at the South Catholic priests and Catholic laymen who are slaveholders and slave-buyers." In order that there should be no room for misconception, I distinctly said to him, "The abolitionists have no wish or design to divert you from the great mission which you have come to America to prosecute; on the contrary, they feel a deep and lively interest in that mission, and desire that your efforts may be crowned with abundant success. But they trust that, while you are in the country, you will occasionally find an opportunity, both in public and in private, to admonish your countrymen to be true to liberty, and to give no countenance to slavery or its abettors; for there is great need of such counsel, as they are giving the weight of their religious and political influence to the side of the Slave Power. They hold the key of the slave's dungeon, as the balance of political power is in their hands. Moreover, the anniversary of British West India emancipation was deemed by us an event in which you would feel a special interest, and might participate with great propriety. We have not forgotten," I continued, "that, seven years ago, an Address was sent from Ireland, signed by DANIEL O'CONNELL, THEOBALD MATHEW, and seventy thousand others, invoking the Irishmen and Irishwomen in America to join with the abolitionists, as the only true and consistent friends of liberty; and we feel, therefore, that we are not intrusive, but rather warranted, in asking you to renew an appeal so important, and to which they have given little or no heed." "Oh," said he, as if the act had long since passed from his memory into oblivion, "I do now recollect that I signed such an Address; and I also recollect that at that time it subjected me to a good deal of odium."[1] This was said as if he had

[1] "I do not know what he [Father Mathew] means by saying that signing the Address brought some odium on him here:—it gained for him nothing but honor in Ireland; for, however dishonestly Irishmen may act in this respect when they set foot on your soil, not a man of them, at home, is to be found who does not exclaim against slavery" (James Haughton, Dublin, to H. C. Wright, in *Lib.* 19:158).

winced under it — under the odium cast by American traffickers in human flesh! Of what, then, should he be proud on earth? Such odium he should have gloried in, as the evidence of his fidelity to the cause of down-trodden humanity. CHAP. IX. 1849.

Finding nothing was to be gained by protracting the interview, and feeling deeply saddened by the result, we took our leave, again expressing the hope that he would attentively read the letter we had just put into his hands, and answer it at his earliest convenience. To that letter he has not had the courtesy to make any reply.

I have endeavored to state what was said at this interview by Father Mathew and myself with as much verbal accuracy as possible, and believe that I have not only given the substance, but nearly the exact words, of the conversation between us. What gave me special surprise, and inflicted the deepest wound upon my spirit, was the apparent lack of all sympathy for the slave, of all interest in the anti-slavery movement. Not a syllable fell from his lips, expressive of pleasure that the American slave has his faithful and devoted advocates — or of joy at the emancipation of eight hundred thousand bondmen in the British Isles! It is with great sorrow of heart that I lay these facts before America, Ireland, and the world.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

The report of this interview arrested public attention everywhere, being more or less fully copied by the press. Temperance organs, *ex officio*, invented apologies for Father Mathew. Catholic organs, *ex officio*, did likewise, but abusively of the abolitionists; political papers North, like Thurlow Weed's Albany *Journal*, generally extolled his behavior and denounced the anti-slavery conspiracy to limit his usefulness; and Southern editors for the most part condoned the crime of the Address in view of his present attitude towards the Garrisonians. To this chorus quondam Liberty Party voices were not wanting. Elizur Wright, in his *Chronotype*, pictured "Father Mathew put under the anathema maranatha of 21 Cornhill [*i. e.*, the Anti-Slavery Office]," and praised his refusal "to yield himself up to be *used* as the stock in trade of a certain clique of abolitionists," and resolve "to maintain his independence and *catholicity*." "We will not close," continued

Lib. 19: 145.
Lib. 19: 133.
Lib. 19: 133.
Lib. 19: 157.
Lib. 19: 148, 153.
Lib. 19: 133.

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this editor, "without expressing frankly what we think of Garrison — for the whole act is his, and not that of Jackson, Wendell Phillips, or Dr. Bowditch — from this act. We don't believe he cares the value of a copper cent for the cause of Freedom or Temperance, except so far as it will build up his own fame." More curiously (if not more lamentably) still, George Bradburn, in his *Pioneer*, could "conceive of many reasons, any one of which would have justified, not only, but demanded" Father Mathew's declining "to show himself among the Disunionists at Worcester." Yet Bradburn had done what he could to utilize the Irish Address, saying, when it was unrolled, on January 28, 1842, in Faneuil Hall, that he wished Father Mathew or Daniel O'Connell were there to give fit utterance to the fact that "Slavery strikes at the interest of every laboring man"; and recalling, for the benefit of his Irish auditors, O'Connell's scornful refusal to visit a slave-polluted America or to shake hands with American slaveholders, and entreaty of the Irish in this country to join the abolitionists.

F. Jackson. H. I. Bowditch.

Lib. 19:133.

Ante, pp. 43–45.

Lib. 19:133.

Mr. Garrison, with the best generalship, concentrating all his editorial batteries on one point, speedily demolished Father Mathew's pretence of maintaining that neutrality towards slavery which, in the Address, had been pronounced impossible. Page after page of the *Liberator* was given up to the discussion excited by the incidents above described, as well as to copious extracts from O'Connell's withering speeches on the blood-guiltiness of America. With unwonted persistency and regularity the editor addressed five open letters to Father Mathew, reviewing their relations, and confirming the great moral lesson of the Apostle's fall. Such education of public sentiment was the exclusive privilege of abolition journalism. No party sheet could have dreamt of it, for it had no relation to votes or "tickets."

Lib. 19:133–135, *etc.*

Lib. 19:141, 142, 144.

Lib. 19:142, 146, 154, 158, 162.

In his first letter, written a month after the interview, Mr. Garrison vindicated his report of it and the action of the Massachusetts Society:

"It is a singular fact, that nearly every journal that has come to your defence has affected to doubt the accuracy of the report, while it has professed to regard all that you are declared to have uttered as sagacious and commendable! Why doubt that which, instead of being unworthy of you, only redounds to your credit? Does not the expression of such a doubt fairly imply, that even your eulogists are conscious that the report places you in an unenviable position? But I have not heard — the public has not heard — either directly or indirectly, that you have any complaint to make of that report, or that you are prepared to deny its substantial accuracy. Your silence bears witness that I have not misrepresented you; that silence you would break, if you could, by impugning my statements. You certainly know how to write; but you seem determined not even to make your mark on paper, lest it should commit you 'in black and white' on this subject. Policy like this may be crowned with temporary success, but its end is disaster and disgrace. *Lib.* 19: 142.

"The motives which actuated the long-tried friends of the slaves in extending to you such an invitation, were pure and praiseworthy, and need no defence. In Ireland, you professed to sympathize with the American slave; you addressed your countrymen here in earnest and emphatic language, calling upon them, by the most sacred considerations, to use their moral and political power for the abolition of slavery, and to join the abolitionists as the only true friends of freedom in the United States. What less, as a mark of their gratitude, respect, and veneration, could the abolitionists do, on your arrival here, than to thank you for the noble testimony borne by you at home against American slavery, and to signify to you the importance of your renewing that testimony on this side of the Atlantic? If they had not done so, would not their conduct have excited surprise and animadversion on the part of the SEVENTY THOUSAND who signed the Irish Address — not to mention the millions of hearts that are beating warmly for liberty in Ireland? If they had not done so, they could not easily have vindicated themselves from the charge of personal indifference or unpardonable forgetfulness. They purposely selected for you, *as the most unexceptionable occasion that could be presented during your sojourn in this country*, on which to express your feelings and sentiments on the subject of slavery, the anniversary of a world-thrilling event, the simultaneous emancipation of eight hundred thousand slaves in the British West India islands — an event in which it was believed you would take special pride and

CHAP. IX. 1849. interest as a Briton, as the most glorious recorded on the page of British history.

"In extending to you an invitation to attend an anti-slavery celebration, the friends of the slave evinced the same courtesy to you as they had shown to other distinguished transatlantic visitors. They acted neither invidiously nor singularly in this respect. Religious deputations have been repeatedly sent to this country from England, for various objects; and these have all been tested in a similar manner as to their anti-slavery principles, and in every instance they have exhibited a treacherous and cowardly spirit. At home, where it was reputable to be an abolitionist, they could declaim with zeal and fervor against slavery and all its abettors. As soon as they landed on these shores, where it is highly disreputable to be an abolitionist, they united with the traducers and persecutors of the uncompromising advocates of emancipation. Thus they were proved to be men destitute of principle, guided by a selfish expediency, 'loving the praises of men more than the praise of God.'"

Ante, 1:480. By way of illustration, Mr. Garrison cited the case of Drs. Cox and Hoby, in 1835, whose attempted neutrality, in the interest of the "paramount" purpose of their mission, "amounted to positive hostility to the American Anti-Slavery Society," and directly imperilled the life of George Thompson. "The year 1835 was the most memorable of any that has occurred for pro-slavery violence and lawlessness; and that was the year made equally memorable by the presence and recreancy of those English delegates. How much of this violence and lawlessness *Lib.* 19:142. will be manifested during your sojourn here," wrote the victim of the Boston mob to Father Mathew, "remains to be seen; but no small amount, if 'coming events cast their shadows before.'"

The second letter introduced a personal comparison:

Lib. 19:146. "To shield you from censure, your defenders declare that you have a specific object in view — the promotion of temperance, especially among your own countrymen — from which it is quite outrageous to ask you to be diverted, even for a moment, to aid the noblest cause that ever enlisted the sympathies of the human soul. You are complimented, on all sides, for resolving to know nothing, say nothing, do nothing, except on the subject of temper-

ance, which, it is declared, is enough to exhaust your strength and fully to absorb your time. The acme of impudence is reached by your eulogists in denouncing me, in the same breath, for seeing but one object, having but one idea, and making the liberation of the slave the one great object of my life! So that what in you excites their highest approval and admiration, in me fills them with extreme disgust and righteous displeasure! How just, impartial, magnanimous is such a spirit! Says the Boston *Pilot:* 'Father Mathew sagaciously and properly refused, saying that his own slavery-abolitionism was enough for his powers.' Says the same journal: 'Why does Mr. Garrison suppose that the slavery of the American blacks is the only great evil, or devil, to be cast out of modern civilization? Why do his sympathies run rabid *in one direction?*' . . . And so on to the end of the list. All this is highly consistent — is it not? What renders it particularly ludicrous and audacious is the fact, that you allow your mind no scope as to other reforms, while I have never hesitated to countenance and aid a great variety, comprehending the rights and interests of the whole human family. I have not hesitated to grapple with any system of iniquity, however gigantic or hoary, whether pertaining to the Church or the State. I am constantly stigmatized as an 'anti-church and ministry, anti-Sabbath, woman's-rights, non-resistance, no-government man,' aside from the odium that is heaped upon me as an abolitionist. This implies something of a discursive spirit of reform!" CHAP. IX. 1849.

The fifth letter concluded as follows:

"Consider, now, what must be the effect of your example on the minds of your countrymen in the United States, whose number is at least as great as that of the slave population. Will they not feel justified in disregarding all the injunctions contained in your Address? Will they not consider you as virtually condemning the abolitionists, and all agitation of the subject of slavery? Hitherto, their prejudices against our free colored population have been peculiarly bitter; will they not be rendered even more inimical to that persecuted class by your apparent lack of sympathy? How can you ever consistently enjoin upon them again the duty to use all their moral and political power for the abolition of slavery, and to unite with the friends and advocates of immediate emancipation in one common effort? If you can find reasons to stand aloof from this question, will it be a difficult matter for them to do the *Lib.* 19:162.

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same thing in their own case? Alas! the moral injury to them of your bad example, in this particular, is beyond calculation. You have confirmed them in their pro-slavery views and feelings, and made them at least the passive, if not the active, subjects of the Slave Power. Thus your mission to them, in spite of the success that may crown your temperance labors, will prove a curse instead of a blessing. Three or four millions strong, if they were abolitionists, how long could the foul system of slavery remain unshaken on our soil? Now that they are strengthened in their pro-slavery position, what hope is left that that system will be overthrown by moral and peaceful instrumentalities?

"Your anti-slavery defection will be known throughout Ireland. On the part of those who regard principles more than men, in your unfortunate country, it will excite grief and elicit condemnation; but the great mass of your countrymen, it is to be feared, will allow their reverence for you as a priest, and their regard for you as a temperance benefactor, to bias their judgment and blind their vision. In the nature of things, you cannot take a wrong step without leading them astray. In trying to defend your pro-slavery position in America, they will lessen their abhorrence of slavery, and injure their moral nature. Yours will be the guilt, theirs the degradation and suffering.

Lib. 19:149, 153.

"How your course is regarded by the cruel oppressors in the South, is plainly indicated by the exultation of the press in that quarter. They are eager to give you the right hand of fellowship, and are lavish of their praises in your behalf. Such prudence, forecast, and wisdom, as you are displaying, in being dumb on the slavery question, they have always admired and commended. Yet they heartily despise you, beyond all doubt; but the blow you have inflicted on the anti-slavery cause fills them with inexpressible delight.

"It follows, 'as the night the day,' that you have added to the anguish, horror, and despair of the poor miserable slaves, made their yokes heavier, and fastened their chains more securely! For, in a struggle like this, and at such a crisis, whatever gladdens the hearts of the slavemongers must proportionately agonize those of their victims."

Lib. 19:158, 171, 177, [182].

The press and the abolitionists of Great Britain promptly made Father Mathew's course a prominent topic in that country. Dr. Oxley, the venerable head of the temper-

ance cause in London, presided at a meeting in that city on September 27, to welcome the arrival of William Wells Brown (the fugitive-slave orator, then on his way to the Paris Peace Congress, as a delegate from the American Peace Society); and, rebuking his former associate for his want of moral courage in the land of slavery, pronounced "his recent conduct one of the greatest blots that could be affixed to his character." Another close colleague, and neighbor, James Haughton, had already written privately to Father Mathew in the same sense. The Apostle had refused to go to Worcester, Mass., and from Worcester, England, came the first municipal censure, uttered in the Guildhall, the mayor in the chair, at another reception to William Wells Brown. *Punch* threw its wit into the scale against the false priest. "Sambo" writes to the editor:

MS. Sept. 28, 1849, G. Thompson to W. L. G.; Lib. 19:166.

Lib. 19:171.

Sar,—Him see by de *Times* correspondent at New York, dat some gentmen, members ob de Massachusetts Anti-Slabery Society, wait on Fader Mathew in Boston, and ask him to 'tend annibersary in celebrashun ob de abolishun ob slabery in de British West Ingis. De bery rebberend Fader say no. 'Cause wy? Perhaps you tink him at work at him Pledge and him Pump. Not a bit ob it, Massa. Dis de way him trow him cold water on abolishun:

Lib. 19:158. *See also* 19:177.

"He abruptly declined the invitation, observing to the Committee that he was not aware of any passage in Scripture forbidding the existence of slavery."

Beggin pardon ob Massa Mathew, de great Divine, me tink dere am passidge somewher dat tell you "whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." How Fader Mathew him like to be slabe? Whose niggar, tink you, him wish to be?

Father Mathew uttered no word in self-defence, or in recognition of the controversy raging over him. He went on administering the pledge; uncivilly avoiding Protestant temperance societies anxious to coöperate with one who, confessedly, owed his conversion to the cause to members of the Society of Friends and Protes-

Lib. 19:190, 194.

Lib 20:40.

Lib. 19:158. tant dissenters; refusing to denounce rum-sellers, but bearing heavily on the consciences of buyers and consumers. His New England harvest gathered in, he returned to New York, and straightway by word and deed justified Mr. Garrison's charge that he had gone over to the side of the oppressor. He granted with alac-
Lib. 19:190. rity an interview to Henry Clay, declaring it an honor from the greatest man of the age, and directly began his Southern tour by way of the Federal capital. The South Carolina *Temperance Advocate* having cleared his character as a fanatic or anti-slavery helper, he had promised Judge John Belton O'Neall, President of the State Tem-
Ante, p. 152. perance Society — the same who would have hung John L. Brown for running off a female slave, and who brought upon himself all O'Connell's contempt and sarcasm — that he would visit the home of Calhoun.

Meanwhile, however, he had been notified by Judge
Joseph Henry Lumpkin. Lumpkin, President of the Georgia State Temperance Society, and evidently not a man of one idea, that the invitation extended by that body, and accepted, was revoked — at least pending an explanation. The Judge had been supplied with a copy of the Irish Address of
Lib. 19:194. 1842, with Father Mathew's signature, and wrote to ask him if the document was genuine. The Apostle hesitated
Lib. 20:7. long, and then sent the merest line in reply, saying nothing to the point, but referring his inquirer to the report of his interview with Mr. Garrison — an explicit endorsement of *that* for correctness. This the Judge naturally
Lib. 19:194. looked upon as shuffling, since it involved no recantation of the Address; and peace was not made till Father
Dec. 22, 1849. Mathew, choosing Forefathers' Day, in Richmond, wrote
Lib. 20:15. again to this "honored and dear sir," with profuse apology for not knowing he was a high and mighty judge and so addressing him before. He renewed his "solemn declaration [to Mr. Garrison] of being firmly resolved not to interfere, in any the slightest degree, with the institutions of this mighty Republic." More, he pleaded, should not be asked of him in "this emphatically free country."

And thus placating Georgia, he earned the torchlight procession afterwards tendered him in Augusta. *Lib.* 20:24.

The Apostle had not performed his last act of servility in this direction when he arrived in Washington in December and (even on the very day he was dining at the White House) a motion to invite him to a seat on the floor of the Senate was offered by a Northern member. The Lumpkin exposure and the luckless Address were alleged against the proposed courtesy by an Alabamian "fire-eater"; but Clay nimbly came to the rescue, repaying the compliments received in New York, and offsetting the Address with Father Mathew's holding aloof from the abolitionists. Jefferson Davis of Mississippi was implacable, saying he would exclude all abolitionists, foreign and domestic, from the chamber. John P. Hale proposed to vote for the resolution, but should be opposed to it as a sanction of the Apostle's course on the subject of slavery. Pearce, of Maryland, thought the precedent a bad one: to-day it was Clay's "Irish patriot," to-morrow it might be the Hungarian Kossuth. So the debate was prolonged, with much heat evolved; but the Southern Senators and their doughface allies were divided by considerations of political expediency, and Father Mathew was admitted by slaveholders to the dishonor of fellowship in their seat of power.

Dec. 20, 1849; *Lib.* 19:207.

Lib. 19:206.

James A. Pearce.

Lib. 19:206; 20:1.

"The Apostle" was but an incident in Mr. Garrison's activity for the year 1849. He addressed, with Wendell Phillips, the Judiciary Committee of the Massachusetts House in favor of disunion; he presided, at Worcester, over the celebration of West India emancipation, and at the fine anniversary of the American Society in New York;[1] he attended the fall meeting of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society. He wrote freely in the *Liberator*,

Lib. 19:38.

Lib. 19:126.

Lib. 19:78.

Lib. 19:170.

1 "Our meetings," he wrote to his wife (MS. May 9, 1849), "were never before so well attended, and I think never was a deeper impression made. Wendell [Phillips] has, if possible, surpassed himself — he is so ready, so eloquent, so morally true, so sublimely great, that I know not what we should do without him. He is really one of the best and noblest specimens of humanity in this world."

and prompted articles for the *Standard*. Quincy wrote
MS. to him on July 16, 1849: "I wish you would give me some more topics for editorials. I have used up all you have given me. This week I treat of the Southern aspects. I should like suggestions which might be worked up into short articles as well as long ones." This relation between the two friends lasted to the very end of the anti-slavery controversy.

Mr. Garrison, further, gave practical effect to his ancient
Ante, 2:204. pledge to "go for the Rights of Woman to their utmost
Lib. 19:46; *Hist. Woman Suffrage*, 3:284. extent," by signing and circulating in Massachusetts the earliest petitions for woman suffrage — a movement now fairly organized by the women themselves.[1] "The denial of the elective franchise to women in this Commonwealth,
Lib. 19:199. on account of their sex, is," he affirmed, "an act of folly, injustice, usurpation, and tyranny, which ought no longer to be persisted in." He was on the list of Bronson Alcott's
Printed circular. "select company of gentlemen, esteemed as deserving of better acquaintance, and disposed for closer fellowship of Thought and Endeavor," invited to meet at 12 West Street, Boston, on March 20, 1849, "to discuss the Advantages of organizing a Club or College for the study and diffusion of the Ideas and Tendencies proper to the Nineteenth Century; and to concert measures, if deemed desirable, for promoting the ends of good fellowship."[2] He would have attended the adjourned Anti-Sabbath Conven-
Lib. 19:30, 59. tion on April 4, having led the call, but for a grievous domestic affliction in which superstition might easily see the hand of Providence.

At the end of March, 1849, he removed his family from Pine Street to 65 Suffolk Street (afterwards Shawmut Avenue), and in the course of this change of abode at a dangerous season the boy, Charles Follen, fell sick and

[1] Mr. Garrison was unable to attend the first Woman's Rights Convention, at Seneca Falls, N. Y., July 19, 20, 1848, and, by adjournment, at Rochester, Aug. 2; but he sent a cordial letter of approval (*Lib.* 18:145, 148; 'Hist. of Woman Suffrage,' 1:67, 75, 81, 82).

[2] Emerson's name stood first, followed by those of Garrison, Theodore Parker, W. H. Channing, Alcott, Wendell Phillips, etc.

died. A cold brought on brain fever, the nature and gravity of the case were not realized, domestic medication was attempted, and in a defective steam-bath the unfortunate child was fatally scalded. The stroke to the parents was the more tremendous not only because of these circumstances, but because no one of their flock was so robust, blooming, and charged with vitality, or had so endeared himself to their affections. He bore a certain facial resemblance to Dr. Follen, and, in his father's words, gave "promise of future usefulness and excellence in some degree commensurate with the worth and fame of the truly great and good man after whom he was named admiringly, gratefully, reverently." His mother never fully recovered from the blow. "Every hour, indeed every moment," she wrote to a friend at the time, "he is before me in all his beauty and freshness; and I long to clasp him to my heart, and hear once more those joyous notes which would be music to my soul. I try to be resigned, I endeavor to be cheerful, but it is all forced; my heart is ready to break." Her husband's grief was hardly less poignant or lasting:

Apr. 8, 1849.

Lib. 19:59.

Memorial of H. E. Garrison, p. 29.

W. L. Garrison to Elizabeth Pease.

BOSTON, June 20, 1849. *MS.*

The first subject to which my mind naturally reverts is the sudden death of our noble little boy, Charles Follen. For your consolatory letter, touching this great bereavement, dear Helen unites with me in proffering heartfelt acknowledgments. In the hour of affliction, the sympathetic expressions and comforting suggestions of friends are of priceless value. These we have had, in great variety, and they have helped to mitigate our sorrow. That sorrow, however, was not caused so much by the mere fact of his removal as by other considerations.

Mrs. Garrison.

Death itself to me is not terrible, is not repulsive, is not to be deplored. I see in it as clear an evidence of Divine wisdom and beneficence as I do in the birth of a child, in the works of creation, in all the arrangements and operations of nature. I neither fear nor regret its power. I neither expect nor supplicate to be exempted from its legitimate action. It is not

CHAP. IX. 1849. to be chronicled among calamities; it is not to be styled "a mysterious dispensation of Divine Providence"; it is scarcely rational to talk of being resigned to it. For what is more natural — what more universal — what more impartial — what more serviceable — what more desirable, in God's own time, hastened neither by our ignorance nor folly? Discarding, as I do, as equally absurd and monstrous, the theological dogma, that death settles forever the condition of those who die, whether for an eternity of bliss or misery for the deeds done here in the body — and believing, as I do, without doubt or wavering, in the everlasting progression of the human race, in the ultimate triumph of infinite love over finite error and sinfulness, in the fatherly care and boundless goodness of that Creator "whose tender mercies are over all the works of his hands" — I see nothing strange, appalling, or even sad in death.

When, therefore, my dear friend, I tell you that the loss of my dear boy has overwhelmed me with sadness, has affected my peace by day and my repose by night, has been a staggering blow, from the shock of which I find it very difficult to recover, you will not understand me as referring to anything pertaining to another state of existence, or as gloomily affected by a change inevitable to all: far from it. Where the cherished one who has been snatched from us is, what is his situation, or what his employment, I know not, of course; and it gives me no anxiety whatever. Until I join him at least, my responsibility to him as his guardian and protector has ceased; he does not need my aid, he cannot be benefited by my counsel. That he will still be kindly cared for by Him who numbers the very hairs of our heads, and without whose notice a sparrow cannot fall to the ground; that he is still living, having thrown aside his mortal drapery, and occupying a higher sphere of existence — I do not entertain a doubt. My grief arises mainly from the conviction that his death was premature; that he was actually defrauded of his life through unskilful treatment; that he might have been saved, if we had not been most unfortunately situated at that time. This, to be sure, is not certain; and not being certain, it is the only ingredient of consolation that we find in our cup of bitterness. . . .

Cf. Lib. 19:59. He was a beautiful boy, but in no frail or delicate sense. He had a fine intellectual and moral development, with great bodily energy; he seemed born to take a century upon his shoulders, without stooping; his eyes were large, lustrous, and charged with electric light; his voice was clear as a bugle, melodious,

and ever ringing in our ears, from the dawn of day to the ushering in of night — so that since it has been stilled, our dwelling has seemed to be almost without an occupant. But, above all, he was remarkable for the strength and fervor of his affection. He loved with all his soul, mind, and might. In this respect, I have never seen his equal. All the friends who have visited us for the last three or four years, have had the strongest proofs of his attachment. He would almost smother them beneath a tornado of kisses; his embraces were given with intense vital energy, and "with a will." He had not a vicious quality. . . . CHAP. IX. 1849.

Wendell informs me that he has received a most generous donation from you towards a fund intended for the benefit of my family, which a few friends are kindly endeavoring to raise, and of which I have known nothing until recently. Be assured, this fresh token of your friendship, which has been manifested on so many occasions and in so many ways, is more gratefully appreciated than words can express.[1] . . . *W. Phillips.*

Half of the long letter from which the above extracts are taken, related to the concern felt by Miss Pease and other English friends of the *Liberator* because of the Bible discussion tolerated in its columns: *Ante, p.* 227.

"One excellent friend has discontinued the *Liberator* for conscience' sake, being unwilling any longer to receive or to circulate it! Another also declines taking the paper on the same ground. And you, in various letters to Henry C. Wright, Wendell Phillips, and myself, say that while the *Liberator* is the most interesting paper you receive, you feel it is a serious thing to circulate it while it contains so much which appears to you dangerous and, as you believe, '*false* doctrine.' Nay, you are deeply concerned when you think of leaving copies of it behind you, to fall into you know not whose hands, lest their everlasting salvation should be perilled by a perusal of such heresies! . . . Henry Vincent, too, it appears, is disturbed *MS. June 20, 1849, W. L. G. to E. Pease.*

[1] The movement to raise a house and home fund for Mr. Garrison dated back to the year 1847, when his Western illness emphasized the precarious condition of his family. See (MS. Dec. 8, 1847) Oliver Johnson's draft of a circular appeal submitted to Francis Jackson. On Jan. 1, 1849, Mr. Jackson, with S. Philbrick and E. G. Loring, executed with Mr. Garrison an indenture and declaration of trust respecting a fund which already amounted to $2289.79 (MS.).

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at what has appeared in the *Liberator*, and intends writing faithfully to H. C. Wright on the subject."[1]

The editor had not merely permitted Henry C. Wright to introduce and carry on the Bible controversy in his paper; he had manifested sympathy with him rather than with Henry Grew, or William Goodell, the chief defenders of inspiration in the same medium. Mr. Garrison had avowed in the *Liberator* his disbelief in the inspiration of the Scriptures, in the Mosaic cosmogony as being unscientific, in the atonement. He regarded the Bible as "a mighty obstacle in the way of the reconciliation of the rival sects of the day," nor saw "how it can be taken out of the way so long as that book is appealed to as absolute and final, in matters of faith and practice." On the whole subject he unbosomed himself to Elizabeth Pease in the letter to which we now return:

Lib. 19:35, 47.
Lib. 19:35.
Lib. 19:10.
Lib. 19:82.

MS. June 20, 1849, W. L. G. to E. Pease.

"My dear friend, you, and ———, and ———,[2] and Henry Vincent are certainly wrong in this matter. You are troubled where you ought to be serene; you are alarmed at what ought to make your repose perfect; you are not acting naturally; you occupy, in regard to these things, a sandy foundation; and therefore your anxiety, trepidation, grief! Come now, let us reason together, and see if it be not so. . . .

"You do not dislike to see both sides of the slavery question presented; and you would smile at the idea of secreting the *Liberator* because it contains many pro-slavery articles which might injuriously affect some minds. You are not troubled on seeing both sides of the peace or non-resistance question argued in its columns, but rejoice in proportion to the activity of its discussion — do you not? You are not alarmed when you see articles freely admitted, *pro* and *con*, into a publication on the subject of temperance. Neither you nor Henry Vincent would think of remonstrating against the free utterance of sentiments in favor of religious intolerance, provided no gag were put into the mouths of the advocate of religious liberty. . . .

[1] "Garrison is very anxious to know which *Liberator* it was Vincent and you thought of burning" (MS. July 29, 1849, Wendell Phillips to E. Pease).

[2] These blanks cannot be filled, since for the concluding part of the letter we rely on a copy made by Richard D. Webb for private circulation abroad.

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"But why are you willing that these things should be freely discussed? Simply because you are persuaded that your views of anti-slavery, peace, temperance, religious liberty, etc., are based on a solid foundation, and cannot be successfully overthrown; nay, the more they are attacked, the more truthful you think they will appear. Just so! Hence you invite, solicit, demand, the most thorough inquiry into their validity. But the slaveholder, the warrior, the rum-drinker, the bigot, do not like to see their views on slavery, war, temperance, and religious liberty brought into the arena of free debate; they are one-sided, and dread nothing so much as 'a fair field and no quarter.' . . .

"Now what is true with regard to one subject or question, is equally true in regard to every other. Whoever holds to an opinion or sentiment which he is not pleased to see dealt with boldly and searchingly, gives evidence that he is conscious that it will not bear such treatment, or that he has taken it upon trust, usage, parental, educational, traditional authority, and not upon his own clear-wrought, unbiased convictions. Is it not so? Who shall presume to say to another, in regard to the examination of any creed, book, ordinance, day, or form of government — of anything natural or reputedly miraculous — 'Thus far shalt thou go, but no farther'? Beloved friend, are you not in just this state of mind, in regard to certain subjects the discussion of which you so much deplore? How is this to be accounted for? I will tell you.

"You were born a member of the Society of Friends; your religious opinions you received upon authority, and you accepted them as a matter of course, sincerely and trustingly, as I did mine, and as nine-tenths of those who are born in Christendom do. Your theological views of man's depravity, the atonement, eternal punishment, the divinity of Christ, the inspiration of the Bible, etc., you received as confidingly as you did your Quaker views of peace, anti-slavery, temperance, etc.,— only, the latter you have advocated and carried out to an extent much beyond the ordinary teachings of Quakerism on these points. But the latter views are true, and susceptible of the clearest demonstration; and their examination you court. The former are all wrong (in my judgment, I mean, though I was brought up to believe them), admit of no satisfactory proof, much less of demonstration; and a free examination of them gives you positive uneasiness! Your peace and anti-slavery views commend themselves to your understanding, your conscience, and

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your heart; perhaps you will discover that your theological views have really little to do with your understanding, your conscience, or your heart, independently and absolutely, like the others — pardon my frankness — for if they had, it seems to me you would no more be startled to see an impartial discussion of them in the *Liberator*, or any other periodical conducted on the same principle, than you now are to see pro-slavery and anti-peace sentiments admitted into its columns along with those of an opposite spirit. Is there any flaw in this reasoning? Is there any link in this chain of logic unsound? Is not the parallel perfect, the analogy exact, the illustration pertinent, the conclusion inevitable?

"What is it that induces you to hide the *Liberator* from your friends? It cannot be that you have ever seen anything in it, from my pen, detrimental to the peace, liberty, or happiness of mankind. Is not its standard of rectitude exalted, unswerving, absolute? Is it not boldly and continually rebuking sin and sinners in high places and in low places? Is it not hated, feared, and persecuted by all that is pharisaical, intolerant, cowardly, time-serving, brutal, and devilish? Does it not advocate, in practical life, love to God and love to man — peace on earth — the brotherhood of all mankind? Is it not straining every nerve to overthrow, by sublime moral instrumentalities, that horrible system in this country by which millions of our brethren and sisters are reduced to the condition of things? Is such a paper to be secreted? Is its circulation to be a cause of disquietude to any pure mind, to any free spirit, to any philanthropic heart? I have never allowed a single number of it to go forth to the world without feeling that it would do something to redeem that world from sin and error. My mistakes and infirmities have been numerous, undoubtedly — for who is infallible? — but the moral tone of my paper, I am confident, has been uniformly pure and elevated. . . .

"My worthy friend at —— comes right to the point in her letter, of which the following is the introductory paragraph: 'My dear sir, I am sorry to say that I cannot read the *Liberator* any longer. You will, therefore, not send any more papers to my address. Ever since the Sabbath and Scripture questions were brought forward, I have read it only to *mourn over it.* I know the Bible and the Author of it so well (?) that I have not any fears for my own sentiments being injured. But I cannot put it into the hands of my family, because I consider its sentiments on these points calculated to bring forth the grapes of *Sodom* and the apples of *Gomorrah.*'

"Is this good woman as careful to suppress in her family those political or religious periodicals which sanction war, the army and navy, a monarchical government, conquests in India, and the like — all which serve to degrade, oppress, or depopulate the human race? . . . God forbid that I should ever take such a responsibility upon myself — that I should ever bring my children up in this one-sided manner! The one distinct and emphatic lesson which I shall teach them is, to take nothing upon mere authority — to dare to differ in opinion from their father, and from all the world — to understand, as clearly as possible, what can be said against or in favor of any doctrine or practice, and then to accept or reject it according to their own convictions of duty. . . .

"I doubt not that a sincere concern for the welfare of the anti-slavery cause, and the usefulness of the *Liberator* as its advocate, may give rise to the inquiry in your mind: 'Why discuss the merits of the Bible, or the question of the holiness of the first day of the week, in the *Liberator*? Is it not needlessly to deter persons from taking the paper who otherwise would be disposed to subscribe for it, being desirous to promote the abolition of slavery?' My dear friend, it would give me great satisfaction to extend the subscription-list of my paper much beyond what it is at present; and most solicitous am I to see every slave free, and to join in singing the song of jubilee. But I beg you and my other English friends to bear constantly in your minds the fact, that the discussion of these questions has been forced upon us by the enemies of the anti-slavery and non-resistance movements. Their constant cry has been, that we are desecrating the Sabbath in pleading the cause of the slave on that day, and mixing up secular with holy affairs. Thus criminated, we have naturally been led to see how this doctrine of the holiness of days affects every reformatory enterprise, and to inquire into its origin and nature. We are enlightened as we proceed in our investigations, and led to perceive not only that there is no scriptural authority for the observance of the first day of the week as the Sabbath, but that time is sanctified only as we use it aright, without regard to particular days or seasons. In short, that holiness pertains to the spirit and to its acts, not to any external arrangements or observances; and that whatever it is right to do on one day, it is right to do on every other day of the week. That this discussion has already proved highly serviceable to our cause, we have the clearest evidence.

"Again, in advocating our non-resistance doctrines, our opponents have resorted to the Bible, and thought to silence us

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by triumphantly referring to the exterminating wars recorded in the Old Testament as expressly commanded by Jehovah. It was not conclusive for us to reply, that what was obligatory once is not necessarily so now — that Christ has superseded Moses, and now forbids all war; for the answer was: If, as you assert, war is, like slavery, idolatry, and the like, inherently wrong, a *malum in se*, how could it be enjoined by a sin-hating God in the days of Moses, unless his moral character is mutable? Our answer to this is: Whoever or whatever asserts that the Creator has required, and may still require, one portion of his children to butcher another portion, for any purpose whatever, is libelling his goodness, and asserting what everything in nature contradicts. This position we believe to be impregnable.

"So, too, the controversies with the American church and clergy have all been forced upon us by those who love darkness rather than light, because their deeds are evil. We are not the aggressors in any of these instances. Ought we to have abandoned our ground, and avoided the conflict? What would have been gained by it, either to the cause of the slave in particular, or of mankind universally?"

Miss Pease's essentially broad and noble nature was better appreciated by her American friend, who reasoned with it not in vain, than by herself. On the other hand, Wendell Phillips, becoming a party to the same controversy, stood up on strongly personal grounds for the *Liberator*. "On the great central question of inspiration, I am myself an inquirer,"— with many misgivings and perplexities,— he confessed to her in a letter written in October, 1849, of which but a fragment remains. The following passage the recipient was unwilling to destroy:

MS. Oct., 1849.

"With these views, and feeling that I could ask for my children no better spirit than the pure, uncompromising, self-sacrificing, clear-sighted, Christian one breathed in the *Liberator;* and not knowing where I could find it so fresh and enthusiastic and impressive as in the life of Garrison, I should give them the *Liberator*, hoping they would be moulded like it, and guarding them myself, on those points where I think its writers wrong, against being led astray. They have got to meet those denials of doctrines among their associates, in the common press (you

do not shut them from it), and in general literature; why not show them the mistake boldly, and combat it? Is there anything, even with a child, so to be dreaded from the *Liberator* that you would submit, in order to avoid it, to lose for him the influence of such a spirit as W. L. G.'s? Were you dying, and leaving your child to grow up, would you pray that he might be much in the sight and shadow of some exactly orthodox friend of yours—but far from the company of W. L. G.? And could you hope, if your prayer were answered, that your child would meet you in heaven more closely modelled in spirit after his Great Master because you had never let him know our glorious Pioneer? I would prefer to mould my children wholly myself; but as this is impossible, and I must submit to the influence of others in some degree, let me bathe them in the spirit of G. rather than any other I know. The best prayer I could offer for any whose fate I was to influence, would be that they might be worthy to sit with him in another world."

CHAPTER X.

The Rynders Mob.— 1850.

Chap. X. — 1850.

"WE talk of the South and the North being parties to this question, and of the Slave Power being identified with the South. Do you remember how many slaveholders there are?" This question, put by John G. Palfrey at the Free Soil Convention held in Faneuil Hall on February 27, 1850, he answered by computing from the latest "census" of Kentucky that, out of some 5,000,000 whites in the South, only 100,000, including women and minors, held slaves. Judge Jay, reckoning from the same basis, but applying it to the census of 1840, arrived at the sum of 117,000, which, if we were to enlarge it by 70,000, would still exceed by less than one-half the population of Boston in this year of compromise, reaction, and violence.[1] For the sake of the moneyed interests and social and political supremacy of this oligarchy, the whole country was plunging headlong into a frightful abyss of idolatry of the Union, and utter repudiation of the claims of humanity in the person of the enslaved — and especially of the fleeing, hunted, and imploring — negro.

Lib. 20:38.

Wm. Jay.

Lib. 20:34.

Lib. 20:183.

[1] We have sought in vain to discover the common data upon which Palfrey and Jay relied. There has never been a Kentucky State census, nor is any document known to the Auditor's Department which gives any clue to the number of slaveholders. Slaveholders were never enumerated in a United States census; but the Southerner, De Bow, who superintended that of 1850, estimated the total number at 347,525, or, excluding the hirers of slaves, 186,551. This would make an average holding of 17, whereas the Kentucky average reported to Palfrey and Jay was 22, and seemed too low to apply to the South at large, as the size of gangs increased going Gulfward (*Lib.* 20:38). In a speech delivered in 1844, Cassius Clay said,

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Correspondingly small, in its own relation, was the group of three popular leaders who brought about this national degradation. All of them nearing or past the term of threescore years and ten, and standing on the brink of the grave,— two of them gray and extinct volcanoes of Presidential ambition, the third still glowing cavernously,— Clay, Calhoun, and Webster worked, in unequal and even discordant partnership, to establish a new reign of terror for anti-slavery fanatics and ensure the lasting domination of the Slave Power. They wielded a packed Senate in whose twenty-seven standing committees the South had sixteen chairmanships, to say nothing of those which she had assigned to Northern doughfaces, while in sixteen committees she had carefully secured a majority of actual slaveholders, and from all had insolently excluded the three truly Northern Senators, Hale, Seward, and Chase. A House, packed in like manner, completed the Congress whose destiny it was to pour oil upon the flames of the agitation it sought to extinguish. For eight months after Mr. Clay introduced his so-called Compromise Resolutions, they, and the measures to which they gave birth in an Omnibus Bill, engrossed the attention of both Houses and of the country. No appropriation bill could be passed. Everybody was in a fever of excitement till a "settlement" should be arrived at; and when the settlement was enacted, all peace and quiet was at an end.

Lib. 20:6; *cf.* 21:14.

Lib. 20:32.

J. P. Hale. W. H. Seward. S. P. Chase.

Jan. 21, 1850; *Lib.* 20:21.

Lib. 20:118.

Clay's programme was: To yield to the inevitable in the case of California, and admit her as a free State —

Lib. 20:21.

"31,495 only [of the then population of Kentucky] the Auditor's books show to be slaveholders" (MS. June 11, 1888, C. M. Clay to Gen. Fayette Hewitt, Auditor of Kentucky; and see Greeley's 'Life of C. M. Clay'). De Bow's estimate for the same State, in 1850, hirers included, was 38,385. Clay, again, in a letter to the National Republican Convention at Pittsburg of Feb. 22, 1856 (*Lib.* 26:41), put the Southern slaveholders at 300,000, but De Bow's larger estimate was generally current — 350,000 (Josiah Quincy, June 5, 1856, 'Library of American Literature,' 4:308; Wm. H. Herndon, 1856, *Lib.* 26:70; Theodore Parker, 1856, *Lib.* 26:81; Harriet Martineau, 1857, *Lib.* 27:173); 400,000 (W. L. G., 1857, *Lib.* 27:72; Owen Lovejoy, April 5, 1860, *Lib.* 30:62).

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yet with the air of conceding something. To organize the Territories acquired from Mexico without raising the question of slavery — virtuously resisting the Southern demand for the prolongation of the Missouri Compromise parallel (because, said he, that would be to vote for the positive introduction of slavery, which Heaven forbid Henry Clay should do either north or south of 36° 30′— and because slavery would have an advantage in putting up no fences!). To bribe Texas to relinquish her preposterous claims to New Mexican territory. To gratify Northern sentiment, not by abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia, or the slave-traffic within it, but by excluding adjacent slave-breeders from the Washington market. Finally, to satisfy the claims of the South by a more stringent law for the reclaiming of fugitive slaves.

Lib. 20: [22].

Lib. 20:74.

Lib. 20:146, 170.

Lib. 20:125.

In summing up, he showed that the South would secure the practical abandonment of the Wilmot Proviso, and prevent a Texan invasion of New Mexico, which President Taylor would resist with Federal troops, even though the other Southern States sided forcibly with Texas — as would surely happen — in a civil war. Moreover, the Free Soilers would have the ground cut from under them. "As certain as that God exists in heaven," he cried to John P. Hale with passionate blasphemy, "your business, your avocation is gone! . . . There is California — she is admitted into the Union; will they [the Free Soilers] agitate about that? Well, there are the Territorial governments established — will they agitate about them? There is the settlement of the Texan boundary question — upon what can they agitate? . . . Then, will they agitate about the [abolition of the] slave-trade in the District of Columbia? That is accomplished." There remained the abolition disunionists, the Garrisonians, of whom Senator Toombs of Georgia had said: "In my judgment, their line of policy is the fairest, most just, most honest and defensible of all the enemies of our institutions — and such will be the judgment of impartial history"— *they* might, indeed, agitate, but impotently.

Cf. Lib. 21:93.

Lib. 20:125.

Robert Toombs. *Lib.* 20:49.

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Calhoun's glazed eye, almost fixed in death, saw more clearly than Clay's. His last speech, read for him in the Senate, protested not against the Kentuckian's aims in behalf of slavery, but his methods. Disunion was the necessary end of an agitation which imperilled the equilibrium of slave and free States; and the Compromise did not protect that equilibrium. The Fugitive Slave Bill introduced by Senator Butler of South Carolina would not meet the hopes of its author and supporters. "It is impossible to execute any law of Congress until the people of the States shall coöperate." He did not despise the influence of the Garrisonians: he had seen its working since 1835 [and longer, but he naturally remembered by landmarks of mob violence], and witnessed the beginning of disunion in the rending of the great religious denominations — the Episcopal alone remaining intact.[1]

Andrew P. Butler.

Lib. 20:46.

Lib. 20:41.

Cf. ante, 2:59.

Ante, 2:152.

Daniel Webster's incredible 7th of March speech, in wholesale support of the Compromise, carried dismay to the Conscience Whigs, who had built their hopes of him on random utterances disconnected by any logic of principle or behavior, and infused by no warmth of heart or ray of pity for the slave. True, he had said at Marshfield, in September, 1842: "We talk of the North. There has for a long time been no North. I think the North Star is at last discovered; I think there will be a North" exhibiting "a strong, conscientious, and *united* opposition to slavery." True, he had said in New York in March, 1837, during the Texas excitement:

Lib. 20:42, 43, 45.

Lib. 20:47; *Webster's Works,* 2:437.

"The subject [of slavery] has not only attracted attention as a question of politics, but it has struck a far deeper-toned chord.

Webster's Works, 1:357; *Lib.* 20:193.

[1] This encomiastic exception was merited. Mr. Garrison wrote in June, 1850 (*Lib.* 20 : 104): "The conscience of the Episcopal Church of this country, so far as the colored population are concerned, whether bond or free, is harder than adamant." On Sept. 26, 1850, the Protestant Episcopal Convention in New York city refused to admit delegates from its own colored churches (*Lib.* 20: [158]). Save the Rev. E. M. P. Wells of Boston, who early withdrew from the cause (*ante,* 2 : 54, 85, 252), we recall no Episcopal clergyman — as no Catholic priest — who ever identified himself with the abolitionists. As is well known, a slaveholding Southern Episcopal Bishop became a Confederate Major-General.

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It has arrested the religious feeling of the country; it has taken strong hold on the consciences of men. He is a rash man, indeed, and little conversant with human nature, and especially has he a very erroneous estimate of the character of the people of this country, who supposes that a feeling of this kind is to be trifled with or despised. It will assuredly cause itself to be respected. It may be reasoned with, it may be made willing — I believe it is entirely willing — to fulfil all existing engagements and all existing duties, to uphold and defend the Constitution as it is established, with whatever regrets about some provisions which it does actually contain. But to coerce it into silence, to endeavor to restrain its free expression, to seek to compress and confine it, warm as it is, and more heated as such endeavors would inevitably render it — should this be attempted, I know nothing, even in the Constitution or in the Union itself, which would not be endangered by the explosion which might follow."

Ante, 2 : 247.

But how consistently he had dodged every opportunity in Congress to make himself the spokesman of that much-desired "North," or the protector of that respectable religious feeling when it was regularly "coerced into silence" in both Houses! What word or act of his in support of John Quincy Adams since 1830 could be cited — what to vindicate the right of petition? How did he resent the expulsion of Massachusetts from the Federal courts in South Carolina in the person of Samuel Hoar?[1]

Ante, *p.* 130.

As the real stake of the "Compromise" game was the Fugitive Slave Law,[2] and Webster's main purpose was

[1] See, for a partial answer, his fulsome flattery of Charleston for its "hospitality," and — *risum teneatis?* — as "the home of the oppressed," during his visit to that city in May, 1847 (Webster's Works, 2 : 371–388).

[2] "One of those affiliated measures denied the admission of New Mexico because she had determined to come as a free State, and remanded her to come back in the habiliments of slavery. Another distinctly intimated to the Mormons that they should, if they could, plant a slave State in the very recesses of the continent. A third abolished a public slave mart in the city of Washington, without abating either the extent or the duration of slavery in the District of Columbia. A fourth obtained a peace on humiliating terms from one of the youngest and feeblest members of the Confederacy [Texas] in an attitude of sedition; while a fifth only reluctantly admitted California as a free State when she had refused to contaminate herself with slavery. Which one of these measures has superfluous merit to be received in extenuation of the Fugitive Slave Law?" (William H. Seward, letter of April 5, 1851, to the Massachusetts Convention in Boston, *Lib.* 21 : 77.)

to overcome Northern repugnance to that measure, the rest of his "indescribably base and wicked speech," as Mr. Garrison termed it, was simply confirmatory of his depravation. His historical dust-cloud about the origin of slavery in America, and of its guarantees in the Constitution; his pretext, in regard to California and New Mexico, that their physical conditions debarred African slavery, and he "would not take pains to reaffirm an ordinance of Nature, nor to reënact the will of God"; his offer to support a Government scheme of colonizing the free colored population of the South[1] — all was mere surplusage. It was his advocacy of the duty of slave-hunting which brought upon him the withering censure of Northern manhood, the hollow applause of the South, the immoral thanks of the trader and the doughface. When he rose in his place on March 7 to break the word of promise to the hope of his eager constituency, the Fugitive Slave Bill was even more objectionable than at the time of its final passage. Its unwarranted extension of the Federal judiciary placed the liberty of every alleged fugitive at the mercy of any commissioner, clerk, or marshal of a Federal court, or Federal postmaster, or collector of customs, in the State where the seizure was made. The "Expounder of the Constitution" was prepared to support this iniquity "to the fullest extent," along with Senator Mason's amendments of January 23, affixing, not only to the rescue of an alleged fugitive, but to the harboring or concealing of any such, a penalty of one thousand dollars fine and twelve months' imprisonment (ultimately mitigated, as regards imprisonment, to a term not exceeding six months); and denying the

Lib. 20:43.

Lib. 20:42.

Lib. 20:43; *cf.* 21:93.

Lib. 20:46.

Lib. 20:54.

Lib. 20:54; *cf. ante*, *p.* 246.

Lib. 20:45.

J. M. Mason.

Lib. 20:54.

Lib. 20:153.

[1] In the Boston *Congregationalist* of July 6, 1849 (*Lib.* 19:166), Lewis Tappan told of having acted as secretary of a colonization meeting held at the Marlboro' Hotel, Boston, in 1822, Webster presiding, and Judge Story introducing resolutions. This was followed by one to organize the Massachusetts Colonization Society, when a great division of sentiment was manifested over the constitution reported, and Webster at length declared: "It is a scheme of the slaveholders to get rid of the free negroes. I will have nothing to do with it"— and left the room.

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alleged fugitive all right to testify in his own defence. Nor did Webster, who, while yet undecided on which side to commit himself, had drawn up an amendment providing for a trial by jury (which lay hid in his desk on the 7th of March), make this a *sine qua non* of his adhesion; or revolt at the effect given to the kidnapper's *ex-parte* affidavits;[1] or denounce the omission to provide any redress for the abuse of the authority conferred by the bill.

Lib. 20:100.

Lib. 20:95.

For thus having "convinced the understanding and touched the conscience of a nation," he was publicly thanked by some seven hundred addressers of Boston and vicinity — great lawyers, like Rufus Choate and Benjamin R. Curtis; men of letters, like George Ticknor, William H. Prescott, and Jared Sparks (the last also the President of Harvard College); theologians like Moses Stuart, Leonard Woods, and Ralph Emerson of Andover Seminary. Half as many gentlemen of Newburyport confessed their gratitude to Webster for his having recalled them to "a due sense of their Constitutional obligations"; and in this group we read the names of Francis Todd (who, if a novice in slave-catching, had known something of slave-trading) and of the Rev. Daniel Dana, D. D. These addresses, with Professor Stuart's obsequious pamphlet on 'Conscience and the Constitution,' elicited acknowledgments from Webster, which were so many supplements to his 7th of March speech, coining fresh euphemisms for the shameful thing he invested with the sacred name of duty. At the Revere House, in Boston, the anti-slavery sentiment to which he had once allowed a religious origin

Lib. 20:55, 57, 62.

Lib. 20:73.

Ante, 1:180.

Ante, 1:207.

Lib. 20:83.

Lib. 20:62, 89, 121.

Ante, p. 276.

[1] The pagan law of Crete unearthed at Gortyna (*Am. Jour. of Archæology*, Jan., 1886), and assigned to the Solonian period, provided: "Whoever intends to bring suit in relation to a freeman or a slave, shall not take action by seizure before trial; but, if he do seize him, let the Judge fine him ten staters for the freeman, five for the slave, and let him adjudge that he shall release him within three days. . . . But if one party contend that he is a freeman, the other that he is a slave, those that testify that he is free shall be preferred." The Fugitive Slave Law not only reversed this principle, but added pecuniary inducements to commissioners to convict and to hold fast (*Lib.* 20:153).

and intensity, he now declared to have its foundation in "unreal, ghostly abstractions." His Massachusetts fellow-citizens, reluctant to turn the fugitive from their doors, or assist in his capture, the Senator held bound to the discharge of "a disagreeable duty," adding: "Any man can perform an agreeable duty — it is not every man who can perform a disagreeable duty." Would Massachusetts, he asked sardonically, "conquer her own prejudices"?

Lib. 20:70. *Lib.* 20:70. *Lib.* 20:70.

The answer to this question was rendered at the polls in November, when the Whig party received a crushing defeat in Massachusetts. But more immediately response was made in Faneuil Hall by abolitionists and Free Soilers; by the colored people of Boston; by the voters of Plymouth County, the home of Webster; and widely by the religious press. These fanned the excitement attending the debates over the Compromise in Congress; those which grew out of the petitions for peaceable disunion presented by John P. Hale in the Senate; the calling of the Nashville Convention to concert disunion from the Southern point of view; the various Southern legislative preparations for the same event. South Carolina made an appropriation for arms, and Governor Floyd of Virginia, for the better recovery of fugitives, recommended a system of taxation by license "so arranged as to transfer entirely the trade from those States which have trampled under foot the Constitution of the United States to those which are still willing to abide by its compromises and recognize our rights under it." This system he would apply to the manufactures, live stock, and soil products of the delinquent States, and withal would have the South start factories of her own.

Lib. 20:182. *Lib.* 20:47, 50. *Lib.* 20:55. *Lib.* 20:57, 58. *Lib.* 20:29, 30, 38. *Lib.* 21:3. *Lib.* 20:5, 26, 31, 34. *Lib.* 20:26; *cf.* 21:3. *Lib.* 20:61.

As in 1835, the attempt was made to cow the North through the medium of its trade, and the Union meetings with which the year opened and closed were largely sustained by the mercantile community. In Pennsylvania, the Democrats were ready to sacrifice the slavery issue to that of protection for the iron interest. In New York,

Ante, 2:4. *Lib.* 20:29, 34, 37, 177, 195, 197, 201, 202; 21:1, 3. *MS. Feb.* 16, 1850, *B. Rush Plumly to W. L. G.*

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John A. Dix, lately United States Senator from that State, wrote on June 17, 1850:

To Hon. Chas. A. Mann; in Mag. Am. Hist., June, 1885, p. 585.

"Commercial interests rule the day. The prices of stocks and of merchandise are considered, by a large portion of the business men, as of more importance than the preservation of great principles. A merchant told me the other day he was satisfied our whole policy in relation to slavery was wrong — that we ought to repeal all laws prohibiting the introduction of slaves into the United States, beginning with an amendment of the Constitution. This gentleman is one of the most wealthy and respectable in this city [New York]. Another, of equal wealth and respectability, told me he had no objection to the re-establishment of slavery in this State. A few such examples of perverted principle and feeling are quite enough to satisfy me that our only hope is from the country."

The readiness of "wealth and respectability" to suppress the anti-slavery agitation by force was again to be illustrated, in 1850 as in 1835, in the person of Mr. Garrison.

Lib. 20: 2, 7, 19, 21.

He began the year in poor health, though still in the lecture field, and taking some, if not his usual, part in the annual

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meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society in Faneuil Hall. He there offered a resolution condemning Longfellow's newly published ode to the Union, which he

Lib. 20: 11.

had already characterized in the *Liberator* as "a eulogy dripping with the blood of imbruted humanity." He now (in terms which, truthful and prophetic as they were,

Lib. 20: 19, 29, 33.

elicited hisses from the hostile part of his audience and vehement censure from the press) set over against the poet's conception of the "Ship of State" rather a

Lib. 20: 19.

"'perfidious bark
Built i' th' eclipse, and rigged with curses dark,'

rotting through all her timbers, leaking from stem to stern, laboring heavily on a storm-tossed sea, surrounded by clouds of disastrous portent, navigated by those whose object is a piratical one (namely, the extension and perpetuity of slavery), and destined to go down, 'full many a fathom deep,' to the joy and exultation of all who are yearning for the deliverance of a groaning world." He

had also drawn hostile attention to himself by a letter to the mass convention of abolitionists held at Syracuse, N. Y., on January 15, of which the closing sentence read: "I am for the abolition of slavery, therefore for the dissolution of the Union." Later, he drafted for himself and others a protest against the summary disposal of disunion petitions by the Massachusetts Legislature, alleging: *Lib.* 20:6, 21, 25. *Lib.* 20:26, 30.

"(3.) That while your petitioners are subjected, by the Constitution and laws of the United States, and therefore of this Commonwealth, to heavy fines for obeying the law of God, and refusing to deliver up the fugitive slave, or giving him aid and protection, they feel that they have a right to be heard in asking to be relieved from such immoral obligations. *Lib.* 20:30.

"(4.) That while citizens of this Commonwealth, on visiting Southern States, are seized, thrust into prison, condemned to work with felons in the chain-gang, and frequently sold on the auction-block as slaves; and while the governments, both of the United States and of the Southern States, have refused, or made it penal, to attempt a remedy; and while this Commonwealth has given up all effort to vindicate the rights of its citizens as hopeless and impracticable, under the present Union — it is manifestly the duty of the Commonwealth, as a Sovereign State, to devise some other measure for the redress and prevention of so grievous a wrong, which your petitioners are profoundly convinced can be reached only by a secession from the present Union." *Ante, p.* 131.

On the sixth of May, Mr. Garrison set out for New York to attend the anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society. The air was full of coming violence, of which a truly Satanic Scotchman, James Gordon Bennett, editor of the New York *Herald*, was the prime invoker. He began on April 30 by charging the religious and philanthropic societies, indiscriminately, that held regular annual meetings in New York, and which were "all of one side of thinking in regard to slavery," with having brought the country to "the brink of a dissolution of the Union — a separation of these States — and, perhaps, a long and bloody civil war." He urged "the merchants, men of business, and men of property, in this city," to *Monday.* *Lib.* 20:73.

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"frown down the meetings of these mad people, if they would save themselves. What business have all the religious lunatics of the free States to gather in this commercial city for purposes which, if carried into effect, would ruin and destroy its prosperity? Will the men of sense allow meetings to be held in this city which are calculated to make our country the arena of blood and murder, and render our city an object of horror to the whole South? We hope not. Public opinion should be regulated. These abolitionists should not be allowed to misrepresent New York."

He besought his "regulators" to

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"go on Tuesday morning to the Tabernacle, and there look at the black and white brethren and sisters, fraternizing, slobbering over each other, speaking, praying, singing, blaspheming, and cursing the Constitution of our glorious Union, and then say whether these things shall go forth to the South and the world as the feeling of the great city of New York. Every citizen has a right, legally, and more than morally, to have his say at the amalgamation meeting on Tuesday. The Union expects every man to do his duty; and duty to the Union, in the present crisis, points out to us that we should allow no more fuel to be placed upon the fire of abolitionism in our midst, when we can prevent it by sound reasoning and calm remonstrances."

On May 2, the *Herald* returned to the subject, drawing somewhat nearer to the leader of the "anti-slavery delegates." Of these it said:

Lib. 20:73.

"They will be full of all kinds of assaults upon all kinds of decency, and upon liberty itself. They will assault the people, the nation, the Constitution, the Representatives and Senators in Congress assembled, the President, the laws, and the press. Having dealt their blows upon these till the game is stale, they will next attack the church, then the clergy, then the Sabbath, then the Bible, then everything divine and human throughout the world, quarrelling amongst themselves at a fearful rate, and possibly kicking up a disgraceful riot, in order to become martyrs to their false patriotism, false pride, and sincere folly.

"Such will be the plan, the plot; the scenes can as yet scarcely be sketched. The house will be an overflowing one; and if, in the rush for places, the public should become interested, and get upon the stage, and turn the tables by talking down and voting

down the actors, it would be a case of real free discussion — popular opinion rising superior to local prejudice, and producing a good result out of the most mischievous elements." CHAP. X. 1850.

On May 6, the *Herald* singled out the *Liberator*, for its immediate abolitionism and disunionism, and enumerated the speakers announced for the following day: "Wm. H. Furness of Philadelphia, white man — from Anglo-Saxon blood; Frederick Douglass of Rochester, black man — from African blood; Wm. Lloyd Garrison of Boston, mulatto man — mixed race; Wendell Phillips of Boston, white man — merely from blood." Comparing the approaching meeting with the Nashville Disunion Convention, Bennett pronounced the former to be much the more mischievous, and renewed his appeal for its suppression in the most inflammatory language. *Nat. A. S. Standard*, 10 : 198; *Lib.* 20 : 77. *Ante, p.* 279.

On May 7, he singled out the editor of the *Liberator*, saying that, since the World's Convention, Garrison had *Nat. A. S. Standard*, 10 : 198; *Lib.* 20 : 77.

"boldly urged the utter overthrow of the churches, the Sabbath, and the Bible. Nothing has been sacred with him but the ideal intellect of the negro race. To elevate this chimera, he has urged the necessity of an immediate overthrow of the Government, a total disrespect for the Constitution, actual disruption and annihilation of the Union, and a cessation of all order, legal or divine, which does not square with his narrow views of what constitutes human liberty. Never, in the time of the French Revolution and blasphemous atheism, was there more malevolence and unblushing wickedness avowed than by this same Garrison. Indeed, he surpasses Robespierre and his associates, for he has no design of building up. His only object is to destroy. . . . In Boston, a few months ago, a convention was held, the object of which was the overthrow of Sunday worship. Thus it appears that nothing divine or secular is respected by these fanatics." *Ante, p.* 262.

The lesson of the hour was, that —

"When free discussion does not promote the public good, it has no more right to exist than a bad government that is dangerous and oppressive to the common weal. It should be overthrown. On the question of usefulness to the public of the packed, organized meetings of these abolitionists, socialists, *Lib.* 20 : 77.

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Sabbath-breakers, and anarchists, there can be but one result arrived at by prudence and patriotism. They are dangerous assemblies — calculated for mischief, and treasonable in their character and purposes. Though the law cannot reach them, public opinion can; and as, in England, a peaceful dissent from such doctrines as these fellows would promulgate — a strong expression of dissent from them — would be conveyed by hisses and by counter statements and expositions, so here in New York we may anticipate that there are those who will enter the arena of discussion, and send out the true opinion of the public. That half-a-dozen madmen should manufacture opinion for the whole community, is not to be tolerated. It is to be hoped that, before long, we shall learn what public opinion upon the Union truly is — and what interest all the masses have in the perpetuity of the Sabbath and our institutions."

Lib. 20:77. *May* 7, 1850.

This pious ruffianism was reinforced by the editor of the *Globe* on the same day. "The right to assemble peaceably for the overthrow of the Government is nowhere guaranteed by the Constitution. . . . No public building, no, not even the streets, must be desecrated by such a proposed assemblage of *traitors*." As for "one of the heralded orators for this Anniversary," "the black Douglass," who, at the Syracuse Convention in January, had invoked immediate disunion, and alleged that Washington, Jefferson, and Patrick Henry "were strangers to any just idea of Liberty" — "This was uttered, says a contemporary, and 'no hand was raised to fell the speaker to the earth!'" But, added the *Globe*, "if this Douglass shall re-proclaim his Syracuse treason here, and any man shall arrest him in his diabolical career, and not injure him, thousands will exclaim, in language of patriotic love for the Constitution and the rights of the South, 'DID HE NOT STRIKE THE VILLAIN DEAD?'"

Ante. p. 281.

Lib. 20:77.

W. L. Garrison to his Wife.

MS.

NEW YORK, May 7, 1850.

Tuesday morning. S. May, jr. C. F. Hovey.

I arrived here safely yesterday afternoon at 4 o'clock, in company with Phillips, Francis and Edmund Jackson, Mr. May and his mother, Mr. Hovey, and other dear anti-slavery

C. F. Kovey

friends. The rain, which was pouring down so copiously when we left Boston, accompanied us nearly all the distance, an immense quantity having fallen over a wide tract of country. . . .

In the course of another hour, I shall be on my way to our meeting at the Tabernacle, "bound in the spirit," as Paul said of old, "not knowing the things that shall befall me there," saving that "bonds and afflictions abide with me, in every city," though "none of these things move me, neither count I my life dear unto me," in comparison with the sacred cause to which I have so long been consecrated. That our meeting will be a stormy one, I have very little doubt — perhaps brutal and riotous in the extreme; — for Bennett, in each number of his infamous *Herald*, for a week, has been publishing the most atrocious and inflammatory articles respecting us, avowedly to have us put down by mobocratic violence; and it will be strange indeed if, with his almost omnipotent influence over all the mobocratic elements in this city, we are permitted to meet without imminent personal peril. Bennett has aimed to hold me up as a special object of vengeance; and thus I am doomed to go, under circumstances of peculiar trial and danger. It is evident that, as long as our meetings are held, he is determined to set the mob upon us; with what temporary success, will soon appear. As to the final result of all this, there can be no doubt. It is the prerogative of the God whom we serve to cause the wrath of man to praise him, and the remainder of wrath to restrain.

Jas. Gordon Bennett.

Here I must pause. We are all in the hands of a good Father, for time and eternity.

2 o'clock P. M.

Well, we have had our meeting, and, thus far, thank God, all goes well, even triumphantly with us, notwithstanding the desperate efforts of the New York papers to get up a ferocious mob against us. Not that we have not had a very tumultuous, nay, even stormy time; the ocean of feeling has been lashed into a fury, but the proud waves were stayed, and a song of deliverance is in our mouths. I have not time, of course, to give you the particulars. The Tabernacle was crowded beyond all precedent. Everything proceeded, for a time, very peaceably. I read a portion of the Scriptures — prayer was offered by Henry Grew — and I proceeded to make my speech about the religion of the country, when, at last, the pent-up feelings of the mobocrats broke out, and, with the notorious Capt. Rynders at their head, they came rushing on to the platform, yelling, cheering,

Rev. H. Grew.

swearing, etc., etc. But, after much tumult and many interruptions, I got through with my speech — then Mr. Furness made a capital speech — then an opponent spoke — then Douglass and Sam'l Ward — and we wound up with electrical effect. Wendell had no time to speak. But the mail will close instanter. No part of this for the press. The N. Y. papers will tell the story to-morrow.

Rev. W. H. Furness.
F. Douglass.
W. Phillips.

The Tabernacle was a Congregational place of worship, on the northeast corner of Broadway and Anthony (now Worth) Street. The revivalist Finney had formerly preached there. It was a large hall, nearly square, on the ground floor, with a gentle descent from the entrance. The platform faced this entrance, with tiers of seats rising rearward to the organ, and then merging with those of the gallery, which rested on four great pillars. Thither went Mr. Garrison on Tuesday morning, to take his place as President of the American Anti-Slavery Society. As the above letter shows, he was fully alive to the possibilities of the occasion, and perfectly tranquil in mind. He could well trust his general appearance to belie the *Herald's* caricature of him, physically and spiritually; but as he was to be the central figure of the meetings, he was resolved to avoid all outward singularity. For this reason he abandoned for good the turn-down collar which he had clung to through all the changes of fashion,[1] and put on the stand-up collar of the day. Surrounded on the platform by the flower of the Massachusetts Board and by the speakers agreed upon, he entered calmly upon his duties to the Society and to the vast assembly about him. In front, he saw a most respectable company of men and women; behind and above him he felt the organized and impending mob.

C. G. Finney.
May 7, 1850, 10 A.M.

The passages which Mr. Garrison's "blasphemous atheism" prompted him to read, as an opening exercise, from the Bible — a book, he said, "which the people of this country profess to receive as the word of God"—

Ante, p. 283.
Lib. 20:81, 85.

[1] See Torrey's portrait, *ante*, 1 : 1, and the frontispiece to the present volume. Mr. Garrison related this incident to his son William.

were chosen for their bearing on the Union and the Fugitive Slave Bill:

Lib. 20:82.

"The Lord standeth up to plead, and standeth to judge the people. . . What mean ye that ye beat my people to pieces, and grind the faces of the poor? saith the Lord God of hosts. . . . Associate yourselves, O ye people, and ye shall be broken in pieces; gird yourselves, and ye shall be broken in pieces. . . . They all lie in wait for blood; they hunt every man his brother with a net. . . . Hide the outcasts, bewray not him that wandereth; let mine outcasts dwell with thee; be thou a covert to them from the face of the spoiler."

Rev. W. H. Furness.

To Dr. Furness, who sat beside Mr. Garrison, these selections (in full, not in our abstract) seemed "most admirably adapted to the existing state of our country. His reading, however, was not remarkably effective. It was like the ordinary reading of the pulpit,"—and hence, let us add, not calculated to stir the wrath of the ungodly.[1]

Lib. 20:81.

The reading of the Treasurer's report followed, and then Mr. Garrison, resigning the chair to Francis Jackson, proceeded to make the first speech of the day. He held in his hand the text or notes of his discourse, which was not one prepared for the occasion, but had been delivered in various parts of New England and well received. In a clear, ringing voice, he repeated it to his hearers in the Tabernacle, fixing the attention of those who had come to listen, but soaring above the compre-

Lib. 20:85.

Nat. A. S. Standard, 10:199.

[1] Dr. Furness's criticism proceeded from a standard of pulpit reading which he himself has exemplified without a peer. On the other hand, we have the testimony of an earnest Covenanter (and therefore anti-slavery) clergyman in regard to Mr. Garrison's habit: "He opened the meetings of the Anti-Slavery Society by reading the Scriptures; and he read them from the depths of his soul, with a power I have yet to hear equalled" ('Life and Work of J. R. W. Sloane, D. D.,' p. 84). We quote above from the account of the Rynders mob written by Dr. Furness for a friend of his in Congress, but allowed to be published anonymously in the *Pennsylvania Freeman* of May 23, 1850 *(Lib.* 20:81). We shall also have occasion to use another account from the same hand, printed on pp. 28–35 of the pamphlet commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of his ordination (Philadelphia, 1875), and reprinted in the Boston *Commonwealth* of Jan. 24, 1885.

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hension of the degraded creatures watching for a pretext for disturbance.

Lib. 20:81.

"He began," relates Dr. Furness,[1] "with stating that they, the members of the Anti-Slavery Society, regarded the anti-slavery cause as emphatically *the* Christian movement of the day. Nothing could be more explicit than his recognition of the truth and divine authority of the Christianity of the New Testament. He went on to examine the popular tests of religion, and to show their defectiveness. In so doing, his manner was grave and dignified. There was no bitterness, no levity. His manner of speaking was simple, clerical, and Christian. His subject was, substantially, that we have, over and over again, in all the pulpits of the land — the inconsistency of our profession and practice — although not with the same application. . . . Mr. Garrison said great importance was attached to a belief in Jesus. We were told that we must believe in Jesus. And yet this faith in Jesus had no vitality, no practical bearing on conduct and character. He had previously, however, passed in rapid review the chief religious denominations, showing that they uttered no protest against the sins of the nation. He spoke first in this connection of the Roman Catholic Church, stating that its priests and members held slaves without incurring the rebuke of the Church."

Up to this point the only symptoms of opposition had been some ill-timed and senseless applause — or what seemed such. And as it came from one little portion of the audience, Dr. Furness asked Wendell Phillips at his side what it meant. "'It means,' he said, 'that there is to be a row.'" The reference to the Catholic Church gave the first opening to the leader of the gang.

50th Anniversary of a Pastorate, p. 29.

N. Y. Herald, May 8, 1850; *Lib.* 20:77.

"Captain RYNDERS (who occupied a position in the background, at one side of the organ-loft, and commanding a bird's-eye view of the whole scene beneath) here said: Will you allow me to ask you a question? (Excitement and confusion.)

"Mr. GARRISON — Yes, sir.

"Captain RYNDERS — The question I would ask is, whether there are no other churches as well as the Catholic Church, whose clergy and lay members hold slaves.

[1] Compare Mr. Garrison's own account, by way of correcting the misrepresentations of his enemies, in *Lib.* 20: [79], 81, 85.

"Mr. GARRISON — Will the friend wait for a moment, and I will answer him in reference to other churches. (Cheers.) [1]

"Captain Rynders then resumed his seat.

"Mr. GARRISON then proceeded: Shall we look to the Episcopal church for hope? It was the boast of John C. Calhoun, shortly before his death, that that church was impregnable to anti-slavery. That vaunt was founded on truth, for the Episcopal clergy and laity are buyers and sellers of human flesh. We cannot, therefore, look to them. Shall we look to the Presbyterian church? The whole weight of it is on the side of oppression. Ministers and people buy and sell slaves, apparently without any compunctious visitings of conscience. We cannot, therefore, look to them, nor to the Baptists, nor the Methodists; for they, too, are against the slave, and all the sects are combined to prevent that jubilee which it is the will of God should come. . . .

Ante, *p.* 275.

"Be not startled when I say that a belief in Jesus is no evidence of goodness (hisses); no, friends.

"VOICE — Yes it is.

"Mr. GARRISON — Our friend says 'yes'; my position is 'no.' It is worthless as a test, for the reason I have already assigned in reference to the other tests. His praises are sung in Louisiana, Alabama, and the other Southern States just as well as in Massachusetts.

"Captain RYNDERS — Are you aware that the slaves in the South have their prayer-meetings in honor of Christ?

"Mr. GARRISON — Not a slaveholding or a slave-breeding Jesus. (Sensation.) The slaves believe in a Jesus that strikes off chains. In this country, Jesus has become obsolete. A profession in him is no longer a test. Who objects to his course in Judæa? The old Pharisees are extinct, and may safely be denounced. Jesus is the most respectable person in the United States. (Great sensation, and murmurs of disapprobation.) Jesus sits in the President's chair of the United States. (A thrill of horror here seemed to run through the assembly.) Zachary Taylor sits there, which is the same thing, for he believes in Jesus. He believes in war,

[1] "Mr. Garrison expressed no surprise at the interruption. There was not the slightest change in his manner or his voice. He simply said: 'My friend, if you will wait a moment, your question shall be answered,' or something to that effect. There instantly arose a loud clapping around the stranger in the gallery, and from the outskirts of the audience, at different points" (Rev. W. H. Furness, *Lib.* 20 : 81).

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and the Jesus that 'gave the Mexicans hell.'[1] (Sensation, uproar, and confusion.)"

S. May, Jr., in Boston Commonwealth, Feb. 14, 1885.

The name of Zachary Taylor had scarcely passed Mr. Garrison's lips when Captain Rynders, with something like a howl, forsaking his strategic position on the borderline of the gallery and the platform, dashed headlong down towards the speaker's desk, followed, with shouting and imprecations and a terrifying noise, by the mass of his backers. The audience, despite a natural agitation, gave way to no panic. The abolitionist leaders upon the platform remained imperturbable. "I was not aware," writes Dr. Furness, "of being under any apprehension of personal violence. We were all like General Jackson's cotton-bales at New Orleans. Our demeanor made it impossible for the rioters to use any physical force against us." The scene recalled the descent of the Gauls upon the Roman Senate. The barbarism of Rynders was confronted with the loftiest morality, the greatest personal dignity, of the time. He found himself in the midst of Francis and Edmund Jackson, of Wendell Phillips, of Edmund Quincy, of Charles F. Hovey, of William H. Furness, of Samuel May, Jr., of Sydney Howard Gay, of Isaac T. Hopper, of Henry C. Wright, of Abby Kelley Foster, of Frederick Douglass, of Mr. Garrison — against whom his menaces were specially directed. Never was a human being more out of his element.

50th Anniversary of a Pastorate, p. 30.

N.Y. Times, Jan. 14, 1884.

Isaiah Rynders, a native American, of mixed German and Irish lineage, was now some forty-six years of age. He began life as a boatman on the Hudson River, and, passing easily into the sporting class, went to seek his fortunes as a professional gambler in the paradise of the Southwest. In this region he became familiar with all forms of violence, including the institution of slavery. After many personal hazards and vicissitudes, he returned to New York city, where he proved to be admirably qualified for local political leadership in connection with Tam-

[1] Alluding to a famous order of General Taylor's during the Mexican War.

many Hall. A sporting-house which he opened became a Democratic rendezvous and the headquarters of the Empire Club, an organization of roughs and desperadoes who acknowledged his "captaincy." His campaigning in behalf of Polk and Dallas in 1844 secured him the friendly patronage of the successful candidate for Vice-President, and he took office as Weigher in the Custom-house of the metropolis. He found time, while thus employed, to engineer the Astor Place riot on behalf of the actor Forrest against his English rival Macready, on May 10, 1849, and the year 1850 opened with his trial for this atrocity and his successful defence by John Van Buren. On February 16 he and his Club broke up an anti-Wilmot Proviso meeting in New York — a seeming inconsistency, but it was charged against Rynders that he had offered to "give the State of New York to Clay" in the election of 1844 for $30,000, and met with a reluctant refusal. In March he was arrested for a brutal assault on a gentleman in a hotel, but the victim and the witnesses found it prudent not to appear against a ruffian who did not hesitate to threaten the district-attorney in open court. Meanwhile, the new Whig Administration quite justifiably discharged Rynders from the Custom-house, leaving him free to pose as a saviour of the Union against traitors — a saviour of society against blasphemers and infidels wherever encountered. There was a manifest disinterestedness, therefore, in his vindication, at the Tabernacle, of the President who had thrown him back upon his resources as a blackleg and bravo.

Lib. 15:55. *Geo. M. Dallas.* *Edwin Forrest;* *Lib.* 19:79. *Lib.* 20:24. *Nat. A. S. Standard,* 10:20. *Lib.* 20:86. *Lib.* 20:43.

We left him pushing his way to the front of the platform, with menace in his stride, his uplifted arm, the bellow of his voice. This, according to the *Herald*, was what greeted Mr. Garrison's ear:

"Captain RYNDERS (clenching his fist) — I will not allow you to assail the President of the United States. You shan't do it (shaking his fist at Mr. Garrison).

"MANY VOICES — Turn him out, turn him out!

"Captain RYNDERS — If a million of you were there, I would

N. Y. Herald, May 8, 1850; *Lib.* 20:77.

CHAP. X. 1850.

not allow the President of the United States to be insulted. As long as you confined yourself to your subject, I did not interfere; but I will not permit you or any other man to misrepresent the President."[1]

Boston Commonwealth, Feb. 14, 1885.

Mr. Garrison, as the Rev. Samuel May testifies, "calmly replied that he had simply quoted some recent words of General Taylor, and appealed to the audience if he had said aught in disrespect of him." "You ought not to interrupt us," he continued to Rynders — "in the quietest manner conceivable," as Dr. Furness relates. "We go upon the principle of hearing everybody. If you wish to speak, I will keep order, and you shall be heard." The din, however, increased. "The Hutchinsons, who were wont to sing at the anti-slavery meetings, were in the gallery, and they attempted to raise a song, to soothe the savages with music. But it was of no avail. Rynders drowned their fine voices with noise and shouting." Still, a knock-down argument with a live combatant would have suited him better than mere Bedlamitish disturbance. He was almost gratified by young Thomas L. Kane,[2] son of Judge Kane of Philadelphia, who, seeing the rush of the mob upon the platform, had himself leaped there, to protect his townsman, Dr. Furness. "They shall not touch a hair of your head," he said in a tone of great excitement, and, as the strain became more intense, "he rushed up to Rynders and shook his fist in his face. He said to me [Dr. Furness] with the deepest emphasis: 'If he touches Mr. Garrison I'll *kill* him.' But Mr. Garrison's composure was more than a coat of mail."

50th Anniversary of a Pastorate, p. 30.

Ibid.

Ibid., pp. 29-31.

John K. Kane.

Cf. Jour. of Commerce, May 7, 1850; *Lib.* 20: 75.

[1] "The distinction which Mr. Garrison made between true religion and false was so apparent to every hearer through the whole course of his remarks; so fully and reverently did he recognize and imply, throughout, the divine authority of the Jesus of the New Testament, that no one present thought of charging him with blasphemy then, although his remarks have been so reported that the community is horrified at Mr. Garrison's infidelity! The thing which Rynders seized upon for a pretext was not blasphemy, but the alleged insult to the President" (Rev. W. H. Furness, *Lib.* 20: 81). *Cf.* Isaac T. Hopper, *Lib.* 20: 106.

[2] Afterwards a Federal officer in the civil war. He was a brother of the Arctic explorer.

The knot was cut by Francis Jackson's formal offer of the floor to Rynders as soon as Mr. Garrison had finished his remarks; with an invitation meanwhile to take a seat on the platform. "This," says Mr. May, "he scoutingly refused; but, seeing the manifest fairness of the president's offer, drew back a little, and stood, with folded arms, waiting for Mr. Garrison to conclude, which soon he did"—offering a resolution in these terms:

Rev. S. May, Boston Commonwealth, Feb. 14, 1885.

"Resolved, That the anti-slavery movement, instead of being 'infidel,' in an evil sense (as is falsely alleged), is truly Christian, in the primitive meaning of that term, and the special embodiment in this country of whatever is loyal to God and benevolent to man; and that, in view of the palpable enormity of slavery — of the religious and political professions of the people — of the age in which we live, blazing with the concentrated light of many centuries — indifference or hostility to this movement indicates a state of mind more culpable than was manifested by the Jewish nation in rejecting Jesus as the Messiah, eighteen hundred years ago."

Lib. 20: 82.

With these words the speaker retired, to resume the presidency of the meeting.

"The close of Mr. Garrison's address," says Dr. Furness, "brought down Rynders again, who vociferated and harangued, at one time on the platform, and then pushing down into the aisles, like a madman followed by his keepers. Through the whole, nothing could be more patient and serene than the bearing of Mr. Garrison. I have always revered Mr. Garrison for his devoted, uncompromising fidelity to his great cause. To-day, I was touched to the heart by his calm and gentle manners. There was no agitation, no scorn, no heat, but the quietness of a man engaged in simple duties."

Lib. 20: 81.

After some parleying, it appeared that Rynders had a spokesman who preferred to follow Dr. Furness.

"Accordingly," says the latter, "I spoke my little, anxiously prepared word. I never recall that hour without blessing myself that I was called to speak precisely at that moment. At any other stage of the proceedings, it would have been wretchedly out of place. As it was, my speech fitted in almost as well as if it had been impromptu, although a sharp eye might easily

50th Anniversary of a Pastorate, p. 31.

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have discovered that I was speaking *memoriter*. Rynders interrupted me again and again, exclaiming that I lied, that I was personal; but he ended with applauding me!"

No greater contrast to what was to follow could possibly be imagined than the genial manner, firm tones, and self-possession, the refined discourse, of this Unitarian clergyman, who was felt to have turned the current of the meeting. Up rose, as per agreement, one "Professor" Grant, a seedy-looking personage, having one hand tied round with a dirty cotton cloth. Mr. Garrison recognized him as a former pressman in the *Liberator* office. His thesis was that the blacks were not men, but belonged to the monkey tribe. His speech proved dull and tiresome, and was made sport of by his own set, whom Mr. Garrison had to call to order. There were now loud cries for Frederick Douglass, who came forward to where Rynders stood in the conspicuous position he had taken "when he thought the meeting was his, and remained in it, too mortified even to creep away, when he found it was somebody else's." "Now you can speak," said he to Douglass; "but mind what I say: if you speak disrespectfully [of the South, or Washington, or Patrick Henry] I'll knock you off the stage." Nothing daunted, the ex-fugitive from greater terrors began:

Nat. A. S. Standard, 10 : 199.

50th Anniversary of a Pastorate, *p.* 31.

Ibid.; *Nat. A. S. Standard*, 10 : 199.

Nat. A. S. Standard, 10 : 199.

Nat. A. S. Standard, 10 : 202; *N. Y. Herald*, *May* 8, 1850.

Furness's 50th Anniversary of a Pastorate, *p.* 31.

Cf. ante, *p.* 19.

"The gentleman who has just spoken has undertaken to prove that the blacks are not human beings. He has examined our whole conformation, from top to toe. I cannot follow him in his argument. I will assist him in it, however. I offer myself for your examination. Am I a man?"

The audience responded with a thunderous affirmative, which Captain Rynders sought to break by exclaiming: "*You* are not a black man; you are only half a nigger." "'Then,' replied Mr. Douglass, turning upon him with the blandest of smiles and an almost affectionate obeisance, 'I am half-brother to Captain Rynders!'" He would not deny that he was the son of a slaveholder, born of Southern "amalgamation"; a fugitive, too, like Kossuth —

Nat. A. S. Standard. 10 : 199, 207.

"another half-brother of mine" (to Rynders). He spoke of the difficulties thrown in the way of industrious colored people at the North, as he had himself experienced — this by way of answer to Horace Greeley, who had recently complained of their inefficiency and dependence. Criticism of the editor of the *Tribune* being grateful to Rynders, a political adversary, "he added a word to Douglass's against Greeley. 'I am happy,' said Douglass, '*to have the assent of my half-brother here,*' pointing to Rynders, and convulsing the audience with laughter. After this, Rynders, finding how he was played with, took care to hold his peace; but some one of Rynders's company in the gallery undertook to interrupt the speaker. 'It 's of no use,' said Mr. Douglass, '*I 've Captain Rynders here to back me.*'" We were born here, he said finally, we are not dying out, and we mean to stay here. We made the clothes you have on, the sugar you put into your tea. We would do more if allowed. "Yes," said a voice in the crowd, "you would cut our throats for us." "No," was the quick response, "but we would cut your hair for you."

50th Anniversary of a Pastorate, p. 32.

Nat. A. S. Standard, 10 : 207.

Douglass concluded his triumphant remarks by calling upon the Rev. Samuel R. Ward, editor of the *Impartial Citizen*, to succeed him. "All eyes," says Dr. Furness, "were instantly turned to the back of the platform, or stage rather, so dramatic was the scene; and there, amidst a group, stood a large man, so black that, as Wendell Phillips said, when he shut his eyes you could not see him. . . . As he approached, Rynders exclaimed: 'Well, this is the original nigger!' 'I 've heard of the magnanimity of Captain Rynders,' said Ward, 'but the half has not been told me!' And then he went on with a noble voice, and his speech was such a strain of eloquence as I never heard excelled before or since." The mob had to applaud him, too, and it is the highest praise to record that his unpremeditated utterance maintained the level of Douglass's, and ended the meeting with a sense of climax — demonstrating alike the humanity and the capacity (Bennett's "ideal intellect") of the full-blooded negro.

50th Anniversary of a Pastorate, p. 33.

Nat. A. S. Standard, 10 : 199.

Ante, p. 283.

50th Anniversary of a Pastorate, p. 34.

"When he ceased speaking, the time had expired for which the Tabernacle was engaged, and we had to adjourn. Never," continues Dr. Furness, "was there a grander triumph of intelligence, of mind, over brute force. Two colored men, whose claim to be considered human was denied, had, by mere force of intellect, overwhelmed their maligners with confusion. As the audience was thinning out, I went down on the floor to see some friends there. Rynders came by. I could not help saying to him: 'How shall we thank you for what you have done for us to-day?' 'Well,' said he, 'I do not like to hear my country abused, but that last thing that you said, that 's the truth.' That last thing was, I believe, a simple assertion of the right of the people to think and speak freely."

The magnitude of the victory won by the abolitionists can be understood only in view of the absolute non-interference of the city authorities on behalf of free speech and personal and civic rights. Both Isaac T. Hopper and Sydney H. Gay had called upon the Chief of Police (George W. Matsell) in advance of the meeting, to ask for protection against the disturbance which he as well as they knew to be inevitable, albeit he professed the contrary. Not a policeman was visible at the Tabernacle, though a captain was present, to whom, when the rush on to the platform occurred, Mr. Gay appealed; but he refused to interpose so long as the mob abstained from bodily injury. It was, he said in Rynders's hearing, a "free meeting"; and Mr. Gay had only menaces for his pains. Mr. Garrison reports that —

Lib. 20: 86; *Nat. A. S. Standard,* 10: 202.

Standard, 10: 202; *Lib.* 20: 106.

Lib. 20: [79].

"towards the close of the meeting, after two hours of violent interruption and great confusion, and during the speech of Mr. Douglass, when that gifted man had effectually put to shame his assailants by his wit and eloquence, Mr. Matsell did say to me, in a whisper, that he would remove Rynders whenever I demanded it, in case he proceeded to commit any further violence. My reply was, that I hoped we should be able to conclude the proceedings without rendering such a step necessary. But I regarded the offer of assistance under such circumstances as little better than a mockery, and made only to save appearances.

Standard, 10: 202.

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"Happily, the members of the American A. S. Society are deeply imbued with the spirit of peace as well as of liberty, and believe in overcoming evil with good; for, abandoned as they were to the insults and outrages of the mob by the city authorities, had they resorted to violence in self-defence, the most deplorable consequences might have followed.

"That I uttered the calm conviction, that an assault so brutal and unjustifiable would aid, instead of injuring, the sacred cause of emancipation [is] true; but, of course, not with any gratification at such an outrage, in itself considered. I am fully persuaded of the truth of the scriptural declaration, that the God of justice will 'cause the wrath of man to praise him, and the remainder of wrath he will restrain.'"

Nat. A. S. Standard, 10 : 203.

So far from curbing or preventing the mob, the Aldermen even passed resolves condemning the irreligious and blasphemous meetings of the abolitionists, and requesting Mayor Woodhull to break them up; but these were subsequently recalled. It was from the Mayor that the Chief of Police received his instructions to pay no attention to anything short of actual assault and battery. Hence his captains and their hundreds looked on passively at the scenes in the hall of the Society Library in the evening of May 7, when some two dozen rioters drowned with jocose and abusive interlocutions, with hisses, oaths, catcalls, and a general charivari, the attempted speeches of Parker Pillsbury, Stephen S. Foster, and Mrs. Ernestine L. Rose.

C. S. Woodhull.

Lib. 20: [79].

Nat. A. S. Standard, 10 : 202.

Lib. 20: [78].

May 8, 1850. 348 *Broadway.*

Wednesday's sessions opened in the morning at the same place. According to the *Tribune's* report of the proceedings —

Lib. 20: [78].

"Mr. Garrison wished to say, once for all, that though this was a meeting of the Anti-Slavery Society, yet the doors were wide open to those who dissented; they were invited here in good faith, and should have, if they desired it, a full and fair hearing. They who are unwilling to accept an offer so generous, must certainly be conscious that they have no argument to bring against us, and in actions of noisy violence they do injury to the good name of Freedom. If any one wishes to address the meeting, either for or against the resolutions, this platform is at his or her service."

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But Rynders, taught by experience, avoided a second humiliation as a debater, and ushered in a fresh series of brutish demonstrations. Mr. Garrison's magnanimity proved even a municipal safe-conduct for the captain of the Empire Club. For when Isaac T. Hopper reported him to the Mayor as again breaking up the meeting, that official protested — "But I understand that Capt. Rynders was invited to the meeting, and that blasphemy has been uttered by your speakers"; and denied all authority to interfere unless violence was committed. And so, at the hall, Mr. Garrison having asked, by request, if the Chief of Police was present —

Lib. 20: 106.

Lib. 20: 86, 106.

Lib. 20: [78, 79].

> "Rynders responded derisively, 'Oh don't! don't! You 'll frighten us all to death!'— the sovereign mob responding with shouts of laughter! There were present some thirty or forty of the police, besides Mr. Matsell and the high sheriff; and then it was, in the presence of these sworn conservators of the peace of the city, and with their approbation, I announced, under protest, that the proprietors of the building felt compelled to refuse us the further occupancy of it, for fear of the rioters, especially on account of the imminent peril in which the Public Library was placed."[1]

Lib. 20: [79].

The victims at this last session were the Rev. Henry Grew, Charles C. Burleigh, and Wendell Phillips. Mr. Burleigh's flowing beard and ringlets and eccentric costume especially evoked the buffoonery of the mob, and harmless personal indignities. "Shave that tall Christ and make a wig for Garrison," cried one; while Rynders, with arm around his neck, stroked his beard. Mr. Phillips's irreproachable appearance and famed eloquence did not save him, either, from failure to obtain a hearing, or from filthy verbal missiles. At every turn he was interrupted and overborne. Mention of Washington brought out a call for three cheers for the Father of his Country, vehemently given. "Yes," echoed Mr. Garrison from the chair; "three cheers for Washington, who

Lib. 20: [78].

Lib. 20: [78], 106; *Nat. A. S. Standard*, 10: 202.

Lib. 20: [78].

[1] "Horrid noises. Cries of, 'Tear down the building! Set fire to it!' Terrible confusion" (*Express* report, May 9, 1850; *Lib.* 20: [78]).

emancipated his slaves and died an abolitionist!" — and this time the genuine meeting shouted with a will, while the rioters, fairly caught, bore it with a laugh. CHAP. X. 1850.

At length the time came for them to take formal control of the meeting which their guerilla warfare had utterly deranged. Brushing aside the offer of "Professor" Grant to resume his ethnological disquisition, they put forth an ex-policeman of the Eighth Ward, who had lately been broken "for being found drunk in a house of ill-fame." This exponent of the Christianity and Unionism of the hour proposed the following resolution: *Lib.* 20: [78].

"Resolved, That this meeting does not see sufficient reasons for interfering with the domestic institutions of the South, even if it were constitutional — which it is not — and therefore will not countenance fanatical agitation whose aims and ends are the overthrow of the churches, a reign of anarchy, a division of interests, the supremacy of a hypocritical atheism, a general amalgamation, and a dissolution of the Union. For these reasons, this meeting recommends to these humanity-mongers the confining of its [*sic*] investigations to the progress of degradation among the negroes of the North, and the increasing inequality and poverty of the free whites and blacks of New York and similar places, instead of scurrility, blasphemy, and vituperation." *Lib.* 20: [78].

Captain Rynders having put this resolution, and his obscene creatures having carried it by acclamation, and Mr. Garrison having announced the decision of the trustees to permit no further sessions, "thus closed," to use the *Tribune's* words, "anti-slavery free discussion in New York for 1850." And not alone for 1850, as the sequel will show; nor anti-slavery free discussion alone. Everywhere it was felt throughout the North, even by enemies of the abolitionists, that no speech could be free under such a license to the mob. *Lib.* 20: [78]. *Nat. A. S. Standard*, 10: 201.

"What are the consequences?" asked, for example, the Philadelphia *Ledger*. "Why, that no public meetings can be held but by the permission of a mob; and the very men who put down an abolition meeting one day, may themselves be put down to-morrow. . . . It was not," continued the *May* 14, 1850; *Lib.* 20: 82.

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Ledger, "an offence against the abolitionists that the mob committed when they broke up Garrison's meeting, but an offence against the Constitution, against the Union, against the people, against popular rights and the great cause of human freedom. As such, every republican must denounce it."

So did the Quaker poet of Massachusetts:

John G. Whittier to W. L. Garrison.

MS., and Lib. 20: [79].

AMESBURY, 13th 5th mo., 1850.

DEAR FRIEND GARRISON: I have just laid down a New York paper giving the disgraceful details of the outrage upon Free Speech at your late meeting in New York; and I cannot resist the inclination to drop a line to thee, expressive of my hearty sympathy with thee in this matter. We have not always thought alike in respect to the best means of promoting the anti-slavery cause, and perhaps we differ quite as widely now as ever; but when the right to advocate emancipation in *any* shape is called in question, it is no time to split hairs, or to be fastidious in our exclusiveness. Wendell Phillips, Frederick Douglass, and thyself were assailed, not because of any peculiarities of opinion which you may entertain on other subjects, but because you were abolitionists and practical believers in the doctrine of the Declaration of Independence. So understanding it, I thank you for your perseverance and firmness in vindicating rights dear to us all.

The great battle for free speech and free assembling is to be fought over. The signal has been given at Washington, and commercial cupidity at the North is once more marshalling its mobs against us. The scandalous treachery of Webster, and the *backing* he has received from Andover and Harvard, show that we have nothing to hope for from the great political parties and religious sects. Let us be prepared [for] the worst, and may God give us strength, wisdom, and ability to withstand it.

Ante, *p.* 278.

With esteem and sympathy,

I am very truly thy friend,

JOHN G. WHITTIER.

Boston would fain have aped New York in dealing with the New England Anti-Slavery Convention, which opened at the Melodeon on May 28, and closed in Faneuil

Lib. 20: 87.

Hall on May 30. The New York *Herald's* namesake — as vile as Bennett's paper, but feebler — did what it could to harass and abort the meeting, but in vain. The disorderly were now recruited not so much from the Democracy as from the ranks of the Webster Whigs — socially a distinction with some difference. In spite of them Burleigh had his say in splendid fashion; so had Phillips, Garrison, and their colleagues suppressed in New York — Theodore Parker, William H. Channing, and many others. The hostile press surpassed itself in the scurrility of its reports of the proceedings; but, for the moment, free speech was vindicated in the Puritan city, and a new anti-slavery campaign of one hundred conventions initiated.

Lib. 20:96. *Lib.* 20:93. *Lib.* 20:89, 90. *Lib.* 20:91, 94. *Lib.* 20:91.

In the midst of the compromise debates in Congress and the growing excitement at the North, President Taylor died, on the 9th of July, 1850.

Lib. 20:111.

"As Capt. Rynders thought it so intolerable and blasphemous to *say* anything against President Taylor," wrote Samuel May, Jr., to Mr. Garrison, "I wonder what he thinks of *God*, for what he has *done* to the President; for so *pious* a man as Rynders of course must think it to be God's doing. I really have felt sorry to hear of the old man's death. Spite of his past career, I find that I have a sort of regard for him; his course, the last year, certainly contrasts honorably with that of Clay and Webster. Small praise that, to be sure. A new source of confusion seems to be thrown into the national politics; not to be regretted, if it hastens the crisis, and lets us know what is before us."

MS. July 11, 1850.

So far as his short administration went, President Taylor had exhibited remarkable independence of the section and the caste to which he belonged. There was something Lincolnian in his character — equal simplicity, sturdiness, and honesty — an equal resolution to be the chief magistrate of the *whole* country, with at least equal independence of party. His course justified Stephen A. Douglas's warning that his election boded no good to the Slave Power's schemes of expansion, for which, nevertheless, as a soldier, he had fought the war with Mexico. His attitude towards the grasping designs of Texas on New

Ante, p. 238.

Ante, p. 274; *Lib.* 20:114.

Lib. 19: 14, 136; 20: 114. *Lib.* 20: 116.

Mexico, and repression of the Southern filibustering against Cuba; his recommendation that California be admitted a free State without conditions — dismayed the Southern extremists, and caused the anti-slavery North to regard his death as a calamity.

It is incredible, however, that Taylor would not have signed the Fugitive Slave Bill. All we can say is, that he was fated not to have the opportunity, and that Douglas's prophecy again came true in the case of his successor, when the North (nominally) got the man, and the South got the measure. Quite otherwise was it with Robert C. Winthrop's prevision when, in 1848, on giving his adhesion to Taylor's nomination, he said: "And if any accident should befall him (which Heaven avert!), your own Millard Fillmore will carry out such an administration to its legitimate completion." This New York doughface, having called Webster to the Secretaryship of State, gave, "with alacrity" and without scruple, his assent to the Fugitive Slave Bill, which else might have failed to become a law.[1] The slave-catchers, already at work in anticipation of its enactment, now more boldly renewed their hunting of men in all parts of the North. The terror-stricken colored communities along the border — the free sharing the fears of the self-emancipated, and liable to the same fate — began a great northward movement, towards New England, towards Canada. Here and there they were encouraged to remain firm, they armed themselves, they were given arms; but even from Boston the exodus was marked. Senator Sumner estimated that, altogether, "as many as 6,000 Christian men and women, meritorious persons — *a larger band than that of the escaping Puritans* — precipitately fled from homes which they had established," to British soil.[2]

Ante, p. 238.

Lib. 18: 105.

Lib. 20: 119.

Sept. 18, 1850.

Lib. 20: 126, [130], [131], 136, 138.

Lib. 20: [158], 167, 171, 174.

Lib. 20: [158], [163], 166, 176.

Lib. 20: 159, [163], 166.

Lib. 20: 166; 21: 39.

Chas. Sumner; Lib. 34: 70.

[1] It had less than a two-thirds majority in the House — 109 to 75 (*Lib.* 20: 151).

[2] In February, 1851, it was reported that "One hundred members of the Baptist Colored Church in Buffalo have gone to Canada. A large number of the Methodist Church, in the same place, have also left for a land of freedom. Out of one hundred and fourteen members of the Baptist Col-

On the other hand, in the principal cities, vigilance committees were formed to give timely notice of the coming of kidnappers and to thwart their purpose. Prominent clergymen and laymen publicly announced their readiness, in contempt of the law, to shelter the fugitive. Henry Ward Beecher in the *Independent*, Theodore Parker from the pulpit, invited the penalty of obedience to the higher law of humanity. Whittier proclaimed himself a "Nullifier" to that extent. The venerable Josiah Quincy, shaming his successor in the presidency of Harvard College, headed a call for a meeting in Faneuil Hall on October 14, 1850, to consider the condition of fugitive slaves and other colored persons under the new law. In a letter read in his absence, he impugned the constitutionality both of the law of 1850 and of that of 1793 which it amended, alleging that Massachusetts accepted the compromise clause in the Federal Constitution concerning runaways on the understanding that the claim "should be enforced in conformity to and in coincidence with the known and established principles" of her own Constitution. Charles Francis Adams, who presided, and Richard H. Dana, Jr., who offered the resolutions, called for the instant repeal, at the next session of Congress, of a measure both unconstitutional and repugnant to the moral sense, and promised to help defend the colored people, whom they advised to remain. Ten days before, at Belknap-Street Church, this class of citizens had resolved to arm, and to resist the kidnapper to the death. Mr. Garrison, while admonishing them that fugitives "would be more indebted to the moral power of public sentiment than to any display of physical resistance," yet bade them be "consistent with their own principles." And since they had invoked the religious sentiment in their behalf, he drew up for them an address to the clergy of Massachusetts.

Lib. 20: 167.

Lib. 20: 159, 162, 166, 170, 173, 174.

Lib. 20: 162, 166.

Lib. 20: 173.

Ante, p. 278.

Lib. 20: 166.

Oct. 4, 1850.

Lib. 20: 162.

Lib. 20: 162, 177.

ored Church in Rochester, one hundred and twelve, including the pastor, have crossed the line. The Colored Baptist Church in Detroit has lost eighty-four of its members from the same cause" (*Lib.* 21 : 27).

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The short-sighted framers of the Fugitive Slave Law had good reasons for not anticipating the revolt which it actually caused among the clergy, limited and partial as this was.[1] For instance, the chances were that the Unitarian Convention at Springfield, Mass., in the fall of 1850, would reject resolutions denouncing the law. In fact, John Pierpont having presented such, Dr. Parkman gave as chairman a casting vote to lay them on the table, though avowing his willingness to harbor fugitives. Dr. Gannett deprecated discussion and all action, as being liable to be misunderstood. Nevertheless, the resolutions were called up and passed, and other religious conventions took a similar stand, and the new phase of the old moral issue began again the work of dividing the denominations and plunging the pulpit into "politics." If an Orville Dewey stood up in the lyceum to urge the duty of obeying the Fugitive Slave Law, a Peter Lesley in his sermons set Deuteronomy 23 over against Romans 13; a Theodore Parker discoursed on "The Function and Place of Conscience in relation to the Laws of Men."

Lib. 20: 178.

Rev. Francis Parkman.

Rev. E. S. Gannett.

Lib. 20: 166, 178.

Lib. 20: 205; 21: 2, 29, 36; 22: 37.

Lib. 20: 174.

Lib. 20: 175.

On the eve of the November elections, into which the Fugitive Slave Law imported a new criterion and unwonted intensity of feeling; on the eve, too, of a fresh outbreak of Union-saving meetings, George Thompson revisited the country which had expelled him in 1835. He landed in Boston, the port of his covert and hasty departure — the scene of the mob evoked against him only to fall upon the devoted head of his friend the editor of the *Liberator* — the scene of the antecedent Union-saving meeting in Faneuil Hall, at which he was publicly held up as a foreign emissary, hurling firebrands, arrows, and death. The first *Liberator* he opened declared the whole country in commotion on the subject of slavery, and every page bore witness to the truth of the assertion. Webster was encouraging the "commercial interests of the great metropolis of the country [to] speak with united

Lib. 20: 177, 195, 197, 201.

Oct. 29, 1850; *Lib.* 20: 174.

Ante, 2: 50.

Ante, 2: 1.

Ante, 1: 497.

Lib. 20: 175.

Lib. 20: 177.

[1] See a list of "higher-law" sermons, mostly preached in Massachusetts, in *Lib.* 21: 46.

hearts and voices" for slavery and Union. Boston itself was in a fever of excitement caused by the presence of Georgia agents bent on recapturing William and Ellen Craft, who had to be hurried off to England. Mr. Thompson might have rubbed his eyes and asked himself if he had really been absent for fifteen years. What would be his reception now as an abolitionist, as a foreigner? Peleg Sprague had in 1835 malevolently bade him go back and brave the wrath of English respectability by denouncing the wrongs of India. Would his heroic labors meantime in the service of the Rajah of Sattara, and his present intention to lecture in America on British India, appease Boston respectability? — or his part in abolishing the Corn Laws, or his actual employment by the National Reform Association for enlarging the political rights and improving the condition of the working classes?[1] Otis was dead and Sprague dumb; but all the moral callousness of their class, and all their legal idolatry of the Constitution, was typified in Benjamin R. Curtis, rising in December, 1850, to address another Union-saving meeting in the Cradle of Liberty, and pronouncing fugitive slaves "foreigners to us [in Massachusetts]," with "no right to be *here*," and to be repelled on the same ground that foreign paupers and criminals were excluded.

Lib. 20: 174. *Ante, p.* 247. *Lib.* 21: 14, 15, 141, 153; 22: 2. *Ante,* 2: 498. *Ante, p.* 173. *Lib.* 20: 170; 21: 3. *Lib.* 20: 170, 178, 186. *H. G. Otis.* *Ante,* 1: 501. *Lib.* 20: 201, 202.

Thompson's welcome, clearly, was to come, now as before, from the abolitionists alone. The Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society had extended theirs in January,

Jan. 25, 1850; *Lib.* 20: 19.

[1] Noteworthy in this connection is a poster seen in the streets of Glasgow in November, 1850, which ran thus: "FUGITIVE SLAVE BILL AND MANHOOD SUFFRAGE.—A great public meeting of Working Men and others friendly to Slave Emancipation, and a just measure of Political Reform in the British House of Commons, will be held in the City Hall, on Tuesday evening, the 26th inst., when resolutions will be submitted condemnatory of Slavery and the Fugitive Slave Bill, recently become law in the United States, and also against an Exclusive Suffrage in this country." The order of topics recalls the subsequent attitude of the Lancashire cotton-operatives during our civil war — Freedom first for America, employment then for ourselves. See, for reports of the Glasgow meeting, with its appeal to the workingmen of America, *Lib.* 21: 5.

on an intimation of his intention to arrive somewhat earlier than he did. They promptly arranged for a reception in Faneuil Hall on November 15, and invitations to lecture on various topics began to pour in from all directions. But already the satanic press of the country had sounded the alarm to the mob. Bennett, in his *Herald*, making evil of Thompson's good, with absurd falsifications of his English career, advised him — "if he value not the peace of this country, to value his own, and to be exceedingly careful to restrain his tongue in this country. The difficulties which beset us are quite sufficient, without the presence of any foreign agitator, bent on the disunion and dissolution of these States, with the fancied belief of aiding British manufacturers." According to the Boston *Times*, Thompson had been imported by the abolitionists "as a 'star'— to extinguish the Fugitive Slave Law," and the city authorities would be requested to deny the use of Faneuil Hall for the reception. What happened, however, was a repetition of the Rynders mob, in which simple uproar was substituted for violence or the show of it, and the rioters held the floor instead of the gallery and the platform.

Lib. 20:178.

Lib. 20:178, 198.

J. G. Bennett.

Lib. 20:178.

Lib. 20:178.

As there were no seats on the floor, it was easy to form rings "in which individual and general fights took place, hats were smashed, and ivory-headed canes flew briskly — then came a series of dances, with Indian war-whoop accompaniments. It was hell let loose, and no mistake." Cheers for the Constitution and for Daniel Webster were mingled with cheers for every conceivable subject that came uppermost in frantic brains. Mr. Garrison succeeded in reading an address recapitulating Mr. Thompson's philanthropic engagements and political honors since his former visit, but not a speaker was allowed to be heard — not more Wendell Phillips than George Thompson himself; not Edmund Quincy nor Douglass; not Elizur Wright nor Theodore Parker. As in New York, the police looked on with indifference, Marshal Francis Tukey playing the part of Chief-of-Police Matsell, and Mayor

Boston Herald; Lib. 20:186.

Lib. 20:192.

Bigelow that of Mayor Woodhull — the one giving and the other obeying instructions not to interfere except to protect the persons of the promoters of the meeting; and the Aldermen, on the Marshal's being subsequently arraigned, found his excuse satisfactory.

Lib. 20:191, 202.

The meeting was finally turned out of doors by the police, but the reception was adjourned to Worcester, and was supplemented by a second, at which the Mayor of that city presided in his unofficial capacity. In other Massachusetts cities, too, Mr. Thompson, who preserved the vigor of his appearance and all his old eloquence, was heard with pleasure and without molestation. He received and accepted invitations even from New Hampshire. Parker Pillsbury, however, wrote from Concord, N. H., to Mr. Garrison:

Lib. 20:190, 193, 197. *Henry Chapin.*

Lib. 20:191, 195, 198, 203, 207.

"I take the liberty of calling your attention to the late Union meeting in Manchester in this State, as reported in the N. H. *Patriot*. You will, I think, be greatly edified by some of the speeches, particularly with Ichabod Bartlett's, a Portsmouth Whig and the most able lawyer in the State, and also with Chas. G. Atherton's, of gag-rule memory, and Senator Norris's, who arrested Geo. Storrs while praying in a pulpit. The indignation in this town on Mr. Thompson's visit to this country burns as hot as when he was here before. I think he would be mobbed as quick as then. . . . My decided opinion is, that a very large majority of the people of this State will support '*with alacrity*'[1] the doctrines of the Manchester meeting. Men in Concord who, three months — and three weeks — ago, defended the 'higher law,' are now its open scoffers — and influential men, too. Such cholera of the human conscience never before swept over a nation."

MS. Nov. 28, 1850.

Ante, 2: 247–249. *Ante*, 2:67.

Concord was not more responsive to Manchester than to Richmond, Va., whose *Enquirer* (of the date of the Boston mob), going into a rage over Thompson's reappearance in the United States, asked if the Government would tolerate him in silence. "Does no law, NO POWER, exist to punish a member of Parliament who comes among us a dis-

Lib. 20:194.

[1] Webster's phrase for fulfilling "constitutional obligations" *(scilicet*, slave-catching), in his 7th of March speech (Works, 5:355).

CHAP. X. 1850.

turber of the public peace? *He should be consumed in the wrath of an indignant people* for his audacity." To this, and to a threat of assassination pencilled on the margin of the copy sent him,— "Keep a sharp lookout for COLT'S REVOLVER,"— Mr. Thompson felicitously responded at Worcester: "Those who plead for the American slave are under the protection of Him who hath said: 'No weapon formed against you shall prosper.'" But Mr. Garrison's prediction to Father Mathew that violence and lawlessness would stalk the land in 1850 as in 1835, had been fulfilled; and the end was not yet.

Lib. 20:194.

Isa. 54:17.

Ante, p. 256.

A pleasurable reminder of the earlier epoch was contained in the subjoined letter, from the author of 'The Martyr Age of the United States,' which crossed the ocean almost simultaneously with Thompson:

Harriet Martineau to W. L. Garrison.

MS.

THE KNOLL, AMBLESIDE, October 23d, 1850.

MY DEAR FRIEND: This is just to say that if you should ere long receive £10 by the hands of my friend Ellis Gray Loring, I hope you will accept it for the *Liberator*, as my very humble offering in your great cause. I don't know for certain that you will get it. That depends on whether I get properly paid by an American publishing firm. I have no reason whatever to doubt their doing their duty by me. It is only that, somehow or other, such payments seldom come in. I can only say that I have done my best to earn the money, and that I wish that it was more.

I have never till now felt that I could offer money to your cause,— sorely as I have for years longed to do so. I have tried to do what I could by the easy method (in this country) of personal testimony, and by writing in newspapers and reviews. Now, I have provided for my own independence,— at least, for some years to come; and I may indulge my longing to throw my mite into your treasury, and that of the *Standard*. I feel under deep obligation to you for constantly remembering me by sending me the *Liberator*, and so enabling me to keep up with your movement. How much more I feel towards you for your unflinching and self-denying testimony on behalf of humanity, and of the principle of integrity under every possible mani-

THE LIBERATOR.

VOL. I.] WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON AND ISAAC KNAPP, PUBLISHERS. [NO. 1.

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS.] OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD—OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE MANKIND. [SATURDAY, JANUARY 1, 1831.

THE LIBERATOR.

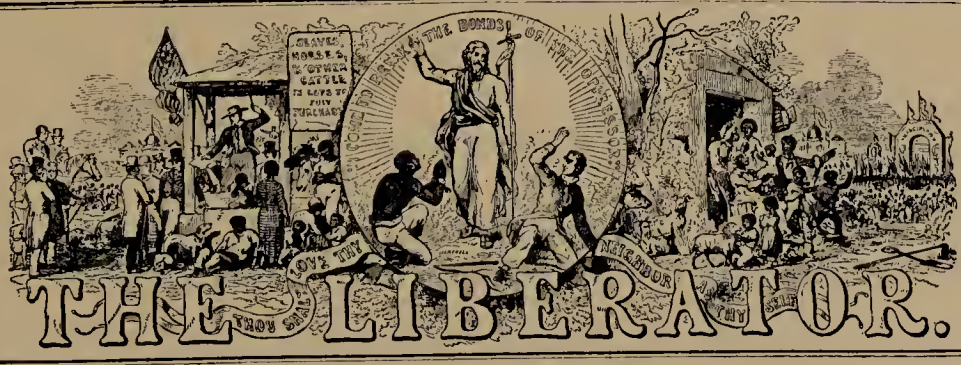
VOL. I.] WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON AND ISAAC KNAPP, PUBLISHERS. [NO. 22.

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS.] OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD—OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE MANKIND. [SATURDAY, MAY 28, 1831.

THE LIBERATOR

OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD—OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND.

BOSTON, MASS., FRIDAY, MAY 17, 1850.



THE LIBERATOR.

OUR COUNTRY IS THE WORLD—OUR COUNTRYMEN ARE ALL MANKIND.

BOSTON, MASS., FRIDAY, JUNE 14, 1850.

festation, words will not serve me to tell. I can only send you my love and blessing. CHAP. X. — 1850.

I hope you will not mention this matter unless you get the money. I have a horror of empty professions; and if the sum is not forthcoming from this source, I cannot send it.

With my best regards to your wife, I am, dear friend,

Yours affectionately,

HARRIET MARTINEAU.

It was shortly after the Rynders mob, and during a protracted assault on Mr. Garrison for his "blasphemous" utterances on that occasion by a scribbling fellow-citizen of Boston, that the *Liberator* came out with a new head. *Lib.* 20:81, 85. *Lib.* 20:85. Substantially the previous design was retained, but redrawn by Hammatt Billings, as a labor of love. The two scenes of slave-auction and emancipation jubilee, however, were separated by a circular vignette exhibiting the Saviour, cross in hand, parting the slave-driver and his victim, while in a halo about him shone the legend—"I come to break the bonds of the oppressor." A flowing scroll, unifying the design, bore the injunction, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." So far had blasphemy corrupted the editor.

Miss Martineau, who had illustrated in the most signal manner both the intellectual and the political capacity of her sex, penned the letter just quoted on the day of the opening at Worcester of the first Woman's Rights Convention in Massachusetts. *Lib.* 20:142, 175, 181. Mr. Garrison had attended in June a preliminary meeting, in Boston, at which he spoke in hearty approval of the movement: *Lib.* 20:91.

"I rise," he said, "to give my support, however feeble it may be, to the object which is sought to be accomplished by this meeting. I do so all the more cheerfully, not only because this movement is in its infancy, but because it will be sure to encounter popular odium at first, and to subject its advocates to ridicule. It is under just such circumstances that I wish to be identified with every reformatory struggle; not that reproach is desirable in itself, but because the last place for me to be seen taking a conspicuous part is that where popularity and applause are sure to follow the effort put forth. *Lib.* 20:91.

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"I conceive that the first thing to be done by the women of this country is to demand their political enfranchisement. Among the 'self-evident truths' announced in the Declaration of Independence is this — 'All government derives its *just* power from the *consent of the governed*.' Judging by this rule, the existing government is a despotism. One-half of the population is disfranchised on account of sex — three millions are dehumanized on account of complexion! Why should not women vote at the ballot-box? I am not pleading here as one very fond of voting. I am a disfranchised man, not because I do not believe in voting, but because I cannot vote under the United States Constitution, believing it to be unholy, knowing it to be a compromise with slavery. (Hisses in the gallery.) . . . I am just as anxious that women shall be allowed to vote as if I voted every day. I hate the law that disfranchises women. It is not for me or any man dogmatically to judge as to what is or what is not a sinful act, or to say to others you shall not exercise the right to think for yourselves.

"There is a law of the United States which says that no colored man shall be enrolled in the militia of this country. Now, I abhor the militia. I believe the whole military system is satanic. I do not want to see any black man enrolled in it. But I hate that law of Congress proscribing the colored man on account of his color just as I loathe a rattlesnake. It is a proscriptive spirit which has made that exception. I want the colored man to judge for himself whether he shall train or not. I want no opprobrium thrown upon him on account of his complexion.[1] So with regard to women. I want the women to have the right to vote, and I call upon them to demand it perseveringly until they possess it. When they have obtained it, it will be for them to say whether they will exercise it or not. . . .

"I wish I could see one-half of the members of Congress women. I wish I could see one-half of the members of our Legislature women. They are entitled to this. I am quite sure — I think I hazard nothing in saying — that the legislation of our country would be far different from what it is. I think the outrageous scenes which are witnessed on the floor of Congress

[1] See Clay's passion in the Senate over a petition pointing out the inequality of military obligation North and South, owing to negroes being exempt from service, and asking for a law enrolling all classes without distinction of color (*Lib.* 20 : 62).

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1850.

at Washington[1] would for ever be banished; for it is a fact, cognizable by the whole earth, that men always behave in the presence of women better than when women are absent, as I presume the women behave a great deal better in the presence of men than when the men are absent. (Much merriment.) But there is a philosophical reason for this, particularly as it respects legislation. We cannot have too much intellect, nor have too much humanity, mingled in our national councils; and I say we are robbing ourselves of all this by disfranchising one-half of the population. No man can show any good reason why woman should not have her political rights in this country. She will have them sooner or later here, in France, in England, and in all civilized countries. It is only a question of time.

"I know that there are a great many women who are sensitive on this subject; who are satisfied with their present condition; who declare that they are happy and lack nothing. With plenty to eat and drink, and plenty to wear, they deem themselves well off, and they do not see a necessity for any stir on this subject. Then there are others who are alarmed when they see any of their number going forward to address a public assembly. They shiver not a little. They are afraid that she will make a fool of herself — as if men never made fools of themselves!

"I remember, when I first entered the anti-slavery cause, what extreme diffidence our colored brethren manifested in respect to their own advancement. It was with the greatest difficulty we could induce a man of them to stand up and address a public assembly. In the first place, he was aware of the prejudice he had to encounter. Then he feared that he might fail, and so injuriously affect the cause he wished to promote. But observe the change that has taken place within the last ten years! Who are among our ablest speakers? Who are the best qualified to address the public mind on the subject of slavery? Your fugitive slaves — your Douglasses, Browns, and Bibbs — who are astonishing all with the cogency of their words and the power of their reasoning. So it will be with woman. She may fail at first, but her efforts will be crowned with equal success.

F. Douglass.
W. W. Brown.
Henry Bibb.

"I have only to say, I bid you God-speed, women of Massachusetts and New England, in this good work! Whenever your

[1] For instance, "Hangman" Foote of Mississippi drawing a pistol on Benton in the Senate, April 15, 1850 (*Lib.* 20 : 66, 69, 70).

CHAP. X. 1850.

convention shall meet, and wherever it shall be, I shall endeavor to be there, to forward so good, so glorious a movement."

Lib. 20: 142.

Mr. Garrison kept his word. He signed the call headed by Lucy Stone, he attended the Convention, addressed it, and was placed on sundry important committees.[1]

Lib. 20: 181; *Proceedings of Woman's Rights Convention (Boston,* 1851).

[1] Wendell Phillips wrote to Elizabeth Pease on Mar. 9, 1851 (MS.): "You would have enjoyed the Women's Convention. I think I never saw a more intelligent and highly cultivated audience, more ability guided by the best taste on a platform, more deep, practical interest, on any occasion. It took me completely by surprise; and the women were the ablest speakers, too. You would have laughed, as we used to do in 1840, to hear dear Lucretia Mott answer me. I had presumed to differ from her, and assert that the cause would meet more immediate and palpable and insulting opposition from *women* than *men* — and scolded them for it. She put, as she so well knows how, the silken snapper on to her whiplash, and proceeded to give me the gentlest and yet most cutting rebuke. 'T was like her old fire when the London Quakers angered her gentleness — and beautifully done, so that the victim himself could enjoy the artistic perfection of his punishment." Compare *ante*, 2: 375, 376.

CHAPTER XI.

George Thompson, M. P.—1851.

THOMPSON was the great central fact in Mr. Garrison's inner life and public activity during the eight months of the Englishman's stay in America. They had been well-nigh inseparable but for exceptionally numerous indispositions which now and again, throughout the year 1851, drove the editor of the *Liberator* from his post to a sick bed. As it was, they journeyed and lectured not a little together, in Massachusetts and New York State, and enjoyed such genial social intercourse as all the circumstances of an inspiriting time, the hospitality of abolitionists like Bourne Spooner of Plymouth, John T. Sargent of Boston, or Samuel J. May of Syracuse, N. Y., the companionship of wits like Quincy and Phillips and the Westons, and the fusion of noble and charming elements effected by the annual Anti-Slavery Bazaar, fostered in an ever memorable degree. Two occasions of this sort in particular stand out as unsurpassable in feeling, and in the talent which gave them lustre.

Lib. 21 : 6, 18.

The first, and the most touching, was the soirée held in Cochituate Hall, Boston, on the evening of January 24, 1851, to celebrate the twentieth anniversary of the *Liberator*. The time selected was at the close of the annual meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society.

MS. Mar. 9, 1851.

Edmund Quincy.

"You would have enjoyed the Soirée," wrote Wendell Phillips to Elizabeth Pease: "perfectly extempore — so much so that E. Q. did not know he was to be chairman till I moved it, and then he filled the chair with all that wit and readiness that is possessed by all the Quincys. It was unique — the heartiest

CHAP. XI. 1851. anti-slavery gathering I ever saw. Thompson had been very ill in the country and was looking quite ghastly, fit for a sick bed, but spoke gloriously; and his presence was, in a great degree, the inspiration to the rest. Add to that, Garrison in tears — the occasion — and the company scarred with many a struggle — and you will easily see that we should feel deeply, and, like all times of deep feeling, it should be mingled of mirth and profound emotion. Such hours come rarely in life."

Lib. 21 : 18. "I give you joy," said Edmund Quincy in his function of chairman, "on this happy occasion of our assembling ourselves together. . . . It is often our lot to weep with those that weep. It is our felicity to-night to rejoice with those that rejoice. And who, I should like to know, have a better right to rejoice than the American abolitionists? Who have a better right to look upon the world with eyes of joy and gratitude than they who are attempting to rescue the slave from his despair, and the country from its disgrace? I hold that we, of all men and of all women in this broad land, are those who have a right to rejoice, and to thank God for the lot which he has appointed us. And although our usual course lies in different paths from this, although it is not often that we find ourselves assembling on a festive occasion like the present, I am sure that we are not of those who,

Cf. ante, *p.* 144.

"'When God sends a cheerful hour, refrain!'"

Lib. 21 : 18. To the temperate toast — "Success and prosperity to the good ship LIBERATOR in her new departure, and health and long life to the pilot who has weathered so many storms" — which was greeted with nine cheers, Mr. Garrison replied:

Lib. 21 : 18. "MR. PRESIDENT — FRIENDS OF FREEDOM AND HUMANITY: — If I could only put myself out of the bill to-night — if I could only be reduced to utter forgetfulness — there would be no drawback in my enjoyment of the festivities of the occasion. But this is a commemoration somewhat personal to myself; and although many have supposed that I have no objection to personalities, yet I do not like to be pointed at myself (in a case like the present), though I am rather apt to point at others. (Laughter.)

"The truth is, he who commences any reform which at last becomes one of transcendant importance and is crowned with victory, is always ill-judged and unfairly estimated. At the

outset he is looked upon with contempt, and treated in the most opprobrious manner, as a wild fanatic or a dangerous disorganizer. In due time the cause grows and advances to its sure triumph; and in proportion as it nears the goal, the popular estimate of his character changes, till finally excessive panegyric is substituted for outrageous abuse. The praise on the one hand, and the defamation on the other, are equally unmerited. In the clear light of Reason, it will be seen that he simply stood up to discharge a duty which he owed to his God, to his fellow-men, to the land of his nativity."

Continuing, the speaker passed in rapid review his anti-slavery career and the origin of the *Liberator*, of which he held up the tiny first number; paid by the way his never forgotten tribute to Benjamin Lundy; and gratefully acknowledged once more the indispensable pecuniary support given him by Samuel E. Sewall and Ellis Gray Loring. To complete the retrospect, he read some of the menacing letters he had been accustomed to receive from the South, and confessed his early expectation of martyrdom in the cause, especially after the State of Georgia had offered its reward for his abduction.

Ante, 1:223.

Ante, 1:247.

"But enough in regard to the insults and dangers of the past. If the *Liberator* has wrought any change in public sentiment in favor of those who are meted out and trodden underfoot, it has been solely through the power of truth. No person shall deceive me with the idea that I deserve anything. Oh, if I can only say that I have done my duty — that I have not failed to 'remember them that are in bonds as bound with them' — it is all I desire. One thing I can truly affirm: — I have counted nothing too dear to peril in the cause to which my life is devoted. For that cause I have sacrificed whatever is desirable in a good reputation, or pleasant in human friendship, or alluring in worldly advancement. For it I have broken the strongest political ties, and divorced myself from once venerated religious associations; assured that whatever is hostile to its progress must be inherently corrupt or erroneous, whatever its pretensions to patriotism or piety.

Lib. 20:18.

"Here I must pause. I am wholly unable to express my feelings. I thank you for this kind manifestation of your regard. But, without your coöperation, what could I have

CHAP. XI. 1851.

done? It is such as I see around me, and others equally laborious in the field, elsewhere, who have given such an impetus to the cause of emancipation. I can add no more."

If Mr. Garrison was moved by his own reminiscences and by the cordiality of the hour, scarcely less so was George Thompson, whose turn came next. Reminiscence for him meant recounting the history of his acquaintance and friendship with Garrison, and the personal consequences to himself as already detailed in these pages. Passing from this theme, he took up the salutatory of the first number of the *Liberator*, which he read and developed in his most eloquent manner.

Ante, I: 355, 435, *etc.*

Lib. 21: 18; *ante*, I: 225.

"'I am in *earnest*. I will not *equivocate*. I will not *excuse*. I will not *retreat* a single inch — and *I will be heard!*' (Sensation.)

"These words should give us pause, for they are amongst the most remarkable, as they are amongst the most emphatic and prophetic, ever uttered. Through coming years and ages, they will be household words over the vast continent of America. They constitute the picture of the man before you. I have met with nothing in the language of any other Reformer that ever gave me so clear an insight into the soul of the man as these words into that of Mr. Garrison. Illuminated by his subsequent acts, I am satisfied that *I know the man*. Sir, I am content to leave to minute philosophers all investigations into the phenomena of external nature, if I may be permitted to attain to some acquaintance with what passes in the minds of those who compass some great moral achievement. I love to study the character of a great reformer. I would give much to be permitted to read his soul at the moment he conceives his great idea. I would fain trace the exercises of that soul amidst the early days of gloom, and disappointment, and peril. And I should like to read it when his prayers and prophecy are in part fulfilled, and he beholds, as our guest does now, the indubitable signs of ultimate success, and stands surrounded, as he is now, by a multitude who honor him, love him, believe in him, and are determined to stand by him. (Great cheers.)

"William Lloyd Garrison is our cherished guest to-night; but he is also on his trial. He shall be tried by his own words, and YOU shall deliver the verdict. On the first day of January, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-one, this same William Lloyd Garrison did fling upon the breeze — ay, it was indeed

so flung, for Heaven was its only guide to the place where it should fall — this first number of the *Liberator* newspaper, whereon he did inscribe these words, amongst others: 'I AM IN EARNEST.' I call upon you who are here assembled, who have been witnesses of his life and conversation from that day forth until now, to say whether, by his deeds, he has demonstrated the truth of that declaration? ['Yes, yes.'] He did further say: 'I WILL NOT EQUIVOCATE.' Your verdict! Have you, during the long course of twenty years, ever known the man to forsake the straight line of plain and manly teaching for one that was indirect, and tortuous, and unworthy? ['No! Never!'] Have you ever known him to mix, to modify, to adulterate, or to accommodate *the truth?* ['Never!'] He did further say: 'I WILL NOT EXCUSE.' Have you ever known him, in any instance, under any circumstances, to excuse an act wilfully committed against the rights of his fellow-men? ['Never!'] 'I WILL NOT RETREAT A SINGLE INCH.' Has he acted up to this pledge in fidelity? ['He has.'] 'I WILL BE HEARD.' These words were doubtless considered bold and presumptuous at the time they were uttered. But the result has proved the truth of the prediction. Mr. Garrison has been heard. At this moment, he is heard and felt from Maine to the mountains of California. Amidst the din created by the strife of contending parties — amidst all the clashing interests of this wide realm — one solitary voice is heard above the whole, demanding, in thunder tones, the freedom of the slave. (Loud applause.) He has been heard on both sides of the Atlantic. The isles of Great Britain know his voice and love it, despite the machinations of his mean and perfidious enemies. England regards him as the Clarkson of America — as the friend of universal humanity, and the ordained deliverer of the children of America now in bondage."

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The orator concluded by placing in the hands of his friend a gold watch, inscribed as "Presented by George Thompson, M. P., (on behalf of himself and others), to William Lloyd Garrison, the intrepid and uncompromising friend of the slave, in commemoration of the Twentieth Anniversary of the *Liberator*."

"We wish, besides," said Mr. Thompson, "that you should accept our offering as something more than an indication of our appreciation of you in your public, exalted, and responsible

Lib. 21 : 19.

CHAP. XI. 1851. position as the leader of the anti-slavery hosts of America. We wish our gift to express our unqualified and profound admiration of your character in all the private relations of life. Those who, like myself, have been privileged to enter the sanctuary of your home, and have had the opportunity of studying your character there, have often for a while forgotten the editor of the *Liberator*, while contemplating the husband, the father, and the friend. (Enthusiasm.) And now, may the God who first put it into your heart to consecrate your life to this holy cause — who has so often covered your head in the day of battle — who has so greatly prospered you while you have been pleading for his oppressed children — continue to guard, guide, and bless you! May he be your strength in the work that lies before you! the defender and keeper of those who are dear to you! and finally crown your efforts and your prayers by granting you the desire of your heart in the consummation of the great cause of Universal Emancipation!"

In much embarrassment, the totally surprised recipient of this gift rose in acknowledgment:

Lib. 21 : 19. "Mr. President," he said, "if this were a rotten egg [holding up the watch], or a brickbat, I should know how to receive it. (Laughter and cheers.) If these cheers were the yells of a frantic mob seeking my life, I should know precisely how to behave. But the presentation of this valuable gift is as unexpected by me as would be the falling of the stars from the heavens; and I feel indescribably small before you in accepting it. A gold watch! Why, I have been compensated in this cause a million times over. In the darkest hour, in the greatest peril, I have felt just at that moment that it was everything to be in such a cause. I know that the praises which have fallen from the lips of my beloved brother and faithful coadjutor have been spoken in all sincerity; otherwise they would be intolerable. I know that I am among those not accustomed to flatter, and who do not mean to flatter. I know how to appreciate such demonstrations as greet me here to-night. Had it not been for such as are here assembled, we should not have had an anti-slavery struggle. I am sorry, my friends, that I have not a gold watch to present to each one of you. (Laughter.) You all deserve one! . . .

"As to the *Liberator*, no one can say that it has not been conducted in an independent and fearless spirit. No man who

is opposed to its sentiments can say that he has been denied a hearing in its columns. If I have taught the American press anything, it is this — the duty of allowing both sides of every question to be impartially canvassed.

"To the unknown friends who have contributed to the presentation of this testimonial to me, I return my heartfelt thanks, and assure them that I intend to be an abolitionist till 'time shall be no longer.'

"The period may have been when I was of some consequence to the anti-slavery movement; but it is not so now. The cause is safe in the hands of its friends. I owe so much to them all — so much to this dear friend [Mr. Phillips], and to you [Mr. Quincy], and to others whose names I need not call, that it is impossible for me fully to express it. (Cheers.)

"As to what I have done abroad in my three missions to England, let me make a clean bosom of the matter. Had it not been for George Thompson (cheers), those missions would have been measurably unproductive and unimportant. He has just spoken of what *I* did in England. But I declare that he was everything to me — right hand and left hand, soul and body. He made my pathway smooth and pleasant, and labored far more abundantly and efficiently than I did, and therefore deserves the credit." (Cheers.)

Wendell Phillips's remarks, which followed, were mingled of the "mirth and profound emotion" that characterized the occasion. Our single extract must be from the more serious portion:

Ante, p. 314.

"John Foster used to say, that the best test of a book's value was the mood of mind in which one rose from it. To this trial I am always willing the most eager foe should subject the *Liberator*. I appeal to each one here, whether he ever leaves its columns without feeling his coldness rebuked, his selfishness shamed, his hand strengthened for every good purpose; without feeling lifted, for awhile, from his ordinary life, and made to hold communion with purer thoughts and loftier aims; and without being moved — the coldest of us — for a moment, at least, with an ardent wish that we, too, may be privileged to be co-workers with God in the noble purposes for our brother's welfare which have been unfolded and pressed on our attention? Let critics who have time settle, after leisurely analysis, the various faults which, as they think, have marred our friend's

Lib. 21:19.

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Lib. 21:19. 1873-75. We must pass over the speech of Henry Wilson, the then President of the Massachusetts Senate, the future Vice-President of the United States — a twelve-years' reader of the *Liberator*, acknowledging his debt of gratitude to Mr. Garrison for his own love of liberty and regard for the rights of man over all the globe; pass, too, *Lib.* 21:19. over Theodore Parker's eulogium, and the kindred strains of many others, both clergymen and laymen. Charles List,[1] a Boston lawyer, Secretary of the Vigilance Committee, said:

Lib. 21:23. "The history of liberty, as it will be read a thousand years hence, has not been begun. Now I wish to ask for a contribu-

[1] A son-in-law of Nathan Winslow. His widow was re-married to S. E. Sewall.

tion to this history which will be the most valuable that can be made now, and probably during some centuries to come. The enjoyment which we have experienced this evening, has arisen in a great measure from the presence of our distinguished guest, whose deeds we have met to celebrate. Oh! that our children, a hundred years hence, could have his presence as we have had it to-night! . . .

"My request is, that William Lloyd Garrison will, as soon as he can spare time from what he may consider more pressing engagements, give the world an autobiography — (cheers) — give the world a record of his experience in regard to the history of liberty; give us a history of the actions, the thoughts, the triumphs, and the sufferings of the first individual, of any note, at least, who devoted his energies, his life, his all, to the exclusive task of promoting, to his utmost, personal and national liberty. (Enthusiasm.) Such a work would be a biography which, among those of this century, would be most read and valued for many centuries, and would in some measure enable our posterity to have with them that presence which I desired for them.

"We have one distinguished autobiography in this country. I believe it is not surpassed by any in the world. It is that of Benjamin Franklin. It is a simple story. It tells the experience of an excellent and a great man. But it is not connected with any great leading idea, and cannot serve as a foundation-stone for an historical monument. That for which I ask, if it will be given, will be the greatest contribution which literature has made to the cause of liberty.

"If I may say a word as to the form in which the work might be made public, I will suggest its appearance in periodical portions in the *Liberator*. This suggestion may seem superfluous, as the *Liberator* is a history of a portion of Mr. Garrison's life (hear, hear!), and this is a feature in that paper which most endears it to many of its readers."

And so we take leave of the feasting, the toasts, the speech-making, the songs — among them Mr. Garrison's own, "Ye Who in Bondage Pine," and "I am an Abolitionist" — that made up the joyous celebration; of which, to borrow again the words of Charles List, "the solemn part . . . has been most delightful, and will be longest remembered."

Lib. 21:22, 23.

Lib. 21:23.

Wendell Phillips to Elizabeth Pease.

MS. BOSTON, March 9, 1851.

The Garrisons and ourselves were delighted to hear again from you, and see your welcome handwriting. We had talked you over often with George Thompson, and squeezed out of him all the news we could: little enough, I am sorry to say, at the best. But your own hand was better than all.

G. T.'s visit, by the by, has had a wonderful effect: calling out into something of activity some who were alive during his former stay, but had fallen off, or fallen asleep, in the long and hard trials of the years since; and some who were awkwardly conscious of having ratted when trouble lowered, and longed for some occasion that would open the door for a return without imposing too palpable a confession of repentance. Then his name gathers immense audiences, the fame of his former achievements still haunting our towns, the plebeians of the cause (the converts since 1835[1]) hankering after the sound of that voice whose echoes had reached them in the stirring tales of the nobles of earlier conversion. The rage, too, of opposition raises him into an object of universal attention.

It is generally voted that he has not grown a day older since 1835, though the dissentients are not few. Then many scold, more laugh, at his snuff; but his vivacity, brilliancy, and variety of accomplishment in private life[2] charm every one that has the good luck to get near him. He is a universal idol. His project of lecturing on general topics would, in my opinion, have been a failure even had no disturbance intervened[3] to prevent it. Your English mode of lecture is so totally different from ours that, lacking the impetus of being abused, he would have got on but poorly in his voyage. As it is, he has delivered his India course in five or six towns, and with tolerable success, owing to the extra exertions of friends, and the wish of many to hear the "Great Unheard" without compromising their dignity by being seen in an abolition meeting. In our anti-slavery gatherings

[1] Like the writer.

[2] Thompson was a great mimic, and practised parlor magic.

[3] As at Springfield, Mass., at the instigation of the *Republican* on Feb. 17, 18 (*Lib.* 21 : 31, 35, 41, 46, 49). In the House of Representatives, Joshua R. Giddings asked but was refused leave to introduce a resolution inquiring of the President whether a subject of the British crown, and also a member of Parliament, had been recently insulted in Springfield and his personal liberty endangered, in violation of treaty stipulations (*Lib.* 21 : 34).

Elizabeth Pease

his speeches have been grand and eloquent beyond all description. We hope that his visit will not have been wholly vain to him in a pecuniary point of view. . . . CHAP. XI. — 1851.

Garrison was to have gone West[1] with Thompson (who, by the by, intends to see Montreal, Quebec, and the fugitive-slave settlements in Canada before he returns); but W. L. G. has been, for a fortnight, confined to the house, and part of the time to the bed, with severe pain in the spine. He is now better, and will take the *Liberator* again. His health has been unusually good the past winter, and he has done an immense amount of lecturing.[2] . . . *Lib.* 21:30, 34. *Lib.* 21:38.

In Boston, all is activity — never before so much since I knew the cause. The rescue of Shadrach has set the whole public afire. We have some hundreds of fugitives among us. The oldest are alarmed. I had an old woman of seventy ask my advice about flying, though originally free, and fearful only of being caught up by mistake. Of course, in one so old and valueless there was no temptation to mistake, but in others it is horrible to see the distress of families torn apart at this inclement season, and the working head forced to leave good employment, and seek not employment so much as the chance of it in the narrow, unenterprising, and overstocked market of Canada. Our Vigilance Committee meets every night. The escapes have been providential. Since Shadrach's case, nigh a hundred have left the city. The way we get news of warrants is surprising. One officer was boasting to one of our members, whom he did not know to be such, that now they had a fellow in sight, and he would be arrested by 1 o'clock. Our friend lounged carelessly away, told what he 'd heard, and by 12 the poor fellow described was steaming it on iron lines to Canada. Another, at work on a wharf, came out of his employer's store, saw his old master before him, heard him *whistle*, thought that was as much of such music as he cared to wait for, dived into the cellar, up the back door, and "has not been heard tell of," as Baillie Nicol Jarvie says, since. *Feb.* 15, 1851; *Lib.* 21:30. *Lib.* 21:35. *Rob Roy.*

There have been several as close escapes as that, and there are still quite a number of Southerners here. It is said privately

[1] That is, to Central and Western New York.

[2] We cannot, in the course of this narrative, adequately depict Mr. Garrison's labors as a lecturer concurrently with his journalistic activity. His addresses annually away from Boston often averaged more than one a fortnight. Saturday and Sunday were the customary suburban days, as being freest from the printing-office.

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that all they want is *one from Boston*, to show the discontented ones at home that *it can be done;* and our merchants groan at the trade they lose by the hatred the South bears us because she has not yet brought Boston under. Our business streets are markedly quiet. But we hope the same spirit is alive as laughed to scorn the mother country shutting up our harbor to starve us into compliance. Webster, too (like your Lord North), the infamous New Hampshire renegade, threatens to line our streets with soldiers.[1] We 've seen none, opposed to us, since the redcoats; the Government, which wishes to succeed to the hatred they earned for their employers, had better send us their successors.

Boston Port Bill, 1774.

I need not enlarge on this; but the long evening sessions — debates about secret escapes — plans to evade where we can't resist — the door watched that no spy may enter — the whispering consultations of the morning — some putting property out of their hands, planning to incur penalties, and planning also that, in case of conviction, the Government may get nothing from them — the doing, and answering no questions — intimates forbearing to ask the knowledge which it may be dangerous to have — all remind one of those foreign scenes which have hitherto been known to us, transatlantic republicans, only in books. Yet we enjoy ourselves richly, and I doubt whether more laughing is done anywhere than in anti-slavery parlors. We meet sometimes in an establishment whose noble owner had a slave in his employ, and kept him amid 100 workmen who resolved to receive the marshal *à la Haynau and the brewers*, if he made the arrest; and let it be known that the establishment had constantly on hand hot water and cold, some dirty and some clean. The marshal[2] offered to make the arrest if the claimant would precede and point out the man. The claimant declined, went to Washington, complained, and it was during the marshal's absence to answer that complaint that Shadrach was rescued from his deputy.

Ante, *p.* 144.

Baron Haynau, at Barclay & Perkins's brewery, London; Lib. 20: 160.

Lib. 21: 30.

Buffum was boasting, rather unadvisedly, while he was giving bail for Lewis Hayden,[3] that he heard Shadrach pray while

James N. Buffum.

[1] See the orders issued by the Secretaries of War and of the Navy on Feb. 17, 1851, in consequence of the Shadrach rescue (*Lib.* 21: 39).

[2] Charles Devens, afterwards a General in the civil war and U. S. Attorney-General under President Hayes's Administration.

[3] A fugitive slave from Kentucky in 1844, become a leading colored citizen of Boston; one of the staunchest friends of Mr. Garrison. He was an efficient member of the Vigilance Committee and among the "rescuers" of the fugitive Shadrach, and was duly brought to trial by the U. S. Govern-

on his way to the Canadas, "and said amen to the prayer." "Why, that," said Mr. Commissioner Hallett,[1] of course partly in jest, "is aiding and abetting the fugitive." "Well, Theodore Parker prayed for him publicly," said James. "Oh, that 's nothing," replied Hallett; "the Lord would not answer his prayers"! When we told Theodore, he said: "Well, then, the Government is in this category: the prayers which the Lord will endorse and answer are *illegal;* those he will not answer are *legal.*"

J. N. Buffum.

Rev. T. Parker.

The case of Shadrach was one of four which, preëminently, in the year 1851, revealed to the North the real meaning of the Fugitive Slave Law as a precursor of disunion and civil war.[2] The war — or, more properly, then as in 1861, the pro-slavery invasion — in fact began with the execution of the law, as was first made clear when, on February 15, 1851, pending a postponement of Shadrach's case before Commissioner George T. Curtis, in Boston, the prisoner was lost to view in the crowd of his own color that filled the court-room. This simple incident, which would scarcely have furnished the press with a police item had a pick-pocket been thus spirited away, created a prodigious uproar at Washington.

Lib. 21 : 30.

"'The head and front of the offending,' in this instance — what is it?" asked Mr. Garrison a week later. "A sudden rush of a score or two of unarmed friends of equal liberty — an uninjurious deliverance of the oppressed out of the hands of the oppressor — the quiet transportation of a slave out of this slavery-ruled land to the free soil of Upper Canada! Nobody injured, nobody wronged, but simply a chattel transformed into a man, and conducted to a spot whereon he can glorify God in his body and spirit, which are his!

Lib. 21 : 30.

ment, with others, both white and black (*Lib.* 21 : 35, 39, 43, 87, 94, 97, 99, 179, [183]). It was at his house, barricaded and armed, that George Thompson visited William and Ellen Craft on Sunday, Nov. 3, 1850 (*Lib.* 21 : 153).

[1] Benjamin F. Hallett. *Eheu, quantum mutatus ab illo (ante,* 1 : 482; 2 : 32, 43, 187). See his own account of his pro-slavery backsliding in *Lib.* 22 : 69, 87.

[2] The other three were the rendition of Thomas Sims, the Christiana (Pa.) armed encounter, in which a slaveholder and his son were slain (*Lib.* 21 : 151, 155, 158, 161, 163, 169, 175, [182], 193, 202; 22 : 5), and the Jerry rescue at Syracuse, N. Y.

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"And yet, how all the fiends of the pit are writhing and yelling! Not tormented before their time, but just at the right time. Truly, 'devils with devils damned firm concord hold'! The President of the United States is out with his Proclamation of Terror, conveying it to us in tones of thunder and on the wings of the lightning; even as though in the old Bay State chaos had come again, and a million of foreign myrmidons were invading our shores! A poor, hunted, entrapped fugitive slave is dexterously removed from the court-room, and the whole land is shaken! A hundred free, white citizens of the North may be thrown into prison, or tarred and feathered, or compelled to flee for their lives at the South, on suspicion of being morally averse to the slave system;[1] but who cares? A thousand colored seamen of the North may be incarcerated in loathsome cells, and compelled to pay for their imprisonment, though guiltless of crime, and even sold into slavery on the auction-block at the South; but whose breast burns with indignation, or what voice calls for redress? Official State Commissioners, venerable for their years and esteemed for their worth, sent to the South to test the constitutionality of such atrocious acts, are driven away by lawless violence, and not allowed to remain on the soil; but where is the Presidential Proclamation calling on the people of the South to obey the laws and observe their Constitutional obligations? But a solitary slave in Boston is plucked as a brand from the burning, and forthwith a Cabinet council is held, and behold a menacing Proclamation, bearing the signature of MILLARD FILLMORE, President of the United States! HENRY CLAY — with one foot in the grave, and just ready to have both body and soul cast into hell — as if eager to make his damnation doubly sure, rises in the U. S. Senate and proposes an inquiry into the expediency of passing yet another law, by which every one who shall dare peep or mutter against the execution of the Fugitive Slave Bill shall have his life crushed out!"[2]

Feb. 18, 1851; *Lib.* 21 : 30.

Ante, p. 92.

Ante, p. 130.

Lib. 21 : 30.

Feb. 18, 1851; *Lib.* 21 : 30, 34.

[1] See, this very year, the cases of Elijah W. Harris, school-teacher at Clinton, S. C. (tarred and feathered — *Lib.* 21 : 26); Dr. Larkin B. Coles, physician and physiological lecturer, at Columbia, S. C. (imprisoned — *Lib.* 21 : 31); Rev. Edward Mathews, Baptist preacher, at Richmond, Ky. (ducked in a pond — *Lib.* 21 : 41, 46); Rev. Jesse McBride, Wesleyan preacher, near Greensboro', N. C. (expelled the State — *Lib.* 21 : 98).

[2] Clay was especially horrified because the rescue of Shadrach had been effected by "a band who are not of our people," so that the question arose "whether the government of white men is to be yielded to a government by blacks" (*Lib.* 21 : 34). The Federal authorities in Boston took a different view and arrested some white abettors — Elizur Wright for one (*Lib.* 21 :

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Webster gave the keynote of the Government prosecutions when, in his letter to the Union Safety Committee of New York, he said the rescue of Shadrach was, "strictly speaking, a case of treason." Judge Peleg Sprague laboriously enforced the same ridiculous view in his "atheistical charge" to the Grand Jury, as later did Judge B. R. Curtis. But ere the juries empanelled to convict disagreed or acquitted, in the month of April the case of Thomas Sims plunged the community into fresh and more intense excitement, and this time the South was gratified of its heart's desire to humble Boston by carrying off its prey. The city Government — which had placed its police at the service of kidnappers — surrounded the court-house with chains, kept the militia in the Faneuil Hall barracks, and furnished an escort all the way to Savannah to the claimant's agent and victim returning by sea. That which Mr. Garrison had thought impossible under the shadow of Bunker Hill took place amid the rejoicing of the newspaper organs of the respectability of Boston, if also amid the tolling of bells in the country towns, and after such moral and legal resistance and annoyance as made the rendition seem to the South a Pyrrhic vic-

Lib. 20:37, 38.

Lib. 20:61.

Lib. 20:171.

Lib. 21:94, 99, [183].

Lib. 21:58, 59, 62.

Lib. 21:35, 51.

Lib. 22:62.

Ante, p. 246.

Lib. 21:65, 69.

Lib. 21:62.

Lib. 21:59, 70.

Lib. 21:73.

30, 35). Senator Jefferson Davis, treating the rescue as the resistance of Massachusetts herself, a sovereign State, gave notice that he would not vote to enforce her obedience with army and navy (*Lib.* 21 : 34). On Feb. 21, Mr. Clay pitied rather than blamed the deluded blacks, and invoked punishment on those who made tools of them. "There has been introduced," he said, "a man named Thompson, who was said to be a member of Parliament, to disturb and agitate the people, and that police which could find time and the means to attend and protect this foreign emissary in his disunion addresses, could not give their aid to execute a law of the United States. He little supposed that any member of Congress would be tolerated a moment in England who would go to Birmingham and Manchester, and there denounce the law of primogeniture, the aristocracy, and the crown itself. Such a man would be justly denounced by every loyal British subject, and he would be put out of the country; and here this Thompson is received with open arms, encouraged, by men professing to be Americans, in preaching sedition and disunion" (*Lib.* 21 : 34). Senator Cass of Michigan, following Clay, and not being averse to seconding, his mob incentive, "referred to the conduct of this miscreant Thompson, and said that if a member of Congress should do in England what Thompson had done in this country, he would be sent to Botany Bay" (*Lib.* 21 : 34. Cf. 21 : 101).

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tory.[1] Josiah Quincy, also a disappointed prophet, said to Richard H. Dana, Jr.:

Lib. 21:83. *Ante, p.* 303.

"When the [Fugitive Slave] law passed, I did think the moral sense of the community would not enforce it; I said that it never would be. But now I find that my fellow-citizens are not only *submissive* to, but that they are earnestly active for, its enforcement. The Boston of 1851 is not the Boston of 1775. Boston has now become a mere shop — a place for buying and selling goods; and I suppose, also, of *buying and selling men*."[2]

Where, in such a time as this, should the American Anti-Slavery Society hold its anniversary? Thompson's triumphant tour through Central New York had given the surest indication. He had had great audiences at Rochester, the curiosity to see him being enhanced by the abuse of a portion of the press, and vain efforts to arouse the mob spirit. At Syracuse, five slaves appeared with him upon the platform. At Peterboro', Gerrit Smith gave him the warmest welcome, which in an advertising placard he also extended to "William Lloyd Garrison, the most distinguished and meritorious of American abolitionists" — then anticipating his presence. Abby

MSS. Mar. 14, 1851, *Thompson to W. L. G.; Mar.* 16, *A. K. Foster to W. L. G. Lib.* 21:43, 46, 47, 49, 50.

[1] The N. Y. *Herald* estimated that the capture, trial, and return of Sims cost the Federal Government nearly $6000, and his owner half as much (*Lib.* 22:77). The sum of $90,000 inserted in the Deficiency Bill by the Senate of the 31st Congress (session 1851–52) for "Judicial Expenses" was ascribed to the execution of the Fugitive Slave Law.

[2] Sims was carried off on Saturday, April 12, 1851 (*Lib.* 21:62), a week before the anniversary of the battle of Lexington. This latter ancestral date Theodore Parker affixed to a poster which he sent on the next Sunday night to his parishioner and fellow-member of the Vigilance Committee, Francis Jackson, recommending it to be "printed privately at the Anti-Slavery Office" and "put up to-morrow *night*, so that nobody shall know who did it" (MS.). The MS. draft reads: "CAUTION! COLORED PEOPLE OF BOSTON, ONE AND ALL: You are hereby respectfully *cautioned* and advised to avoid conversing with the WATCHMEN AND POLICE OFFICERS OF BOSTON. For since the recent *order of the Mayor and Aldermen*, they are empowered to act as KIDNAPPERS and SLAVE CATCHERS. And they have already been actually employed in KIDNAPPING, CATCHING, and KEEPING SLAVES. Therefore, if you value your *Liberty* and the WELFARE OF THE FUGITIVES among you, SHUN them in every possible manner as so many HOUNDS on the track of the most unfortunate of your race. KEEP A SHARP LOOKOUT FOR KIDNAPPERS, and have a TOP EYE open.—April 19th, 1851."

Kelley Foster wrote on March 16, from Rochester, begging Mr. Garrison to join Thompson on his return from Canada, and lecture with him en route to the American anniversary meeting. Central New York was ripe for the harvest. She thought a State Anti-Slavery Society might be recreated. Her husband likewise wrote from Lockport to Mr. Garrison on March 31, telling of the great disappointment caused by the latter's failure to accompany Thompson. The desire to hear him was strong in places where he could have done more good than the greater orator. "Your mere presence in a meeting," continued Mr. Foster, "though you were as speechless as an Egyptian mummy, would often do more to remove prejudice against our cause, and secure the coöperation of the well-disposed, than hours of the best speaking from any other person." New York State offered a most important field of labor, and all circumstances pointed to Syracuse as the place for holding the next American anniversary. Driven out of New York city, it could not safely be held in Brooklyn. Moreover, said Mr. Foster: "I am willing to encounter mobs if necessary; but if we can accomplish the same object without it, as I think we can in this case, I prefer it rather."

MS.

MS.

Syracuse was, in fine, selected by the Executive Committee when no hall was found to be obtainable in New York or Brooklyn; and Mr. Garrison, accompanied by his wife, rejoined Mr. Thompson under the hallowed roof of Samuel J. May. The meetings, which began on May 7, seemed like a revival of the old anti-slavery harmony and enthusiasm. Mr. Garrison, in order to introduce the newcomers to the citizens of Syracuse, asked Mr. May to read the Declaration of Sentiments adopted at Philadelphia in 1833 — proof that the abolitionists were a law-abiding and not a mob-producing class. Gerrit Smith gave greeting — "Joy, then, to you, William Lloyd Garrison; to you, George Thompson!" Mr. May answered for the anti-slavery sentiment of the town, by reference to the early mass meetings in defiance of the Fugitive Slave Law, over

Lib. 21:59.

MS. Apr. 20, 1851, *S. J. May to W. L. G.*

Lib. 21:81.

Lib. 21 : 81. which the Mayor presided.[1] Edmund Quincy dwelt on the impudence of the outcry against foreign interference, by a nation helped into existence by Lafayette and Kosciusko. Thompson, who spoke repeatedly, referred to the contemplated bringing over of Kossuth to the United States in a national vessel, and said he should "doubt the patriotism and love of liberty of every man who comes from revolutionary Europe to these shores to accept the hospitality of slaveholders. If he be a patriot, a lover of liberty, whether he fly from the banks of the Danube, the Seine, or the Tiber, let him go to New England, and find a home with the persecuted and maligned abolitionists of the country! Let him throw in his lot with them; let him range himself under the banner of '*No Union with Tyrants!*'" Francis Jackson and Samuel May, Jr.; James Mott and J. Miller McKim; Abraham Brooke of Ohio; Abby Kelley Foster, H. C. Wright, and Parker Pillsbury, were likewise heard or seen at this meeting. William Goodell was present; and William H. Burleigh, who had strayed into the Liberty Party fold, recanted of his bitter opposition to his old abolition co-workers. Frederick Douglass, on the other hand, avowed his radical change of mind in regard to the nature of the Constitution, which he now looked upon as an anti-slavery instrument.

Lib. 21 : 82; 22 : 10.

Lib. 21 : 78.

Lib. 21 : 78, 82.

On Daniel Webster, as the ex-officio custodian of the law of treason, this meeting had a very irritating effect. Three weeks afterwards, chance brought him to Syracuse, as companion of the President on their journey to celebrate the completion of the Erie Railroad. "The God-like" no longer, but "an ordinary-looking, poor, decrepit old man, whose limbs could scarce support him; lank with age; whose sluggish legs were somewhat concealed by an overshadowing abdomen; with head downcast, and arms shrivelled and dangling almost helpless by his side, and incapable of being magnetized for the use of the

May 26, 1851. *Lib.* 21 : 93.

Lib. 21 : 89.

[1] There had subsequently been a State Convention in the same sense at Syracuse on January 7, 1851 (*Lib.* 21 : 14).

orator," he denounced disobedience to the Fugitive Slave Law as treason. "Depend upon it," he said, "the law will be executed in its spirit and to its letter. It will be executed in all the great cities — here in Syracuse — in the midst of the next Anti-Slavery Convention, if the occasion shall arise. Then we shall see what becomes of their lives and their sacred honor." Yes, it would indeed be seen, and not tardily. *Lib.* 21:93.

It had already appeared how Webster's fate was bound up with that of the class of men who "not infrequently said . . . that the Constitution is born of hell — that it is the work of the devil."[1] The Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society's application for Faneuil Hall having been refused in January, on the ground of Thompson's intended participation in its proceedings, a like petition from the friends of Webster wishing to give him a reception there on April 17 had to be rejected — partly in consistency, and partly in consequence of the excitement caused by the Fugitive Slave Law's having just been "executed in its spirit and to the letter" in the case of Sims. This affront, though immediately withdrawn in the most abject manner, rankled in Webster's breast as perhaps no other treatment in his life had ever done; nor could the exclusion of the New England Anti-Slavery Convention from the same hall, coincidently with his speech at Syracuse, bring him peace of mind. An effort by placards to incite an Irish mob against Thompson at this Convention failed to disturb the occasion even in the ordinary manner. He who, at the last session of Parliament, had exerted himself to the utmost to prevent the suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act in Ireland; in November, 1847, had resisted every measure of coercion proposed by the Government, and demanded the abolition of the Protestant Establishment — this co-worker with O'Connell while he lived, and loyal *Lib.* 21:24. *Lib.* 21:62. *Lib.* 21:66. *Lib.* 21:83. *Lib.* 21:94. *Lib.* 21:39.

[1] Webster had just directed the Syracusans to the Bible for their rule of conduct with reference to the Fugitive Slave Law. Greater familiarity with the book would have enabled him to recognize the Scriptural source of Mr. Garrison's famous portraiture of the Constitution.

CHAP. XI. 1851. adherent to the cause of Irish liberty after the Emancipator's death, was (but not for these services) allowed in peace to acknowledge Mr. Garrison's resolution of thanks for his "singularly well-timed visit," and of farewell, from New England abolitionists:

Lib. 21:94.

Lib. 21:94. "I say, Mr. President, that I rejoice that I have been permitted to mingle once again with the abolitionists of America; and I confess to the conviction that a band of purer, more earnest, more self-sacrificing reformers does not exist in the world, never has existed, and never will exist, than the abolitionists of this country; and that their triumph is decreed, I feel certain. I know that many a Balaam, tempted and bribed by the Moabites, has gone up to curse them; but I also know that there is One that sitteth in the heavens that hath said, 'They are blessed and they shall be blessed.' I know the curse shall not prosper, but shall recoil upon themselves, and that the blessing which has been promised shall remain unto the end. (Great cheering.)

"Sir, my stay in this country has been lengthened beyond the period I had originally intended. Some may ask why I have remained so long? Let the mobocrats of Faneuil Hall answer! (Applause.) I have stayed to trouble Mr. Clay, who could not avoid insulting me on the floor of the Senate-house, assisted by the Dodges and Casses around him. You will find the reason of my stay here in the attempt of the Slave Power, and its minions and myrmidons throughout the country, to prevent me from speaking in America. I have remained here to test the right of free speech. (Cheers.) I have conquered — (renewed cheers) — but it has not been because of the faithfulness of officials to their oath or to the principles of freedom. I have conquered because the children of the Puritans have not forgotten their ancestry, and will not yield the right of free speech themselves, nor the right of listening to a man who is determined to speak for himself. I have been heard gladly in various sections of the North; nor have the men of property and standing even of that distinguished town in your Commonwealth [Springfield], who sought to gag my lips, been able to prevent my speaking to approving and applauding audiences among them. I say that I gather from my own experience sure indications of the coming triumph; and I cannot look around this assembly without drawing from it an augury of the success of the great principles for which we contend. . . .

Ante, *p.* 306.

Ante, *p.* 327.

Ante, *p.* 322.

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"I have been greatly refreshed by my visit to this country. I shall return with a vast accumulation of facts upon the subject of slavery, and illustrative of the universality of the Slave Power. These facts and illustrations I shall, whenever I have the opportunity, spread before my countrymen, with such commentaries as will enable them to understand the true position of the great question. . . . I will try to make the people of England understand the nature of the benefit which this discussion is conferring upon those who embrace sound views: how such persons are coming to the appreciation of great truths long corrupted or concealed by slavery; how they are beginning to walk in a clearer light, and to regard men and things from a higher point and through a juster medium; how, whilst promulgating purer doctrines, they are daily gaining knowledge and experience, and are exercising fortitude and faith and perseverance. . . . To those before me who are laboring in this cause, I would say,—You are not laboring for your country alone, but for the world. Make haste to free this land from the pollution of slavery, and your character from the stain it has cast upon it,—then shall your righteousness go before you, your influence, like another atmosphere, shall encircle the globe, and you shall be the heralds and the instruments of freedom to all the nations of the earth. (Loud cheers.)"

It was high time, for physical reasons, that Mr. Thompson should be taking his departure. His proposed rest during the Parliamentary recess had been turned into a gigantic labor, which returned him to his own country almost a used-up man. With an excursion to Philadelphia during the first week in June, he closed his American tour. There remained the farewell soirée arranged for him by vote of the New England Convention, and held in Boston on June 16 in the large hall over the Albany Railroad depot—a feast at which more than a thousand plates were spread. Edmund Quincy of right presided. Phillips and Parker were among the speakers. Garrison delivered the parting address. It was a glorious occasion, but we must pass over its details.

Lib. 21:94, 98.

Lib. 21:90.

Lib. 21:98, 101.

Lib. 21:101.

Thompson sailed in the *America* on June 25, and, with hardly any respite, was obliged to face his constituents,

Lib. 21:127, 134, 137, 149, 153.

CHAP. XI. 1851.

dissatisfied with his long absence beyond the reopening of Parliament. He pleaded the pressing engagements thrust upon him, his accepting to-day "invitations for to-morrow, reluctant, when the fields were white unto the harvest, to quit them without putting in the sickle, and gathering something more into the garner of human liberty"; his resolve to vindicate free speech in his own person. "I am convinced," he said, "that, measuring the comparative value of my labors, not by the limits of this borough, nor by the limits of these islands, but by the limits of the globe itself and of the human race, I was doing, and did do, a work in America which I could not have accomplished to the same extent elsewhere."

Tower Hamlets.

Lib. 21:135.

"Allow me to say, that had I remained for ease, leisure, emolument, recreation, I should have condemned myself before I had appeared to receive your censure. I was not botanizing on the Himalayas; I was not pursuing antiquarian researches on the banks of the Nile; I was not gazing upon the sublimities of the Alps or the Andes; I was not putting my legs under the tables of the bloated planters of the South, or truckling politicians of the North, of America. I was facing labors, perils, persecutions, and obloquy, in the cause of the most oppressed and degraded of the human race. . . .

"Of all institutions of personal slavery, looked at in connection with its safeguards and its origin,— of all the institutions of slavery on the face of the earth, there are none so unmitigatedly bad, so inexcusably atrocious, so colossal in their felonious aspect, so diametrically opposed to the professions and practices of the people that encourage and support them, as the institution of slavery in the United States of America. There is no republicanism in America while slavery exists. The cause of liberty throughout the world is maimed and bleeding while slavery exists there. We preach Democracy in vain in England while a Tory and Conservative can point us to the opposite side of the Atlantic, and say: 'There are 19,000,000 of the human race, free, absolutely; every man heir-apparent to the throne; governing themselves — the government of all, by all, for all; but, instead of being a consistent republic, it is one wide-spread confederacy of free men for the enslavement of an entire nation of another complexion.' While that institution lasts, the experiment of men to govern themselves has not been proved to be

a successful one; for there is no virtue in loving freedom for ourselves." CHAP. XI. 1851.

Of the Syracusans at least this selfish love of freedom could not be predicated. The freemen's spirit which had welcomed Thompson and the American Anti-Slavery Society, in confirmation of the local defiance of the Fugitive Slave Law, wrested, on October 1, 1851, the slave Jerry by force from the clutches of the police, and rebuked the dishonoring prophecy of the apostate Webster. *Lib.* 21:162, 166. *Ante, p.* 331.

Samuel J. May to Miss Charlotte G. Coffin.[1]

SYRACUSE, Oct. 15 [16], 1851. *MS.*

I am too busy to write you a long letter, but I must write a few lines to relieve your anxiety to know what is the present aspect of our controversy with the Government.

After a fortnight's diligent search after materials to make out a case of "constructive" treason against Gerrit Smith, Charles A. Wheaton, Samuel J. May, and five others, and to find grounds for the indictment of sixteen for aiding and abetting the rescue of poor Jerry, we were informed last evening that the District Attorney had made application to the Judge for warrants for the alleged twenty-four offenders, and had been refused, on account of the insufficiency of his evidence. How this may be, we shall know, I suppose, to-day or to-morrow. It is probably true, and the bluster of the Attorney and his compatriots will die away in examinations before the Commissioner, which I think will end in the commitment of no one; for I am told that all those individuals who can be identified as having taken part in the rescue of Jerry, have gone away where they cannot be followed.

We yesterday had a large county Convention here, that the people might express their detestation of the Fugitive Slave Law. It was fully attended. Several excellent speeches were made, and an address was prepared for publication, as the sentiment of the Convention, to be signed by the President, Vice-Presidents, and Secretaries, and circulated far and wide. It is an excellent and bold document, which I think will make some impression. I made a speech which the Convention voted also to publish and send throughout the land, so I must hasten *Lib.* 21:170.

[1] A sister of Mrs. May.

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to prepare it for publication. The sentiment of our city and county is nobly right on the question which the rescue has raised. Men that I supposed cared not at all for the enslavement of our colored countrymen, have taken pains to express to me their detestation of the attempt to rob Jerry of his liberty.

You may, if you please, give this half-sheet to Mr. Garrison — not, however, to be published, though he may use the facts (or the rumors) I have given you.

Samuel J. May to W. L. Garrison.

MS.

SYRACUSE, Nov. 23, 1851.

Through all the season of trial and commotion that we have had here since Oct. 1st, not a word has passed directly between you and myself. But I have felt as if our spirits were all the while in close communion, so that you knew what I was doing or intending to do, and I knew that you were consenting to it all. In the whole course of our struggle with the monster Slavery, I have never been so active, bold, tranquil, and happy. I have felt the strongest assurance that our Government was clearly in the wrong, and could not maintain its position except by the grossest abuses of its powers — such abuses as the people could not, would not, tolerate. I have seen that it was necessary to bring the people into direct conflict with the Government, that the Government may be made to understand that it has transcended its limits and must recede. This will be the result. The Union will not be dissolved much more than it is now dissolved; and the Fugitive Slave Law will not be, for it cannot be, generally enforced.

As far as I can learn, twenty-five persons have been indicted — twelve of them colored men, all but three of whom have escaped to Canada, beyond the reach of our Government; and four of the white men have also gone thither. So that not more than twelve or thirteen will be put under bonds. Of these I trust not more than two or three will ever be tried, and not one of them convicted.

I am afraid that those who are tried will not take the right ground. They will attempt to avoid conviction by breaking down the witnesses, many of whom are men of very bad character; or they will destroy their evidence by opposing testimony. I long to have some one acknowledge the fact, if he did anything to help Jerry's escape, and rest his defence, 1st, upon the uncon-

stitutionality of the Law; 2dly, upon the egregious wickedness of the Law. *Cf. Lib.* 21 : 198.

It is now no longer probable that either Gerrit Smith, Charles A. Wheaton, or myself, will be indicted.[1] I suppose that warrants were issued by Judge Conkling for me and for Mr. Wheaton. Why they were not served, the managers of such matters best know. It is not that we have cowered to them. I have spoken and written, if possible, more plainly and earnestly than ever. *Alfred Conkling.*

Samuel J. May to W. L. Garrison.

SYRACUSE, Dec. 6, 1851. *MS.*

My controversy with Mr. Comstock waxes warmer. I will send you my last letter, part of which appeared in this morning's *Star*, and the residue of it will come out on Monday. Perhaps you will think that I go too far in enjoining it upon all men to act *against* the Fugitive Slave Law as they conscientiously believe to be right, even if it be to fight for the rescue of its victims. But I know not what other counsel to give them.[2] And let me confess to you, that when I saw poor Jerry in the hands of the official kidnappers, I could not preach non-resistance very earnestly to the crowd that were clamoring for his release. And when I found that he had been rescued without serious harm to any one, I was as uproarious as any one in my joy. *Dec.* 8, 1851. *Lib.* 21 : 198.

The Government party here are most especially mad at me; but I am happy to add that my church and the majority of the citizens stand by me well.

If we cannot kill this infernal Law, it will kill us. So I think we have come to the death-grapple. If we drive the Slave Power back from this position, it will be all the easier to continue the rout.

Gerrit Smith to W. L. Garrison.

PETERBORO', December 31, 1851. *MS.*

On my return to-day from Syracuse, I find upon my office table the volume of Selections from your Speeches and Writings.

[1] They were, however (*Lib.* 21 : 187), at Auburn; and, bailors being called for, "Hon. William H. Seward stepped forward and put his name first upon the bond," and afterwards entertained the "traitors" at his home. They were never tried. See the full account of the Jerry rescue in May's 'Recollections of the A. S. Conflict,' pp. 373–384.

[2] Mr. Garrison could not have been troubled by this counsel, which resembled his own to the colored people of Boston (*ante*, p. 303).

CHAP. XI. 1851.

Very, very highly do I prize this volume, not only because of the merit of its pages, but also because you have presented it to me. To be numbered by William Lloyd Garrison among his friends is one of my highest gratifications and honors.

S. J. May.

I went to Syracuse to spend several hours with our friend May and other abolitionists in talking about the "Jerry Indictments." I take a deep interest in them; and I entertain a strong hope that no little gain to the cause of Liberty will come from them.

The volume of 'Selections' referred to by Mr. Smith was a duodecimo of somewhat more than four hundred pages, consisting of extracts from the 'Thoughts on Colonization,' the antecedent Park-Street Church address, and from addresses to the colored people; the *Liberator* salutatory; the Declaration of Sentiments of the American Anti-Slavery Society, and of the American Peace Convention; a 'Short Catechism adapted to all parts of the United States';[1] and many editorial articles on Peace, the Bible, the Constitution, etc., from the *Liberator's* twenty-one volumes, together with the best of Mr. Garrison's verse. The letter to Peleg Sprague was not omitted, and the Appendix contained a portion of Sprague's Faneuil Hall speech, the account of the Boston mob of October 21, 1835, written by its victim, Thompson's letter addressed to him on the day following, and sundry proofs of the character of the Colonization Society. The title-page bore these lines from Coleridge's 'Fears in Solitude':

Ante, 1:290. *Ante*, 1:127. *Ante*, 1:256, 285. *Ante*, 1:224. *Ante*, 1:408. *Ante*, 2:230. *Ante*, 1:505. *Ante*, 1:496. *Ante*, 2:11. *Ante*, 1:297.

> "O my brethren! I have told
> Most BITTER TRUTH, but without bitterness.
> Nor deem my zeal or factious or mistimed;
> For never can true courage dwell with them
> Who, playing tricks with Conscience, dare not look
> At their own vices."

[1] *E. g.* "1. Why is American slaveholding not in all cases sinful? — Because its victims are black. 2. Why is gradual emancipation right? — Because the slaves are black. 3. Why is immediate emancipation wrong, dangerous, impracticable? — Because the slaves are black," etc.

CHAPTER XII.

KOSSUTH.—1852.

FATHER MATHEW'S stay in America outlasted two years. A nine days' wonder, he was heard and thought of no more after (like a candle lowered into a foul well) he had taken his passports for the South. On November 8, 1851, he sailed from New York, recalling himself for a moment to public attention by issuing a farewell address. He professed to have added more than 600,000 disciples to the cause of total abstinence — an empty boast. He tendered to his countrymen on this side of the Atlantic some wholesome parting advice, but with a grave omission as to their duty towards slavery, which Mr. Garrison supplied by appending to the address in the *Liberator* the Irish Address of 1842. Father Mathew left also his thanks to individuals — to a slaveholder, first of all: to Henry Clay, namely. To the same hollow friend alike of temperance and of freedom, he wrote on December 29, 1851, from Cork, sending good wishes and blessings for the New Year to the "pride and glory" of the United States, and writing himself down "the most grateful of your admirers."

Lib. 21:185.

Lib. 21:185.

Colton's Private Corr. of Clay, p. 624.

Father Mathew had, nevertheless, witnessed on the spot the degradation of the North by the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law, thanks to Clay above all other men. He had seen the workings of that measure in all their atrocity — the land stirred as never before, in its good and bad elements. He had seen the suppression of free speech attempted, in the name of the Union and the Constitution, by the dregs of society like Rynders, with the approval of

Ante, p. 288.

what was most "respectable" in church and state. He
Ante, p. 331. had seen George Thompson, a co-worker with O'Connell in behalf of Irish and Catholic emancipation, singled out
Ante, p. 327. for dedication to mob violence by Henry Clay in the Senate Chamber.[1] Like the priest in the parable, and like the Priest of all times, he walked by on the other side.

He had hardly touched his native shores when another foreigner embarked for the United States from the sister isle of Great Britain — destined to excite an even greater enthusiasm in America than Father Mathew had done; to be tried by the same touchstone; to follow his evil example; and equally to serve, not the ends of his mission, but a higher end in the pointing of a great moral lesson and the satisfaction of poetic justice.

Kossuth's coming had been long prepared. A people born of revolution had watched with eager sympathy the course of the Hungarian uprising, and had fully adopted Kossuth as its hero. None thought of applying to him Mr. Garrison's criterion, when, amid his contention with
Lib. 19: 138; *Writings of Garrison, p.* 78. Father Mathew, in an article on "Patriotism and Christianity — Kossuth and Jesus," he wrote, in the summer of 1849: "He [Kossuth] is strictly local, territorial, national. The independence of Hungary, alone, absorbs his thoughts and inspires his efforts; and, to obtain it, he feels justified [*i. e.*, by the laws of war] in disregarding the claims of humanity, and suspending all the obligations of morality." No one anticipated that these words would exactly express

[1] Clay had tried his hand at inciting mobs before. On Sept. 2, 1843, he wrote to his future biographer, the Rev. Calvin Colton, urging him to prepare a popular tract whose "great aim and object . . . should be to arouse the laboring classes in the free States against Abolition. Depict the consequences to them of immediate abolition. The slaves, being free, would be dispersed throughout the Union; they would enter into competition with the free laborer; with the American, the Irish, the German; reduce his wages; be confounded with him, and affect his moral and social standing. And as the ultras go for both abolition and amalgamation, show that their object is to unite in marriage the laboring white man and the laboring black man, and to reduce the white laboring man to the despised and degraded condition of the black man" (Colton's 'Private Correspondence of Henry Clay,' p. 476).

Kossuth's relation to slavery and the abolitionists as soon as he consented to make his appeal for help to a slaveholding nation. Towards the close of 1849, the meetings of Hungarian sympathizers began to multiply so greatly that Mr. Garrison grouped them as a text for another article, on "National Hypocrisy"—testing these manifestations not only by the national sin of slaveholding, but by the Government's refusal to acknowledge the independence of Hayti; and recalling the Polish demonstrations of twenty years before, in which the South was conspicuous. When in the winter of 1849–50 Congress assembled, it was a pro-slavery doughface, Lewis Cass, who offered in the Senate a resolution suspending diplomatic relations with Austria by way of pressure on Hungary's behalf—an interference with the domestic concerns of a foreign country which Thompson did not fail to improve, in repelling censure of his apostleship of human rights in the United States.

Lib. 19:193.

Ante, 1:250.

Lib. 20:6, 7.

Lib. 20:190.

Kossuth, meanwhile, had surrendered to Turkey and been interned, and had implored Palmerston's intervention—for his country against Austrian subjugation; for himself against the dreaded extradition to Russia. On March 3, 1851, President Fillmore, with the same hand that had signed the Fugitive Slave Law, approved a joint resolution of the very Congress which had passed that law, offering a vessel of the Mediterranean squadron to Kossuth and his fellow-exiles, if they were disposed to profit by this mode of escape. On March 27, Kossuth, at Broussa, indited his grateful acceptance, lavishing upon the United States the most fulsome flattery. "May your great example, noble Americans, be to other nations the source of social virtues; your power be the terror of all tyrants, the protector of the distressed, and your free country ever continue to be the asylum of the oppressed of all nations!"

Lib. 19:159.

Lib. 19:174.

Lib. 22:2.

Lib. 21:195.

Long before this address saw the light, the abolitionists had grave cause to dread Kossuth's arrival. "Who shall receive him?" asked Whittier.

Lib. 21:204.

"Who shall receive him? Who, unblushing, speak
Welcome to him who, while he strove to break
The Austrian yoke from Magyar necks, smote off
At the same blow the fetters of the serf,—
Rearing the altar of his Fatherland
On the firm base of freedom, and thereby,
Lifting to Heaven a patriot's stainless hand,
Mocked not the God of Justice with a lie!
Who shall be Freedom's mouthpiece? Who shall give
Her welcoming cheer to the great fugitive?
Not he who, all her sacred trusts betraying,
Is scourging back to slavery's hell of pain
The swarthy Kossuths of our land again!
Not he whose utterance now, from lips designed
The bugle-march of Liberty to wind,
And call her hosts beneath the breaking light,—
The keen reveille of her morn of fight,—
Is but the hoarse note of the bloodhound's baying,
The wolf's long howl behind the bondman's flight!
O for the tongue of him who lies at rest
In Quincy's shade of patrimonial trees,—
Last of the Puritan tribunes and the best,—
To lend a voice to Freedom's sympathies,
And hail the coming of the noblest guest
The Old World's wrong has given the New World of the West!"

Godkin's History of Hungary, p. 319; *Pulszky's White, Red and Black*, 2:58.

Millard Fillmore?

Daniel Webster.

J. Q. Adams.

Who should receive him, indeed, if not those who had invited him? A prior question was, Who shall inform him truly of the state of affairs in the so-called land of freedom? An American who had known Kossuth at home, and likened him to Washington and Channing combined, told of having often observed Channing's works on his table — excellent aids (we will add) to Kossuth's theological development, but not calculated to make him shun the society or applause of slaveholders. Save him! save him! wrote Henry C. Wright to James Haughton of Dublin. Tell him of American slavery. "He is lost — lost to himself and the friends and cause of liberty in all coming time — if he lands on this slavery-cursed shore." "'HERE LIES KOSSUTH — THE AMERICAN

Lib. 19:104.

Lib. 21:179.

SLAVEHOLDER'—must be his epitaph if he touches our shore!" And again, after reading the address from Broussa: "Slave-catchers will do by him as they have done, successfully, by Theobald Mathew — avail themselves of his world-wide fame and influence to prop up American slavery." "Will the Kossuth of America be the Kossuth or Haynau of Hungary? One or the other he must be." CHAP. XII. 1852. *Lib.* 21:195.

The English abolitionists needed no urging. Kossuth was to land in England. W. H. Ashurst wrote to Mr. Garrison on October 13, 1851, that a common friend, of weight, had put in his hands for Kossuth[1] a packet describing "with faithfulness and correctness the true state of the slave question in the States." On November 4, James Haughton sent through Charles Gilpin a letter to Kossuth admonishing him not to go to America, and to give to the world his reasons for staying away. On November 17, Richard Webb, forwarding his mite for the Hungarian fund to the Mayor of Southampton, desired him to lay before Kossuth considerations why, in visiting America, he should not forfeit the esteem of European admirers by ignoring the existence of slavery. The Edinburgh Ladies' Emancipation Society, on November 18, and the Glasgow anti-slavery societies forwarded addresses of a like tenor. A committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society in person ensured the conveyance to Kossuth of truthful warning. Copies of the Fugitive Slave Law and of Weld's 'Slavery as It Is'[2]

Lib. 21:179.

Lib. 22:3.

Lib. 21: [203].

Lib. 21:206.

Lib. 22:3.

Lib. 22:3.

Lib. 22:6.

[1] Ashurst was a particular friend of the Italian patriots of the revolutionary era. "I spent a part of a day last summer at his house at Muswell Hill," wrote Elizabeth Pease to Mr. Garrison on July 9, 1852, "which brought vividly before me the happy evening we passed there in 1840 [*cf. ante*, 2 : 377, 390]. I had the treat of meeting Mazzini — a truly great man as he appears in his present position, and I cannot but entertain the hope that *he* would stand the test of a visit to America, though Kossuth has proved so fearfully recreant to principle" (MS. and *Lib.* 22 : [123]). See the pointing of this contrast after Kossuth's return to England in *Lib.* 24 : 113, 125, 126.

[2] "A book of horrors, the perusal of which would have congealed the blood of Kossuth if he had been a true man" (W. L. Garrison in *Lib.* 22 : 6). The full title of this work, compiled by Theodore D. Weld, was 'American

CHAP. XII. 1852. were placed in his hands. To all this intelligence he paid no heed. He did not avoid the slaveholding confederacy. He landed in New York on December 5, 1851, and his first words showed that he meant to be "neutral" on the subject of slavery, and would in fact take sides against the abolitionists.

Lib. 21:198. "The soil of freedom, your happy home. Freedom and home!" "Asylum to the oppressed." "This prodigious

Lib. 21:201. view of greatness, freedom, and happiness." These inexcusable phrases of his reception speech-making were followed by an explicit announcement of his attitude towards the "peculiar institution."

Lib. 21:201. "I take it to be the duty of honor and principle not to meddle with whatever party question of your own domestic affairs. . . . May others delight in the part of knight-errant for theories. It is not my case. I am the man of the great principle of the sovereignty of every people to dispose of its own domestic concerns; and I most solemnly deny to every foreigner, as to every foreign power, the right to oppose the sovereign faculty."

Honor and principle were already lost when these words were uttered. They showed the refugee to have taken out naturalization papers in a slaveholding republic, and to have turned canter in the most approved American fashion.

Lib. 21: [203]. On December 12, 1851, Kossuth issued a formal manifesto, touching his purpose in coming over, in which (in vague terms, patterned after the euphemism of the U. S. Constitution in reference to slavery [1]) he reiterated his resolve to hold aloof from the burning question not more of the hour than of the age. "I expect it," he said, "from

Slavery as It Is: Testimony of a Thousand Witnesses. . . . New York: Am. A. S. Society, 1839.' This and the 'Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin' are the two great manuals of authentic information concerning the atrocities of American slavery.

[1] "There are two words which one would think Kossuth had never conquered, even in his marvellous mastery of the English tongue — 'slavery' and 'slaveholding'; and even here, while necessarily alluding to them, he cannot frame his lips to speak their syllables" (Wendell Phillips at National A. S. Bazaar, Boston, Dec. 27, 1851. *Lib.* 22 : 3).

all the friends of my cause, not to do anything in respect to myself that could throw difficulties in my way, and, while expressing sympathy for the cause, would injure it." Like Father Mathew, he placed his selfish mission above a transcendent interest of the human race — subordinating American slavery to European political oppression; and pursued the phantom of a recognition by the United States of the independence of a conquered Hungary, a union with England in a paper menace to Russia, an insistence on the right to maintain commercial intercourse with the nations of Europe whether in revolt against their governments or not! — a policy which rationally could proceed only from principles fatal to the existence of chattel slavery.

CHAP. XII. 1852.

Lib. 21:201.

"The die is cast," said Mr. Garrison (in an article headed "Kossuth Fallen!"). "All speculation is now at an end as to the position KOSSUTH means to maintain on the slavery question in the United States. He means to be deaf, dumb, and blind, in regard to it! Like recreant Father MATHEW, to subserve his own purposes, and secure the favor of a slaveholding and slave-breeding people, he skulks — he dodges — he plays fast and loose — he refuses to see any stain on the American character, any inconsistency in pretending to adore liberty and at the same time multiplying human beings for the auction-block and the slave shambles! It is not for him to 'meddle' with anything in this country — not even so far as to express an opinion. O no! But he enforces it upon us as a religious duty, to interpose nationally for the liberation of Hungary, by threatening Austria and Russia that, if they do not stand aloof and let the Hungarians do as they please in the management of their own affairs, we will add to our threats blows, and let slip the dogs of war! Beautiful consistency! O, this is pitiable!"

Lib. 21: [203].

On the same page of the *Liberator* with this censure, Mr. Garrison printed twenty stanzas, addressed to Kossuth, which were his contribution to the *Liberty Bell* for 1852. They bore date December 10, 1851, the author's 46th birthday, and had this foot-note appended: "Since these lines were written, Kossuth has made a dishonorable election.

Lib. 21: [203].

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He is a trimmer." The spirit of the poem may be judged by extracts:

Lib. 21: [203]; *Writings of Garrison*, *p.* 363.

Amidst the roar of public acclamation —
The tempest-greetings of a mighty throng
The cannon's thundering reverberation —
The civic fête, with toast, and speech, and song —
The grand "All hail!" of a rejoicing nation,
A million times repeated, loud and long —

Can one lone voice, all tremulous with feeling,
Be heard by thee, O glorified KOSSUTH,
To all thy noblest attributes appealing,
As one who knows Oppression's bitter fruit;
And to thy listening ear the truth revealing,
When sycophants and cowards all are mute?

My claims for audience thou wilt not discredit,
For they are based on kindred love of Right;
And as for Liberty, world-wide to spread it,
I, too, have suffered outrage, scorn, and slight;
Known what the dungeon is, yet not to dread it,
And still am zealous in the moral fight.

. . . . . .

While praising us wherein we are deserving,
Tell us our faults,— expose our crime of crimes;
Be as the needle to the pole unswerving,
And true to Freedom's standard in all climes;
Thus many a timid heart with courage nerving
To meet the mighty conflict of the times.

Say slavery is a stain upon our glory,
Accursed of Heaven, and by the earth abhorred;
Show that our soil with negro blood is gory,
And certain are the judgments of the Lord;
So shall thy name immortal be in story,
And thy fidelity the world applaud.

Yet first, for this, thou shalt be execrated
By those who now in crowds around thee press;
Thy visit shall be sternly reprobated;
Thy friends and flatterers grow less and less;
Thy hopes for Hungary be dissipated;
America shall curse thee and not bless.

. . . . . .

Courage, KOSSUTH! be true — fear not the trial!
Pluck out thy right eye, and thy right hand lose!
Though on thy head be poured out every vial,
To wear a padlock on thy lips refuse!
And thou shalt gain, through lofty self-denial,
A brighter crown than all the world can choose.

The poem was composed in time for insertion in the volume of 'Selections from the Writings and Speeches of William Lloyd Garrison' already described. A re- *Ante, p.* 338. perusal of it perhaps prompted the following letter:

Rev. William H. Furness to W. L. Garrison.

PHILADELPHIA, Dec. 30, 1851. *MS.*

You must let me thank you for the book which I received from you this morning, and which I am glad to possess, and for the valued expression of your regard accompanying your autograph. How heartily I reciprocate it, how entirely I confide in you, I cannot tell you. *Writings of Garrison.*

I wrote to Mr. E. Quincy the other day about Kossuth, and asked him to show you what I said. He may not have thought it worth while, or he may not have had an opportunity. Let me take occasion to repeat to you what I said to him. I do it with more confidence because our friend McKim, whose sound moral judgment you know, is, I believe, entirely of my mind in regard to this extraordinary man. *J. M. McKim.*

I felt with you at the first that he was trimming, and I thought of him with sadness, for I had rather have a great and true man than the political liberation of twenty Hungarys. But some things he has said since he came here have given me, as *Lib.* 22:3, 6. I think, an insight into his position. He was seen to read very attentively the Anti-Slavery Banner extended across the street at the Anti-Slavery Office, which was large and imposing. It read: "WELCOME THE EXILE! — 'EVERY INHABITANT OF *Lib.* 22:6. THE LAND SHOULD BE EQUAL BEFORE THE LAW.' — *Kossuth.*" It represented the old bell[1] with the inscription on it, "PROCLAIM LIBERTY TO ALL THE LAND," etc. When he reached his quarters at the hotel, in his first speech he said, "In the air which you breathe, the passage of time into eternity is marked by that bell which proclaimed liberty to all the land; but liberty is not in

[1] Of Independence Hall, namely.

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all the land, nor in all the world." Rush Plumly, whose anti-slavery zeal you know, heard him, and was startled at hearing him speak thus. Again, in his speech at the Banquet, the very explicitness and fulness with which he declared that he had not meddled and would not meddle with our domestic questions — meaning, as he declared, the slavery question — indicate that he is under an erroneous impression. In the same breath in which he disclaimed meddling, he said with marked emphasis (altering the quotation), "Indeed, I more and more perceive, in the words of *Hamlet*, there are more things in heaven and earth than WERE dreamed of in *my* philosophy."

Lib. 22 : 3, 13.

Lib. 22 : 13.

Now may it not be that he has got the impression that we are all actually engaged in abolishing slavery? The men in the Senate who speak most eloquently and in his behalf are reported to him as on the abolition side. He falls in with H. W. Beecher, a leading clergyman — anti-slavery; with Bryant, an eminent poet and editor.[1] How can he escape the idea that we have really taken the matter in hand, and how can he doubt that a nation which must appear to him so young and vigorous, is equal to the correction of any abuse? Does he not hear the most sweeping declamation about Liberty? He is not yet an American Abolitionist; and, as E. Q. says, who but an American Abolitionist can know how hypocritical, and, I may add, to use E. Q.'s own word, how "snobbish" we are?

W. C. Bryant.

E. Quincy.

You may rely upon it, my dear Mr. Garrison, his philosophy has never dreamed that a nation as free as we are — a nation that has put forth the Declaration of Independence — a nation so many of whose prominent men he hears are anti-slavery, is all the while hugging slavery as the essential and blessed element of its life, union, and prosperity. I believe that he is beginning to dream of this, and that it was some obscure dream of this sort that suggested the quotation from "Hamlet." I do not know what else he could mean. He does not yet know that it is American Slavery which controls American policy, that it is the commanding principle of the administration of our Government, at home and abroad. He will find it out, because this it is that will make the failure of his appeal to the Government inevitable.

[1] Bryant presided and Mr. Beecher said grace at a press dinner given to Kossuth in New York on Dec. 15 (*Lib.* 21 : 206). Kossuth subsequently spoke at Plymouth Church, netting $10,000 for the Hungarian fund (*ibid.*). See Beecher's humorous invention in the *Independent* of a clerical committee visiting Kossuth at quarantine, and catechising him as to his views on slavery (*Lib.* 21 : 174).

He will see the simple truth that American slavery is the one obstacle to the deliverance of Europe, because it is the only thing that palsies our influence — that influence which he would obtain, and which he deems so important. And when he sees it — but we must grant him a little time, as it was beyond the dream of his philosophy — I have strong confidence that he will tell what he sees. CHAP. XII. 1852.

The man himself makes a profound impression upon every one who hears him. There is a simplicity and truthfulness about him which go straight to the heart. I cannot believe there is an atom of dough in his face. Unlike the good Samaritan, he finds the poor slave, his wounded brother-man, surrounded by a host of Priests, Levites, Senators, and what not, who seem to be busily ministering to him; and, of course, as his interference is, under the supposed circumstances, unnecessary, he is disposed to pass silently on.

I pray you, understand me. I have troubled you with all this, not for the *Liberator*, but for your private ear. Please don't publish it, and don't feel constrained in courtesy to answer, unless you see a flaw in my judgment of the case. Then I should like to see it too. Kossuth was more powerfully stirred, I imagine, by Dr. Elder's speech at the Banquet than by anything he has heard in this country. I did not hear it, as I left the instant Kossuth finished; but they say it kindled him, Kossuth. The next speech he makes afterwards, at Baltimore, he says he grows unwilling to speak in English, since we have such eloquent men among us; and the Dr., he must learn, is an anti-slavery man. *Wm. Elder.*

On the whole, I think Kossuth will do us more good than we can do him. He has taken such a hold of people's hearts that they will hardly endure that our "domestic concern" should meddle with *him*. It has meddled with him already most insultingly, and, when he sees that fact, it will absolve him from all his promises not to meddle with *it*. You will perceive that the view of his position which I suggest casts no reflection upon his sagacity, for it is past the philosophy of the wisest to dream of such a thing on earth as a republic like this cherishing slavery, building its freedom on the crushed rights of millions, and prepared to intervene in the affairs of other nations only when the slavery which it cherishes can be advantaged thereby.

Pardon me for this trespass. I confess Kossuth has touched and fascinated me; but this you will see. *Lib.* 22:13.

It would have delighted you had you witnessed the uproarious

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acclamation, quite unprecedented in the history of our quiet Quaker abolitionism, with which Castner Hanway and Elijah Lewis[1] were greeted at the Anti-Slavery Fair in our city the other night.

Lib. 22:5.

With fervent good wishes, your friend,

W. H. FURNESS.

P. S.—I have asked you not to print this — that is, I would not have you print it merely upon your principle of letting both sides be heard. Should you think it to be true and sound, then I leave it with your discretion.[2]

The esoteric import of the quotation from "Hamlet" was invisible to the majority of the company at the Philadelphia Banquet, who greeted it with "laughter and applause." It was, in fact, a sort of knowing wink on the part of Kossuth in the midst of reiterated protestations of his purpose to have nothing to say about slavery. He grazed this word by reciting an extract from a stupid forgery — a letter threatening him with indictment for "intervention or non-intervention sentiments . . . unsuited to the region of Pennsylvania, situated as she is on the borders of several slaveholding States." "I avail myself of this opportunity," he said at the Banquet, "to declare once more that I never did or will do anything which, in the remotest way, could interfere with the matter alluded to, nor with whatever other domestic question of your united Republic, or of a single State of it."

Lib. 22:3.

Lib. 22:3.

Lib. 22:3.

Worse was to come. One of Kossuth's close revolutionary colleagues and supporters and fellow-refugees to Turkey, and companions in exile brought to America on the same vessel, Adolph Gyurman, became one of the editors of the *Demokratischer Voelkerbund* (the transformed *Deutsche Zeitung)* in New York on January 1, 1852. He did so with the express approval of his late

Lib. 22:20.

[1] Two of those arrested for "treason" in connection with the Gorsuch affair at Christiana, Pa. *(ante,* p. 325).

[2] Mr. Garrison printed, not this letter, but a sermon preached by Dr. Furness on Jan. 4, 1852, embodying the same ingenious but untenable hypothesis *(Lib.* 22 : 13, 14).

chief, who bade him resume his journalistic career, and thus "essentially serve the cause" to which his devotion had been so conspicuous. This certificate bore date of December 22, 1851, and was naturally published along with the prospectus in the first number of the *Voelkerbund*. But Gyurman, if only temporarily domiciled here, was resolved that it should not be said of him as of Kossuth, *Lib.* 22:20.

"Thou art a mere Hungarian — nothing more." *Lib.* 23:4.

He gave notice that his vista would not be merely "across the sea." "The unlimited critical nature of reason" demanded that he should look about him, noting what the free institutions of America offered for imitation in Europe, which was much; and for avoidance, also much. With regard to the slavery question he was explicit: "We consider the Compromise no settled solution, but a provisional law, for the abrogation of which, at least so far as the extradition of slaves is concerned, we will employ all the means which a public organ can command." *Lib.* 22:20.

This manifesto was promptly seized upon by the New York *Herald* and *Express*, and was declared to have Kossuth's endorsement, in view of his certificate to Gyurman, and to reveal his secret purpose. Congress was warned against lending any countenance to the Magyar's ostensible mission. Alarmed by this new peril, Kossuth made haste to repudiate, as he justly but not honorably could, all responsibility for his late associate. He was now in Washington, where he never could have gone as an avowed opponent of slavery. He not only stated, through his secretary, the precise facts in regard to his relations to the *Voelkerbund;* he pronounced "Mr. Gyurman's occupying himself with a question of domestic American policy" to be "injurious to the interest of his own country, and in diametric opposition to Governor Kossuth's decidedly expressed opinion as to the duty and policy of non-interference in such questions." And yet *Lib.* 22:20. *Jan.* 7, 1852. *Lib.* 22:20.

there was still ringing in his ears the toast offered by
Lib. 22:14. Judge Kane at the Philadelphia Banquet — "*The Cause of Freedom throughout the World.*— Its enemies are the same everywhere, and why should not its allies be the same?"[1]

Judge Kane, it is true, spoke only in a Pickwickian
Lib. 22:6, 14; *Pamphlet Report of the Trial of C. Hanway.* *Ante, p.* 325. sense. He had just done his best to convict Castner Hanway of treason in connection with a fugitive-slave case in which the enemies of freedom were shot down by the lovers of it — though not by this Quaker defendant. But Kossuth's utterances, proceeding from a narrow and selfish patriotism, were equally Pickwickian, and he was now moving naturally in a world of burlesque and opéra bouffe, with only occasional glimpses of sober reality. He came to America asking intervention on behalf of — non-intervention; and he referred to the pro-slavery invasion
Lib. 22:2. and spoliation of a neighboring State as "the glorious struggle you had not long ago with Mexico, in which General Scott drove the President of the Republic from his capital." Introduced in Washington, by Webster, to Fillmore — fathers of the law sanctioning the grossest intervention of the South against the liberties of the North
Lib. 22:6. —he is told by the President that his mission is hopeless, that intervention is opposed to the national policy, though

[1] A commentary on the same text had been furnished by the experience of Mme. Theresa Pulszky, the highly cultivated wife of Francis Pulszky of Kossuth's suite (his quondam Minister of Foreign Affairs). She, having on Christmas Day, 1851, paid a delightful visit in Philadelphia to Mrs. Mott, expressed admiration of her to some gentlemen, one of whom exclaimed: "You do not mean to say that you have called on that lady?" Why not? asked Mme. Pulszky, adding that she regretted her inability to repeat the visit. "But she is a furious abolitionist. It will do great harm to Governor Kossuth if you associate with that party." "But," persisted Mme. Pulszky, "if any friend of Governor Kossuth — even if he himself — converses with a person who has strong opinions against slavery, what harm can there be in that?" "'Your cause will then lose many friends in this city,' was the answer" (Pulszky's 'White, Red, and Black: Sketches of American Society in the U. S.,' 1:154–157; *Lib.* 23:40). This was what "non-interference" and "neutrality" signified under the rule of slavery. Kossuth had brought from England letters of introduction to the Motts, but declined their invitation to dinner, though he called upon them ('James and Lucretia Mott,' pp. 333–337).

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at that very moment the expedition to open Japan by force to American commerce is being prepared by the Administration.[1] He visits Henry Clay, who likewise dashes his hopes, and consoles him with the death-bed assurance of having been all his life devoted to freedom — in the Pickwickian (or shall we say Hungarian?) sense. *Lib.* 22:11, 13, 25.

Amid all the interchange of wind and hollow rhetoric at Washington — the receptions in both branches of Congress, the banquets, public and private — one thing Kossuth saw: the greatest opposition to him came from the dominant South which he had humbled himself to placate — which neither wanted his "glittering generalities" of freedom to ring through its borders, nor courted a European war with a chance of a slave insurrection. When this melancholy truth dawned upon him, he flattered himself that his actual presence would disarm prejudice, and arranged for a journey down the Mississippi. Proceeding by way of Annapolis, Baltimore, Harrisburg, and Pittsburg, he was engaged in canvassing Ohio during the month of February, 1852, when Mr. Garrison launched against him (in part) in the *Liberator*, and directly (in full) in pamphlet form, a Letter which fixed the attention of the American press, and which no biographer or admirer of Kossuth can neglect.[2] *Lib.* 22:29.

This document, put forth in the name and with the sanction of the American Anti-Slavery Society, was drafted and compiled by its President; and it and the 'Thoughts on Colonization' constitute what may properly be called the "Works of Garrison," as distinguished from his journalistic writings or the two collections of his prose and verse. To analyze it here is unnecessary. It traced soberly and severely Kossuth's fall; offset his sickening encomium of American freedom with parallel columns of slaveholding *Ante*, 1:290.

[1] See also President Fillmore's menace to the Emperor of Hayti, Soulouque, in case he should not acknowledge the independence of Dominica, and cease from hostilities against her Government (*Lib.* 23 : 6).

[2] 'Letter to Louis Kossuth concerning Freedom and Slavery in the U. S.' Boston: R. F. Wallcut, 1852. 8vo, pp. 112.

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barbarities,[1] and his subserviency to slavery with the attitude of Thompson, O'Connell,[2] Victor Hugo,[3] and Lafayette;[4] disposed of his American apologists; and furnished in an appendix the principal data referred to in our narrative thus far. A few passages may serve as examples of the *argumentum ad hominem:*

Letter to Kossuth, p. 56.

"'The cause of the solidarity of human rights,' which you have come 'to plead before the great republic of the United States,' is not Hungarian, but universal. A people who aim or desire to be saved at the expense, or to the detriment, of any other, is undeserving of salvation. This land is too full of compromisers and trimmers to need your presence to teach us how to do evil that good may come. What we need, what the world demands, is, an illustrious example of fidelity to the principles of liberty in their application not merely to one but to all races and lands. You cannot be too true to Hungary;

[1] In this respect, the letter is worthy to be consulted along with Weld's 'Slavery as It is' and Mrs. Stowe's 'Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin.'

[2] "O'Connell (I was told the anecdote by Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton), in 1829, after his election to the House of Commons, was called upon by the West India interest, some fifty or sixty strong, who said, 'O'Connell, you have been accustomed to act with Clarkson and Wilberforce, Lushington and Brougham, to speak on the platform of Freemasons' Hall and advocate what is called the abolition cause. Mark this! If you will break loose from these associates, if you will close your mouth on the slave question, you may reckon on our undivided support on Irish matters. Whenever your country's claims come up, you shall be sure of fifty votes on your side.' 'No,' said O'Connell, 'let God care for Ireland; I will never shut my mouth on the slave question to save her!'" (Wendell Phillips, speech at the National A. S. Bazaar, Dec. 27, 1851. *Lib.* 22 : 2.)

[3] Letter to Mrs. Chapman, Paris, July 6, 1851: "Slavery in such a country! Can there be an incongruity more monstrous? Barbarism installed in the very heart of a country which is itself the affirmation of civilization; liberty wearing a chain; blasphemy echoing from the altar; the collar of the negro chained to the pedestal of Washington! . . . What! when slavery is departing from Turkey, shall it rest in America? What! Drive it from the hearth of Omar, and adopt it at the hearth of Franklin? . . . The United States must renounce slavery, or they must renounce liberty. They cannot renounce liberty. They must renounce slavery, or renounce the Gospel. They will never renounce the Gospel" ('Letter to Louis Kossuth,' p. 38; *Lib.* 21 : 126).

[4] In the *Liberty Bell* for 1846, p. 64, Thomas Clarkson, describing to Mrs. Chapman his intimacy with Lafayette, reported him to have "said, frequently, 'I would never have drawn my sword in the cause of America if I could have conceived that thereby I was founding a land of slavery'" (*Lib.* 16 : 1).

but you ought not, for her sake, to be false to America — and false you will be, if you fail to rebuke her for her atrocious system of slavery. The fact that her soil is stained with blood, that there is no other institution to which she clings with so much tenacity as to that of slavery, that your welcome depends upon your silence where even the very stones should cry out, that the universal sympathy which is expressed for your oppressed countrymen would instantly be turned to rage, and thus proved to be spurious — this fact alone would make you faithful and fearless, instead of timid and parasitical, if 'God, the Almighty,' had selected you 'to represent the cause of humanity' before us.[1]

"As there is, in reality, only one reason for your turning a deaf ear to the cry of imbruted humanity among us,— and that is, an apprehension of exciting popular displeasure,— it is idle to pretend that you are compelled to take this course, to avoid being mixed up with a multitude of extraneous matters that would otherwise be pressed upon your consideration. The case of millions deprived of personal liberty, and subjected to all the mutations of property, is too distinct and too awful to be put into the same category with the question of tariff, or free trade, or the extension of suffrage, or the distribution of the public lands,[2] or social reorganization, or national independence, or non-intervention, or any other question relating to individual advancement or the general welfare. In every land, men differ — widely and honestly differ — in their views respecting the science of political economy and the best form of government, whether for transient or permanent adoption. But as to chattelizing those upon whom the Creator has stamped his own image, 'the same verdict has always been rendered — "GUILTY!" — the same sentence has always been pronounced — "LET IT BE ACCURSED!" — and human nature, with her million echoes, has rung it round the world in every language under heaven — "LET IT BE ACCURSED!" His heart is false to human nature who will not say, "AMEN!" There is not a man on earth who does not believe that slavery is a curse. Human beings may be inconsistent, but human nature is true to herself. She has uttered her testimony against slavery with a shriek ever since the monster was begotten; and till it perishes

Letter to Kossuth, p. 57.

[1] Kossuth's first speech, on his reception at Castle Garden by the city authorities of New York, Dec. 6, 1851 (*Lib.* 21 : 201).

[2] The Homestead Bill was now looming up as an issue between North and South. Passed by the House of Representatives, it was rejected by the Senate in August, 1852, as an abolition measure (*Lib.* 22 : 141).

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amidst the execrations of the universe, she will traverse the world on its track, dealing her bolts upon its head, and dashing against it her condemning brand. We repeat it, every man knows that slavery is a curse. Whoever denies this, his lips libel his heart. Try him! Clank the chains in his ears, and tell him they are for him; give him an hour to prepare his wife and children for a life of slavery; bid him make haste, and get ready their necks for the yoke, and their wrists for the coffle-chains; then look at his pale lips and trembling knees, and you have nature's testimony against slavery.' . . .

Letter to Kossuth, p. 58.

"As to the tact displayed by you in the management of your cause, it certainly indicates great worldly shrewdness. In England, you could eulogize the Government, advocate free trade, and warmly commend the abolition of West India slavery as 'bound up with much of the glory' of that country; for this was sailing with both wind and tide. In the United States, your admiration is boundless for the Union, the Constitution, the Government, even the Mexican War, unparalleled for its turpitude, because waged expressly for the extension and perpetuity of slavery. All this is congenial with the popular taste. But as for free trade, the anti-slavery enterprise, etc., these are questions of 'domestic policy' with which you cannot properly meddle, because they have not yet become victorious! You will find, sir, in the end, that 'honesty is the best policy,' and that no amount of skilful diplomacy can be advantageously substituted for manly rectitude. Strive as you may to propitiate the slave power, by which this Government is moulded and directed, it will be only to your own degradation, and without attaining the end you desire."

Jan. 19. 1852; *Lib.* 22:14.

Lib. 22:25, 71, 99, 201.

Griffis's M. C. Perry, pp. 276–279.

Lib. 22:11, 15.

Lib. 22:14, 33.

The Hungarian refugee had hardly turned his back upon the national capital when the House, by a narrow vote, just failed of resolving that South Carolina (like the seaboard slave States generally) was justified in imprisoning the black sailors of a British ship driven into port by stress of weather — treatment worse than that which the Japanese expedition was ostensibly ordered to redress. He passed into Maryland and Pennsylvania, and was received by the Legislatures and Governors while a bill was pending in each State to prevent the entrance of free negroes. Traversing Ohio, which disfranchised its black citizens, he essayed his pro-slavery

"tact" first in Kentucky at Covington. "The spirit of the South is warm," he exclaimed; "and wherever warmth is, there is life! . . . It is now for the first time that I breathe the air of a Southern State." But even as he spoke, the Rev. Calvin Fairbank was being doomed to the Kentucky penitentiary under a sentence of fifteen years' hard labor, for having assisted in the escape of slaves — his second expiation in the same State for the same Christian act. At Jackson, Miss., Kossuth paid his respects to "Hangman" Foote, then Governor of the State, to whom, indeed, he owed the Congressional action which ended in his release from Turkey and transportation to the United States. At Montgomery, Ala., the cradle of the future Confederacy, he repeated his Covington argument in favor of national interference on behalf of Hungary because the South held to the doctrine of State rights, identically his own!

Feb. 24; *Lib.* 22:45.

Feb. 21.

Lib. 22:47, 63, 66. *Reminiscences of Levi Coffin, p.* 719. *Mar.* 25; *Lib.* 22:59.

Pulszky's White, Red, and Black, 2:87, 90–92. *Lib.* 22:65. *Lib.* 22:45.

The Southern grand tour was curtailed in order to reach Massachusetts before the adjournment of the Legislature. On April 29, Kossuth made his first speech in Faneuil Hall; and here at length his tongue was free to pronounce the name of slavery, while nevertheless confirming his refusal to heed the poet Channing's exhortation:

Pulszky's White, Red, and Black, 2:108. *Lib.* 22:73; *Kossuth in New England, p.* 82.

W. E. Channing.

> "But, flying slave, take the slave's part!"

Lib. 21: [203].

With incredible self-satirization he exclaimed:

> "'Cradle of American Liberty!'—it is a great name; but there is something in it which saddens my heart. You should not say, '*American Liberty.*' You should say, '*Liberty in America.*' Liberty should not be either American or European, — it should be just '*Liberty.*' God is God. He is neither America's God nor Europe's God; he is God. So should liberty be. 'American Liberty' has much the sound as if you would say, 'American privilege.' And there is the rub. Look to history, and, when your heart saddens at the fact that liberty never yet was lasting in any corner of the world, and in any age, you will find the key of it in the gloomy truth, that all who yet were free regarded liberty as their privilege, instead of regarding it as a principle. The nature of every privilege is exclu-

Kossuth in New England, p. 87; *Lib.* 22:73.

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siveness; that of a principle is communicative. Liberty is a principle,—its community is its security, exclusiveness is its doom."

Ergo—not white liberty, but liberty for all races of men; not the white man's God, but the God of humanity; not national patriotism, but "My Country is the World, My Countrymen are All Mankind." *Ergo*—"No Union with Slaveholders!" *Ergo*, Kossuth not the guest in Boston of the Webster Whigs, the apologists of the Fugitive Slave Law, but the companion of Garrison, Phillips, and Quincy. But no, after a lament that he had come to America in the midst of a Presidential campaign, Kossuth continued:

Pulszky's White, Red, and Black, 2: 171, 172, 174–177.

Kossuth in New England, *p.* 91.

Ibid., *p.* 92.

"The second difficulty I have to contend with is rather curious. Many a man has told me that, if I had only not fallen into the hands of the abolitionists and Free Soilers, he would have supported me; and had I landed somewhere in the South, instead of New York, I would have met quite different things from that quarter; but, being supported by the Free Soilers, of course I must be opposed by the South. On the other side, I received a letter from which I beg leave to quote a few lines:

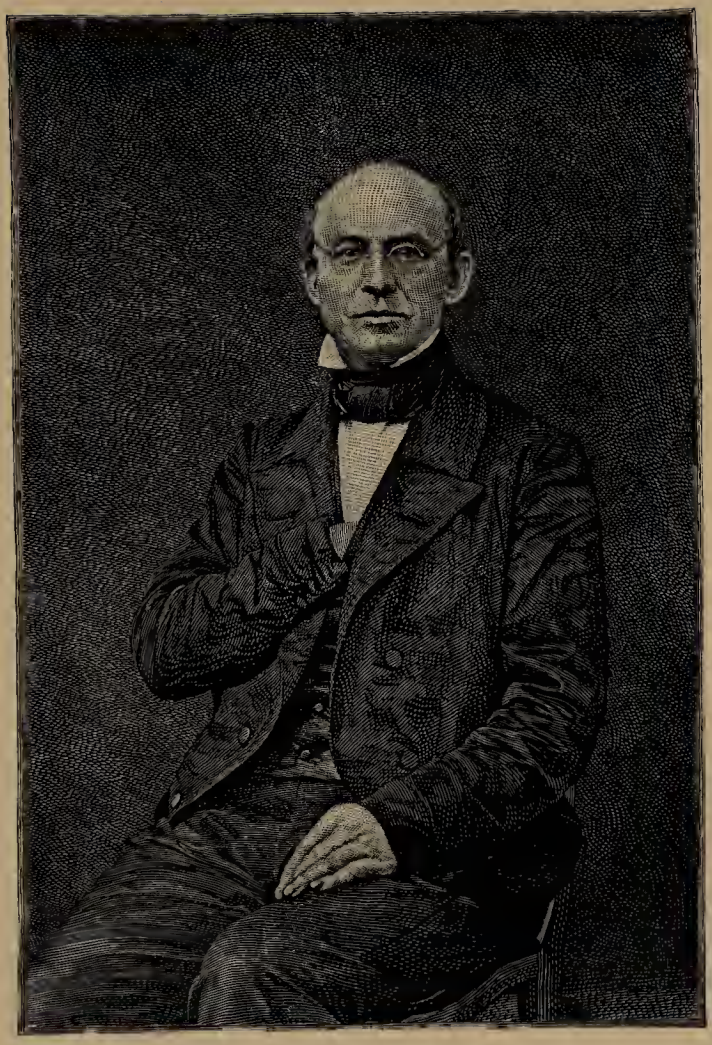
"'You are silent on the subject of slavery. Surrounded as you have been by slaveholders ever since you put your foot on English soil, if not during your whole voyage from Constantinople,—and ever since you have been in this country surrounded by them, whose threats, promises, and flattery make the stoutest hearts succumb,—your position has put me in mind of a scene described by the apostle of Jesus Christ, when the devil took him up into a high mountain,' etc., etc.

"Now, gentlemen, thus being charged from one side with being in the hands of abolitionists, and from the other side with being in the hands of the slaveholders, I indeed am at a loss what course to take, if these very contradictory charges were not giving me the satisfaction to feel that I stand just where it is my duty to stand, on a truly *American* ground."

So this is what the beautiful tirade against "*American* liberty" comes to. But Kossuth has not yet done with his "neutrality."

Kossuth in New England, *p.* 93.

"I must beg leave to say a few words in that respect; the more, because I could not escape vehement attacks for not com-



Wm. Lloyd Garrison.

mitting myself, even in that respect, with whatever interior party question. I claim the right for my people to regulate its own domestic concerns. I claim this as a law of nations, common to all humanity; and because common to all, I claim to see them protected by the United States, not only because they have the power to defend what despots dare offend, but also because it is the necessity of their position to be a power on earth, which they would not be if the law of nations can be changed, and the general condition of the world altered, without their vote. Now, that being my position and my cause, it would be the most absurd inconsistency if I would offend that principle which I claim and which I advocate. CHAP. XII. 1852.

"And oh, my God, have I not enough sorrow and cares to bear on these poor shoulders? Is it not astonishing that the moral power of duties, and the iron will of my heart, sustain yet this shattered frame? that I am desired yet to take up additional cares? If the cause I plead be just, if it be worthy of your sympathy, and at the same time consistent with the impartial considerations of your own moral and material interests, —which a patriot never should disregard, not even out of philanthropy,— then why not weigh that cause with the scale of its own value, and not with a foreign one? Have I not difficulties enough to contend with, that I am desired to increase them yet with my own hands? Father Mathew goes on preaching temperance, and he may be opposed or supported on his own ground; but whoever imagined opposition to him because, at the same time, he takes not into his hands to preach fortitude or charity?[1] And, indeed, to oppose or to abandon the cause I plead, only because I mix not with the agitation of an interior question, is a greater injustice yet, because to discuss the question of foreign policy I have a right. My nation is an object of that policy; we are interested in it; but to mix with interior party movements I have no right, not being a citizen of the United States."

To Kossuth the last word, the measure of the man. In July, after two months' seclusion in New York, he stole away from the country, carrying nothing substantial as the result of his mission except ninety thousand dollars — the net proceeds of voluntary gifts and of the sale of

Lib. 22:118.

Life of Geo. Ticknor, 2:277.

[1] This unfortunate reference to Father Mathew is a rare instance of neglect, on Kossuth's part, of that wonderful cramming which made his speeches so apt to every locality which he visited.

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"Hungarian bonds." Already when he was at Memphis, on his voyage down the Mississippi, he had ceased to be the newest excitement of the American people. On March 20, 1852, Mrs. Stowe's 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' appeared, to mock the legislatures, statesmen, and parties engaged in affirming the Compromise measures to be "final." It had previously been published piecemeal in the (Washington) *National Era*. As a serial, Mr. Garrison passed it by, but he devoured the early bound copy placed in his hands, and gave in the *Liberator* of March 26 his opinion of the novel that was about to take the world by storm, and —"party question" that the subject of it was to Kossuth — would in five years produce three Hungarian translations:

Lib. 22:62, 65, 94, 102; *Pulszky's White, Red, and Black*, 1:132, 133.

Lib 22:50.

"In the execution of her very difficult task, Mrs. Stowe has displayed rare descriptive powers, a familiar acquaintance with slavery under its best and its worst phases, uncommon moral and philosophical acumen, great facility of thought and expression, feelings and emotions of the strongest character. Intimate as we have been, for a score of years, with the features and operations of the slave system, and often as we have listened to the recitals of its horrors from the lips of the poor hunted fugitives, we confess to the frequent moistening of our eyes, and the making of our heart grow liquid as water, and the trembling of every nerve within us, in the perusal of the incidents and scenes so vividly depicted in her pages. The effect of such a work upon all intelligent and humane minds coming in contact with it, and especially upon the rising generation in its plastic condition, to awaken the strongest compassion for the oppressed and the utmost abhorrence of the system which grinds them to the dust, cannot be estimated: it must be prodigious, and therefore eminently serviceable in the tremendous conflict now waged for the immediate and entire suppression of slavery on the American soil.

"The appalling liabilities which constantly impend over such slaves as have 'kind and indulgent masters,' are thrillingly illustrated in various personal narratives; especially in that of 'Uncle Tom,' over whose fate every reader will drop the scalding tear, and for whose character the highest reverence will be felt. No insult, no outrage, no suffering, could ruffle the Christlike meekness of his spirit, or shake the steadfastness of

his faith. Towards his merciless oppressors he cherished no animosity, and breathed nothing of retaliation. Like his Lord and Master, he was willing to be 'led as a lamb to the slaughter,' returning blessing for cursing, and anxious only for the salvation of his enemies. His character is sketched with great power and rare religious perception. It triumphantly exemplifies the nature, tendency, and results of CHRISTIAN NON-RESISTANCE.

"We are curious to know whether Mrs. Stowe is a believer in the duty of non-resistance for the white man, under all possible outrage and peril, as well as for the black man; whether she is for self-defence on her own part, or that of her husband or friends or country, in case of malignant assault, or whether she impartially disarms all mankind in the name of Christ, be the danger or suffering what it may. We are curious to know this, because our opinion of her, as a religious teacher, would be greatly strengthened or lessened as the inquiry might terminate. That all the slaves of the South ought, 'if smitten on the one cheek, to turn the other also,' — to repudiate all carnal weapons, shed no blood, 'be obedient to their masters,' wait for a peaceful deliverance, and abstain from all insurrectionary movements — is everywhere taken for granted, because the VICTIMS ARE BLACK. *They* cannot be animated by a Christian spirit and yet return blow for blow, or conspire for the destruction of their oppressors. *They* are required by the Bible to put away all wrath, to submit to every conceivable outrage without resistance, to suffer with Christ if they would reign with him. None of *their* advocates may seek to inspire *them* to imitate the example of the Greeks, the Poles, the Hungarians, our Revolutionary sires; for such teaching would evince a most unchristian and bloodthirsty disposition. For *them* there is no hope of heaven unless *they* give the most literal interpretations to the non-resisting injunctions contained in the Sermon on the Mount, touching the treatment of enemies. It is for *them*, though despoiled of all their rights and deprived of all protection, to 'threaten not, but to commit the keeping of their souls to God in well-doing, as unto a faithful Creator.'

"Nothing can be plainer than that such conduct is obligatory upon *them;* and when, through the operations of divine grace, they are enabled to manifest a spirit like this, it is acknowledged to be worthy of great commendation, as in the case of 'Uncle Tom.' But, for those whose skin is of a different complexion, the case is materially altered. When they are spit upon and

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buffeted, outraged and oppressed, talk not then of a non-resisting Saviour — it is fanaticism! Talk not of overcoming evil with good — it is madness! Talk not of peacefully submitting to chains and stripes — it is base servility! Talk not of servants being obedient to their masters — let the blood of the tyrants flow! How is this to be explained or reconciled? Is there one law of submission and non-resistance for the black man, and another law of rebellion and conflict for the white man? When it is the whites who are trodden in the dust, does Christ justify them in taking up arms to vindicate their rights? And when it is the blacks who are thus treated, does Christ require them to be patient, harmless, long-suffering, and forgiving? And are there two Christs?

"The work, towards its conclusion, contains some objectionable sentiments respecting African colonization, which we regret to see."[1]

Lib. 22:59. *MS. June* 3, *J. P. Jewett to W. L. G.* *MS. June* 7, *S. May, Jr., to W. L. G.* *Lib.* 22:191.

Twenty thousand copies of 'Uncle Tom' were disposed of in three weeks; four times as many at the end of the eleventh week. By that date an edition had been issued in London at two and sixpence, to be followed by one in six parts at a penny apiece; and before the end of the year no fewer than eighteen English editions could be reckoned. On September 24, George Thompson wrote from London to Mr. Garrison:

MS.

"'Uncle Tom' is doing a great work here. Between 400,000 and 500,000 copies (varying in price from sixpence to seven and sixpence) are already in circulation. Two of our metropolitan theatres are nightly crowded to overflowing by persons

[1] The revival of the colonization mania in connection with the passage and execution of the Fugitive Slave Law is very significant. In this year 1852, Gov. Washington Hunt, in a message to the Legislature of New York, recommended liberal appropriations for the removal of the free blacks, as being a hindrance to Southern emancipation! (*Lib.* 22:37, 38, 78, 139.) The Governor of Alabama followed suit (*Lib.* 22:57). The Indiana Legislature actually voted a niggardly sum for the purpose (*Lib.* 22:75). Even James G. Birney, despairing of the future of the free blacks, scandalized his old associates by issuing a pamphlet counselling expatriation (*Lib.* 22:25, 38). At the annual meeting of the Mass. A. S. Society, in Faneuil Hall, on Jan. 31, Mr. Garrison felt it incumbent on him to make a set speech against colonization (*Lib.* 22:30), and was subsequently urged by Wm. Henry Brisbane to prepare an address to the colored people, admonishing them not to be misled by specious arguments in favor of emigrating, nor to lose courage (MS. Cincinnati, Mar. 26, 1852).

anxious to witness a representation of its most striking scenes on the stage.[1] Hildreth's 'White Slave' is also finding a rapid sale.[2] Another volume, called 'Uncle Tom in England,' has been published. Ten thousand copies were taken by 'the trade' the first day. There is just now an unprecedented demand for anti-slavery literature. Behold the fruit of your labors and rejoice."

Richard Hildreth; Lib. 23:51.

Wendell Phillips, writing on January 10, 1853, to Elizabeth Pease concerning the late Anti-Slavery Bazaar, reported:

"We could not see that 'Uncle Tom' helped us to any more purchasers. It seems he aided in giving us more goods from England. We made up a purse and bought a beautiful French bronze statuette of a negro for Mrs. Stowe. . . . By the by, Mrs. Stowe is coming to your country, by invitation of Wardlaw, etc. I fear she will fall into bad hands and do *us* harm. But we must endure. Her service to the cause has been a great one. But 'Uncle Tom' would never have been written had not Garrison developed the facts; and never would have succeeded had he not created readers and purchasers. She has called on Garrison,[3] and visited our Depository. Whether she knows anything of the real obstacles and difficulties of such a cause as ours, I cannot tell. I am afraid religious associations will throw her into Tappan's hands. Well, after all, as long as there are slaves there 'll be work, and no one can hinder our aiding. Let God and the future see to men's being understood."

MS.

Lib. 23:15.

Lib. 23:33, 35.

Rev. Ralph Wardlaw. Lib. 23:73.

Cf. Lib. 23:26.

Lewis Tappan.

The beginning of Mrs. Stowe's acquaintance with Mr. Garrison could not have been very remote from the date of the following letter from her distinguished brother, who felt a drawing in the same direction.

[1] The story was dramatized in Boston a little later (*Lib.* 22:191).

[2] This was 'Archy Moore,' with a new catch-title (*Lib.* 22:118, and *ante*, p. 111).

[3] In the course of this interview Mrs. Stowe inquired earnestly, but in no offensive spirit, "Mr. Garrison, are you a Christian?" The question was a proper one, as Mr. Garrison had already put it to her in connection with her views of non-resistance (*ante*, p. 361). It was met smilingly on his part, and substantially as was of old the inquiry, "And who is my neighbor?"

Rev. Henry Ward Beecher to W. L. Garrison.

MS., and Lib. 23:2.

BROOKLYN, Oct. 20, 1852.

W. L. GARRISON.

DEAR SIR: Will you send me the *Liberator?* How far I do, and how far I do not, sympathize with the *principles* which lie at the bottom of your course, you know as well as I. But allow me to express my conviction of the earnestness, sincerity, and thorough honesty which have marked your course. I wish the *Liberator* because it is one of the few papers in which I can find a fair republication of the sentiments of those who do *not* agree, as well as a representation of the views of those who *do* agree, with you.

I am, very truly yours,

H. W. BEECHER.

I will call and pay you when I am next in Boston, which will be in about six weeks.

Up to the appearance of 'Uncle Tom,' the orthodox opponents of Mr. Garrison who could not approve the Almighty's selecting an "infidel" instrumentality to effect the overthrow of slavery, saved appearances by alleging that (in the language of H. W. Beecher himself) he "did not create the anti-slavery spirit of the North: he was simply the offspring of it."[1] Now, from antedating him, they made bold to throw him out altogether, and to ascribe to the wife of Professor Stowe and the daughter of Dr. Lyman Beecher the evangelical Christian origin of emancipation in the United States. It would be idle to discuss the question thus raised, but it is curious to estimate the real effect of Mrs. Stowe's moving tale on its hundreds of thousands of readers among her own countrymen. It undoubtedly stimulated imaginations of the lower order which could not, merely from the given rela-

Lib. 20:203.

Calvin E. Stowe.

[1] In connection with this, Mr. Beecher characterized Mr. Garrison as "a man of no mean ability; of indefatigable industry; of the most unbounded enterprise and eagerness; of perseverance that pushes him on like a law of nature; of courage that amounts to recklessness. . . . Had he possessed, as a balance to these, conciliation, good nature, benevolence, or even a certain popular mirthfulness; had he possessed the moderation and urbanity of Clarkson, or the deep piety of Wilberforce, he had been the one man of our age. These all he lacked. Had the disease of America needed only counter-irritation, no better blister could have been applied" (*Lib.* 20: 203).

tion of master and slave, picture all the dreadful possibilities. Unquestionably, too, it made the fugitive slave safer and more welcome in his Northern transit, and the Fugitive Slave Law more loathed and more difficult of execution. But it did not produce a spontaneous and overpowering popular demonstration in favor of the repeal of the law, a petition *en masse*, or in fact materially strengthen the steady work of the abolitionists in that direction. The law remained intact till the Rebellion made it obsolete. CHAP. XII. 1852.

Neither did 'Uncle Tom' recruit the abolition ranks to any appreciable extent, for reasons assigned by Mr. Garrison in a speech at West Chester, Pa., on October 26, 1852:

"A great deal is said at the present time, and perhaps not too much, in regard to the Fugitive Slave Law. Many persons glory in their hostility to it, and upon this capital they set up an anti-slavery reputation. But opposition to that law is no proof in itself of anti-slavery fidelity. That law is merely incidental to slavery, and there is no merit in opposition which extends no further than to its provisions. Our warfare is not against slave-hunting alone, but against the existence of slavery." *Penn. Freeman.*

What is stranger, perhaps, 'Uncle Tom' did not tell on the vote of the anti-slavery political party in this Presidential year, 1852. To this party we must now give some attention, beginning with a retrospect. "Nothing," said the editor of the *Liberator*, in January, 1849, "can be more superficial or more destitute of principle than the Free Soil movement"; and at the annual meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society in the same month, Wendell Phillips moved a resolve that abolitionists could not look on the Free Soil Party as an anti-slavery party in any proper sense of the term. Of the Liberty Party papers which had turned Free Soil in order to survive, Mr. Garrison declared that they had all lost vigor and anti-slavery character, and that "their latter state is worse than their former; and that was deplorable enough." In this year the Barnburner element in New York returned to its natural alliance with the Hunker Democrats, while in *Lib.* 19:6, 7. *Jan.* 24–26. *Lib.* 19:19. *Lib.* 19:6, [94]. *Lib.* 19:154, 178.

Lib. 19:178. Massachusetts the Free Soilers entered into coalition with the Democrats for a division of offices. In 1850 came the Compromise, which still further undermined the Free Soil Party by indefinite postponement of the issue of slavery extension. As the New York *Tribune* said in 1851, from the point of view of Henry Clay: "There being no longer any immediate danger of the extension of slavery, the feeling against it cannot but subside." And John Van Buren, taking the stump with Henry B. Stanton and Isaiah Rynders for Frank Pierce in 1852, echoed the sentiment that the need of the Free Soil Party, from which he had ratted, ceased with the passage of the Compromise.

Lib. 21:125; *ante, p.* 274.

Lib. 22:101, 161.

Lib. 22:157.

The superficiality charged against the party was illustrated in its attitude towards the Fugitive Slave Law. As Wendell Phillips pointed out in a speech at Worcester on August 1, 1851, the Free Soil objections to that statute all related to its defects as law, not to its main purpose to give effect to the Constitutional provision concerning runaways. If Ellen Craft, for example, had been seized, allowed the writ of habeas corpus and a jury trial, and still been sentenced to return into slavery, the Free Soilers had nothing to say. Their chief, John P. Hale, expressly avowed in the Senate of the United States on January 10, 1849:

Lib. 21:130.

Lib. 19:21.

> "I am willing — and I speak also in behalf of those who sent me here — I am willing that we should be held responsible, to the extent of the Constitutional obligation, for everything that may be required for the support and sustenance of American slavery. I am willing to go to the last letter in the bond. If you find in it the pound of flesh, take it; and if you find our heart's best blood written there, take it. I am ready to come up to the work freely, fairly, and fully, and to conform to the contract."

Before "the contract" the Free Soilers lowered their weapons. Of the "institution of Southern slavery," Senator Hale said in the above connection: "I do not wish to interfere with it. I do not wish to be aggressive. I

Lib. 19:21.

only wish that we may be let alone." In this he and his supporters were the antipodes of the abolitionists, who were nothing if not aggressive, and who attacked the Constitution as the very citadel of slavery. For so doing, the latter were superficially taken to task, as when the Boston *Commonwealth* coupled Mr. Garrison with a certain South Carolina secessionist:

"All this," commented Mr. Garrison, "would be extremely amusing, were no principle at stake. Immense complacency is felt and expressed by those who are for running a line between Slavery and Freedom — sitting on the fence, that they may not be convicted of standing on either side of it — in view of their sobriety of mind, soundness of judgment, and moderation of purpose, contrasted with those 'fire-eaters' at the South who are determined to stand by slavery at all hazards, and those 'Garrisonian abolitionists' at the North who are equally resolute in their defence of liberty. . . . Where is the agreement to be found between Southern and Northern disunionists? In what is their consistency to be seen? Let us see the analogy by which they are made identical: we do not see it now. Who will enlighten us?

Lib. 21:114; *cf.* 22:42.

"Both parties cannot be right, it is said. That may be, that certainly is, true. Each party, therefore, must be wrong, and so both deserve to be laughed at or denounced! That is a *non-sequitur* — as illogical as it is untrue.

"But are they not both seeking the same thing,— the one party thereby hoping to give strength and security to the slave system,— the other party hoping to effect the abolition of slavery, and thus truly to enlarge the 'area of freedom,' by dissolving the Union? Yes — but does this prove that both parties are equally deluded? Nonsense!

"But are not both agreed in this, that they will listen to no compromise, yield not one jot or tittle, submit to no truce? Yes — what then? Both unreasonable, extravagant, demented? How so? The Carolina 'fire-eaters' affirm that slavery is of divine appointment. If so, then they act righteously in upholding it at all hazards. They declare it to be morally and politically right, and indispensable to the general safety and prosperity. If so, then they act consistently, and even nobly, in resisting to the utmost any efforts for its immediate or ultimate overthrow. Between their premises and conclusions, no

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flaw can be detected; between their principles and their practice, no discrepancy exists. They act as though they believe what they say; and in this are to be strongly commended and closely imitated.

"The Northern disunionists affirm that every human being has an inalienable right to liberty; consequently, that no man can be held in slavery without guilt; and, therefore, that no truce is to be made with the slaveholder. They declare slavery to be morally and politically wrong, and its extinction essential to the general welfare; hence, that neither sanction nor toleration is to be extended to it. They are not less tenacious, not less inexorable, and certainly not less consistent, than the Southern disunionists. The issue, therefore, which these parties make, separates them as widely from each other as heaven from hell: do such 'extremes' meet? What is there extreme about it, absurdly? 'If the Lord be God, serve him; if Baal, then serve him.' Is it a case for conciliation, for 'truck and dicker,' for insisting upon a *quid pro quo*? To yield anything, on either side, is to yield everything.

"But how can the dissolution of the Union at once strengthen and perpetuate slavery, as the Carolinians contend — and also tend to the speedy overthrow of slavery, as the 'Garrisonians' maintain? It cannot. There is infatuation somewhere — on which side, what clear-sighted man can doubt? And we retort by asking, How can the Union exist without injury to slavery, on the one hand, or detriment to liberty, on the other? For — to propitiate the South — it must be clearly shown that the Union and Slavery are perfectly compatible together; or — to satisfy the troubled conscience of the North — it must be just as plainly shown that the Union is antagonistical to Slavery. The former has been demonstrated ever since the Union was formed, by the multiplication of five hundred thousand slaves into three millions three hundred thousand — the addition of nine new slave States to the original six — the purchase and conquest of Louisiana, Florida, Texas, and other Mexican territory, for slaveholding purposes — and by the glaring fact that, for the last sixty years (in the language of JOHN QUINCY ADAMS [1]), 'the *preservation*, PROPAGATION, and PERPETUATION of slavery has been ☞ *the vital and animating principle of the National Government.*' ☜ The latter, therefore, admits of no proof whatever; and hence the ground on which we stand cannot be shaken. To

[1] From a powerful passage on the pro-slavery compromises of the Constitution, kept standing at the head of the *Liberator*.

this hour, the Union exists, in form, only because the spirit of freedom in this country is not yet strong enough to rend it asunder. It was made by concession to the Slave Power; it has been held together solely by concession; and it will terminate the hour in which any of those concessions are revoked.[1] It is a 'covenant with death' to be annulled — 'an agreement with hell' that shall not stand!"

The Free Soil Party really came to an end, as a national organization, in the year 1848 in which it was formed. There was little disposition to revive it in 1852, and to go through the form of a separate ticket which had not the ghost of a chance of succeeding. Both Giddings and Sumner felt that another four years must pass before anything could be achieved. When a Convention at Pittsburgh was talked of, John P. Hale let it be known in advance that he would not accept the nomination if tendered him again. Nevertheless, assemble it did on August 11, borrowing the appellation of "Free Democracy" from the Cleveland Convention of May 2, 1849, and drawing to itself both Free Soil and the remnant of independent Liberty Party elements. Henry Wilson presided. Frederick Douglass, on motion of Lewis Tappan, was made one of the secretaries. Charles Francis Adams, Gerrit Smith, F. J. Le Moyne, and Joshua R. Giddings took a leading part. The platform declared for "no more slave States, no slave Territory, no nationalized slavery, and no national legislation for the extradition of slaves" — which last was to be relegated to the States;[2] and against the Compromise measures, alleging that the only settlement lay in making freedom national and slavery sectional. The rest of this manifesto, with a few excep-

Lib. 22:113.

Lib. 22:131.

Lib. 22:134.

Lib. 19:85.

Lib. 22:134.

[1] These concessions meant in 1852 not merely the letter and spirit of the Constitutional pro-slavery provisions, but the existing statute, undiminished, for the rendition of fugitives. In the debate in the U. S. Senate, July 28, 1852, on Charles Sumner's motion with reference to a repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law, both Northern and Southern members asserted that this would be tantamount to a dissolution of the Union (*Lib.* 22 : 126). In other words, the Compromise alone had averted disunion.

[2] Accordingly, the new party was estopped from complaining of California's having passed a retroactive fugitive-slave law (*Lib.* 22 : 49, 50, 65, 89, 99, 117, 167, 169).

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tions, embraced objects having no relation to slavery, like cheap postage and river-and-harbor improvements — or no immediate relation, like the Homestead Law, which Gerrit Smith called the sister of abolition. John P. Hale was renominated for President, and withdrew his declinature.

Lib. 22:137.

Lib. 22:151.

The one aggressive speech in the Convention was made by Douglass, who was for exterminating slavery everywhere. Gerrit Smith reported a minority platform declaring slavery to be "incapable of legislation," and so whitewashing the pro-slavery Constitution. It grieved him that the platform adopted admitted slavery in the States to be legal and tolerated by the Constitution, and he could not bring himself to vote for Hale in the Convention, though prepared to do so at the polls. Neither could he recommend disbanding the Liberty Party, though persuaded that the Free Democracy were better than their platform, and would not break up in coalitions and disgrace themselves like the Free Soil Party. On August 24, Wendell Phillips wrote from Northampton to Mrs. Garrison: "Tell Garrison that it seems to me Douglass will come out for Hale. What nonsense! — hold the Constitution to be anti-slavery, justify one's self in voting on that theory, and then vote for a man who don't agree with the theory!"

Lib. 22:134.

Lib. 22:137.

MS.

In practice, it made no difference which way any political abolitionist voted in November, 1852. The two preponderating parties, Whig and Democratic, at their nominating conventions, competed, in the language of Charles J. Ingersoll (who was not jesting), "to vindicate Slavery as part of that American liberty which the treaty of independence recognizes, and no foreign nation must meddle with." Bizarre and contradictory as this sounds, it represented the Free Soil attitude also towards the Constitution and the Union as they came from the hands of the founders of the "Republic."

Lib. 22:119.

MS., Boston, July 18, 1852.

"All disguises are now," wrote Mr. Garrison to J. M. McKim, "thrown off by the two great political parties in the land, and

they stand committed to the side of slavery, nakedly, openly, impudently, and, as they say, everlastingly! Both Scott and Pierce have agreed to uphold all that was done by the Baltimore Conventions, relating to slavery; so that, by no casuistry whatever can a vote cast for either of them be anything else than a direct sanction to slaveholding, slave-breeding, and slave-hunting. None but those who are morally depraved or blind can give such a vote." *Lib.* 22:94, 102. *Winfield Scott. Frank Pierce.*

As Webster, at the Whig Convention, received only a contemptible minority of votes (the largest third from Massachusetts, and not one from any Southern Whig, in spite of his 7th of March abasement — not one, though besought with tears if only as a harmless "compliment"), so Slavery, between the rival worshippers, emphatically elected for her perfect service the Democratic Party. Like those "languid Tritons" who, at the wood-nymph's feet, *Lib.* 22:122.

"poured
Pearls while on land they withered and adored,"

Webster in the flesh and the Whig party in its name and organization died within a fortnight of each other at the feet of their goddess. The Free Democracy likewise came to naught, in spite of their obeisance to the compromises of the Constitution — in spite of the aid given by the Fugitive Slave Law and by 'Uncle Tom's Cabin.' They polled some 156,000 votes, against more than 290,000 in 1848. *Lib.* 22:174, 175, 179. *Lib.* 22:207, 211.

Mr. Garrison's special activity during the last quarter of the year is imaged in the following correspondence. The first letter relates to the celebration of the Jerry rescue at Syracuse:

W. L. Garrison to S. J. May.

BOSTON, Sept. 16, 1852. *MS.*

In being at your "rescue" anniversary on the 1st of October, I was hoping to be able to "kill two stones with one bird" (as some one has said, in Ireland or out of it),— *i. e.*, to make it incidental to my visit to Pennsylvania, to attend the annual meeting of the State A. S. Society; but as that meeting has been postponed from the first week in October to the last, I

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shall not be able to carry that plan into effect. I am hesitating, therefore, whether to be with you on the 1st. My presence, with the amount of talent you will not fail to have present on the occasion, can certainly be of no special value; and as the distance and the expense are both considerable (the latter being the most weighty consideration), my conclusion is, that I had better send a letter to be read to the meeting, and abandon the idea of being on the ground bodily. . . .

Sept. 8–10, 1852; *Lib.* 22 : 127.

My spirit is exulting in view of the successful proceedings of the Woman's Rights Convention in your city. This is the fifth or sixth conventional experiment on the part of the women of this country to plead their own cause, and vindicate their inalienable rights. In every instance, the result has far surpassed the most sanguine expectations. They have conducted their meetings with a dignity, a propriety, and an amount of talent seldom equalled by the other sex. The effect upon the public mind has been very striking. The press generally has behaved remarkably well, and treated the effort respectfully, in many instances cordially. What a change, my dear friend, has been wrought since 1840, when the American Anti-Slavery Society

Ante, 2 : 348, 349.

was rent asunder, on the sole ground (at least ostensibly), that it was an intolerable outrage, and shockingly unscriptural, to place a woman on one of its committees! Where is the orthodox

Ante, 2 : 133.

General Association of Massachusetts, which was once so prompt to issue its bull against the Grimkés, for publicly pleading "the cause of all such as are appointed to destruction"? Even the New York *Observer* and *Puritan Recorder* are dumb! And all this in view of the fact that the women are claiming entire equality of rights with men — the right to be ministers, lawyers, doctors, and even legislators! Really, the age is "progressive" — and, beyond all cavil, "the world moves."

Mrs. Weld.

Speaking of the Grimkés, Angelina (with her children) and Sarah are now spending a few weeks at the pleasant residence of Samuel Philbrick in Brookline. The latter I have seen, but Angelina was too unwell, the day I called, to leave her room. She is suffering from the fever and ague. They both wear the

T. D. Weld.

Bloomer costume.[1] Theodore is at home on his farm.

[1] A short skirt, with trousers (*Lib.* 21 : 76). "Mrs. [Amelia] Bloomer was among the first to wear the dress, and stoutly advocated its adoption in her paper, the *Lily*, published at Seneca Falls, N. Y. But it was introduced by Elizabeth Smith Miller, the daughter of the great philanthropist, Gerrit Smith, in 1850" ('Hist. of Woman Suffrage,' 1 : 127; and see also pp. 469, 844).

W. L. Garrison to S. J. May.

BOSTON, Sept. 27, 1852. *MS.*

Thanks for your letter. You say, "come," and the travelling expenses shall be paid. . . . I will be with you. My plan is, to leave Boston on Wednesday morning, and lecture in Albany that evening, in compliance with a request of some friends in that city; and on Thursday morning to proceed to Syracuse, arriving in your city, I suppose, by 1 or 2 o'clock. Perhaps it might be well, on that evening, to have a social but somewhat select meeting of friends, to confer together as to the next day's order of proceedings; for the occasion will be one of vast responsibility and importance, and we need great wisdom to direct as well as courage to execute. Every document, and all the resolutions, to be submitted to the meeting, should be most carefully prepared and critically examined, both in a moral and legal point of view. There ought to be a reliable report of the proceedings, cost what it may; for we may anticipate any amount of misrepresentation on the part of such pro-slavery papers as the *Star*, etc., etc. . . .

MS. Syracuse, Sept. 21, 1852.

Sept. 29.

Sept. 30.

Theodore Parker has put into my hands an admirable letter from his pen, to be read to the meeting, provided any one can decipher his manuscript who shall undertake to read it.

J. Miller McKim to Miss Sarah Pugh, abroad.[1]

PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 1, 1852. *MS.*

The observed of all observers at our [State] meeting was William Lloyd Garrison. He had never before been at West Chester, and as a consequence the people were very anxious to see and hear him. I need not tell you that the impression he made was highly favorable to himself and to the cause. This, you know, is the case wherever he goes. The prejudice which used to exist against him, excited by the fact that he was the earliest and always the ablest assailant of the slave system, is passing entirely away, so that now there is not one in our ranks who enjoys more largely, or even so largely, the respect of all classes. Indeed, it is observed that people will listen to him who will not patiently hear a word from any one else on the subject. His early services and unswerving devotion to the cause seem to have earned for him a prescriptive right to speak

Oct. 25–27, 1852; Lib. 22 : 166.

[1] Miss Pugh was one of the pillars of the Philadelphia Female A. S. Society *(ante,* 2 : 353). Mr. McKim's letter was for use *in partibus.*

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where others are refused a hearing; as, for instance, on his way through Philadelphia, the "Congregational Chapel" (Rev. H. D. Moore's church) was thrown open for an address from him, and so pleased were the people with the discourse that he was urged to come again and deliver another. The next day, a meeting was held for him at Franklin Hall, which was attended by a crowded and delighted auditory. People of every variety of class and shade of opinion were there — Presbyterians and Quakers, orthodox and heterodox, Whigs and Democrats; and, judging from the attentiveness of their manner and the character of the discourse, I doubt whether there was a single person who did not go away favorably impressed both towards the speaker and the cause he advocated.

Oct. 23. *Lib.* 22:190.

Oct. 24. *Lib.* 22:190.

Cf. Lib. 23:158.

I never hear Garrison without being struck with the absurdity of the charge that is sometimes brought against him — although we don't hear it so much lately as we used to — of being an Infidel. If there is any man in all my acquaintance who is more emphatically than any other *not* an Infidel, that man is Mr. Garrison. He is eminently a religious man. This is the secret of his power, both as a speaker and in his private relations. He places the cause on the broad basis of Christianity, and his appeals are always made to the conscience and through the religious sentiment. His discourses are in this respect like sermons of the best model; and it is a quite common remark, that "there is something apostolic in his manner." In one respect he always reminds me of the Hebrew writers of the Old Testament: he speaks of everything in its relation to God. The name of the Deity occurs sometimes in almost every other sentence — so frequently, indeed, that with almost any one else it would be in bad taste and savor of cant. "God is in all his thoughts," and this manifests itself in every speech he makes, whether in church or on the platform, and in all his conversation. To call such a man an Infidel is preposterous. With just as much propriety might he be called pro-slavery. . . .

But I am dwelling quite too long on this subject. My reason for alluding to it was what you said in your last letter about the efforts which an individual in England is making to neutralize Mr. Garrison's influence by appealing to the religious prejudices of the people against him. This is shameful, especially in one who makes such profession of devotedness to the anti-slavery cause as does that individual.[1]

[1] Probably the Rev. John Scoble, who had been busy for more than a twelvemonth in defaming Mr. Garrison; but perhaps the Rev. Dr.

A year before, Mr. McKim, in writing to Mr. Garrison on another topic, asked if the rumor were true that he believed in the spiritual origin of the so-called Rochester knockings. The first public revelation of his views on this subject — views which, if they did not tend to prove his infidelity, at least did not improve his orthodox standing — was made in the *Liberator* of May 7, 1852, in an editorial notice of the Rev. Charles Hammond's 'Light from the Spirit World [*via* Thomas Paine]':[1]

MS. Oct. 25, 1851.

"What are called 'Spiritual Manifestations' have been exciting a great deal of interest and discussion, for the last two or three years, in various sections of this country. The opinions formed and expressed in regard to them have ranged from the most implicit confidence in their authenticity, down to the most incorrigible skepticism as to the origin claimed for them. We have read nearly everything that has appeared, on all sides of the question (for it seems to be many-sided), and endeavored to hold the scales impartially, let the weight preponderate as it may. We have heard the rappings, seen the tables moved and overturned as by an invisible power, had correct answers given to mental test questions, become acquainted with several estimable 'mediums,' and had many astounding statements made to us on the most reliable authority. In this brief article we are unable to state in what light we regard these phenomena, beyond expressing our conviction that no satisfactory solution of them has yet been given by those who attribute them to imposture or delusion; and that they are so diverse and so extraordinary as both to challenge and demand a thorough investigation. If, here and there, an individual has succeeded in imitating certain sounds that are made, and imposing on the credulity of those

Lib. 22:74.

John Campbell, who had, since the beginning of the year 1852, continued the work in his *British Banner*, carefully excluding vindications of his victim. "Never, perhaps," wrote John Bishop Estlin of Bristol, to S. May, Jr., in the spring of 1852, "was W. L. G.'s name, more than now, odious in the eyes of *most* of the *professing* abolitionists of England. . . . A large number of people only know of him as a violent, immoral, infidel leader of a fanatical Abolition party" (quoted in MS. June 7, 1852, S. May, Jr., to W. L. G.). See the vindicatory pamphlet, 'Statements respecting the American Abolitionists, by their Opponents and their Friends,' published by the Bristol and Clifton Ladies' A. S. Society (Dublin: Webb & Chapman, 1852).

[1] Many similar notices are to be found in Vol. 22 of the *Liberator*, and the selections and communications relating to Spiritualism are allotted considerable space in the same volume.

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present, it is only as genuine coin is often so ingeniously counterfeited as to make it difficult for even the money-changer himself to detect the difference; it does not touch one of a thousand cases where the parties have been above reproach and beyond suspicion. . . .

Cf. Lib. 22 : 86.

"As yet, we must confess that we have never read anything, purporting to come from any distinguished person in the spirit world, that seemed to be equal to his genius and ability while here in the flesh; and this it is that makes us doubt, more than anything else (notwithstanding so many inexplicable phenomena), whether the communication actually comes from the source supposed."

Credence — entire credence — he would gladly have lent to a communication purporting to come, through his guileless Quaker friend, Isaac Post of Rochester, N. Y., from the spirit of N. P. Rogers, who died in 1846. He first heard of this from William C. Nell, a colored Bostonian temporarily assisting Frederick Douglass with his paper. He reprinted it in May, 1852, from Friend Post's 'Voices from the Spirit World,' saying that, whether emanating from Rogers or not, he fully reciprocated the friendly spirit of it. In his new state of existence, Rogers was made to say —

Oct. 16.

MS. Sept. 15-17, 1851.

Lib. 22:86, 88.

Lib. 22:88.

"Instead of contending with my former friends, I found they deserved all the encouragement in my power to give. I very soon became as closely united to my old friend, W. L. Garrison, as ever I had been; yes, far more. I do not wish to say he has always been faultless; but I do wish to bear my testimony that his great desire is to do his duty to God and man. My opposition, therefore, vanished like the morning dew. I have longed for the privilege of making him sensible of the change, and that it is I who have often whispered in his mental ear: 'Go on, my friend, for there is more with us than against us — if not bodily, surely there is spiritually, for God and all the good are with us.'"

Ante, p. 124.

It is one of the minor puzzling curiosities of spiritual manifestations that certain characters attach themselves to an individual inquirer, and present themselves to him through divers "mediums," both in his presence and in

his absence. Thus it was with the disembodied Rogers, or his impersonator, who, in the same month of September, 1851, sent another message of reconciliation through Oliver Johnson by a boy medium near Waterloo, N. Y., and who became from that time truly a familiar spirit to Mr. Garrison — sometimes notably, and so consistently as to produce the pleasurable conviction that it was indeed Rogers who, clothed and in his right mind, sought to atone for his hostile aberration, and to restore the joyous friendship of 1840.

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1852.
MS. Nov. (?) 1851, O. Johnson to W. L. G.

CHAPTER XIII.

The Bible Convention.— 1853.

Chap. XIII. 1853.

FROM among a dozen conventions which make the year 1853 memorable in Mr. Garrison's career, we choose for a caption the one that most affected his popular reputation. Theologically, his progress had been (from the orthodox point of view) steadily downward. The Chardon-Street Convention of 1840–41 had shown him willing to discuss the sanctity of the Sabbath, the Ministry, and the Church. The Anti-Sabbath Convention of 1848 marked the change from inquiry to open opposition to Sabbatarianism. The Hartford Bible Convention gave public notice of his abandonment of the common view of the inspiration of the Scriptures in which he had been bred. This, though not the lowest possible stage of descent — for an Anti-Bible Convention or Society was conceivable — was practically to touch bottom, and left nothing to be desired by his clerical detractors.

Ante, 2:421.

Ante, *p.* 218.

The first quarter of the year had been spent in and about Boston, but by the middle of April Mr. Garrison began his labors in the more distant fields. An anti-slavery convention had been called in Cincinnati for April 19, 1853, by the women of that city, and he was invited to attend. The scene was new to him, and he could visit on the way the friends in Cleveland to whom he had owed his life in 1847. On the day appointed he stood on the banks of the Ohio, and beheld for the first time the slave-cursed soil of Kentucky. For him the stream was perilously narrow, yet words of welcome and of fellowship had been sped across it from an ex-slave-

MS. Apr. 18, 1853, *W. L. G. to H. E. G.*; *ante*, *p.* 207.

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holder, Cassius M. Clay, living yonder in a perpetual state of siege, and carrying his life in his hands. He had, while a student at Yale, in June, 1831, heard Mr. Garrison's discourse at New Haven against Colonization, and then and there resolved to make relentless war on the institution of slavery. Meantime, he had emancipated his slaves and preached abolition, at all hazards to his person and property; joined in the Mexican War by a monstrous aberration of principle as of judgment, yet holding fast to his main purpose to make Kentucky free; and furnished an example without a parallel both of heroism and of the folly of attempting to undermine the Slave Power from within, even with its own weapons of violence — in other words, of "going South," as the abolitionists were taunted with not doing. A constant reader of the *Liberator*, and invited, like its editor, to attend the Cincinnati Convention, he wrote to the committee:

Ante, 1:260; *Autobiography C. M. Clay*, 1:55-57. *Cf. Lib.* 14:34.

Lib. 16:99, 103, 105, 111, 114; *Autobiography of Clay*, 1:110.

Lib. 23:66.

"You say W. L. Garrison will be present. I wish to say a word of that man. As a man, he stands first among living men, because he has labored most of all in that cause which is of most worth to mankind. It is not for me to say whether, with equal firmness and sensibility to the Right, he might or might not have done more service in a great cause! It is enough that, with whatever talent was loaned him by Deity, with that he has zealously, at all hazard of all things, contended for the highest interests of men. The day for his appreciation has not come! There is, however, one saying of his traducers, and the traducers of those who act with him, which I will notice — that 'they have set back the cause of emancipation by agitation'! Nothing is more false. The cause of emancipation advances only with agitation: let that cease, and despotism is complete. The slaveholders have just as much intention of yielding up their slaves as the sum of the kings of the earth have of laying down, for the benefit of the people, their sceptres! How long will, without agitation, kingdoms last?"

Lib. 23:70.

At the Convention, Mr. Garrison met, not Clay, indeed, but another abolition Southerner, the Rev. John Rankin, whose 'Letters' had stirred him as his own New Haven

Ante, 1:305.

discourse had fired Clay, and to whom he now renewed his public acknowledgments as a disciple. Since the economic evils of slavery had been forcibly pointed out in that work, it was meet that Mr. Garrison (in sight, too, and almost within hearing of thriftless Kentucky) should offer the following among other resolutions:

Lib. 23:70; *ante*, 1:306.

Lib. 23:70. "Resolved, That the abolitionists of this country are as much interested in the welfare, prosperity, and safety of the slaveholders as they are in the liberation and elevation of the slaves; that, in the abolition of the entire slave system, no actual property will be impaired or destroyed, but every kind of property will be enhanced and improved in value; that freedom is industrious, economical, enterprising, and fertile in useful expedients and beneficent discoveries, while slavery is indolent, wasteful, turning into barrenness the most fruitful soil, or paralyzing all the inventive and progressive faculties; and that emancipation can be as triumphantly defended on the ground of political economy and material prosperity, as it can be on moral and religious principle."

The Western tour was to have been prolonged to Michigan, but a sharp pleuritic attack confined Mr. Garrison to his bed and made return imperative — to the great disappointment of those who were expecting him at Adrian. Not more than a fortnight's rest, however, was allowed him in Boston, for the American Anti-Slavery Society was to hold its anniversary once more in New York city. In the interval, he attended on May 5 a dinner given in Boston by the Free Democracy to John P. Hale, whose Senatorial term had expired and his place been filled by Charles G. Atherton, of "gag" memory. Mr. Hale's political attitude towards slavery, under the compromises of the Constitution, certainly had not been acceptable to the abolitionists; but his solitary courage amid a contemptuous and murderous pro-slavery body like the Senate of the United States deserved, and had always received, recognition in the *Liberator*. Mr. Garrison, therefore, took his place without scruple beside Charles Sumner, John G. Palfrey, Horace Mann, Henry

Lib. 23:75.

Lib. 23:74.

Ante, 2: 247–249.

Lib. 23: [83].

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Wilson, Anson Burlingame, Richard H. Dana, Jr., John Jay, and Joshua Leavitt. On Cassius Clay's offering the toast — "*The True Union:* To Benton, to Bryant, to Seward, to Greeley, to Garrison, to Phillips, to Quincy — the union of ALL the opponents of the propaganda of slavery," there were loud calls for Garrison, who responded with peculiar felicity, paying just tributes to Hale and to Clay,[1] yet not forgetting his *delenda est Carthago.*

T. H. Benton. W. C. Bryant. W. H. Seward. H. Greeley.

Lib. 23:74.

"Ladies and Gentlemen," he began, "I am happy to be with you on this occasion. Whatever may be our peculiar views as to the best measures to be adopted, or the precise position to be occupied, one thing is true here — we are all '*Hale* fellows' (enthusiastic applause); and, what is better still, '*Hale* fellows WELL MET.' (Continued cheers.) It is not often that anti-slavery men are in a majority. (Applause.) I believe we have it all our own way here this evening. It is not possible that there can be a single pro-slavery man or woman in this vast assembly; and I will prove it. Allow me to put it to vote. As many here as are in favor of the immediate and everlasting overthrow of slavery, will please to say Aye! (An almost universal shout of affirmation went up.) As many as are opposed to the abolition of slavery, will say No! (A few voices replied 'No!' — evidently through a misconception of the speaker's remarks.) Sir, it is as I thought it would be — *the Ayes have it!* (Cheers and laughter.) And I hold that those who answered in the negative are bound, by their own rule of action, to come over to our side and make the vote unanimous; for pro-slavery in our country always is looking to majorities, and to be on the popular side. (Laughter and cheers.) . . .

Lib. 23:74.

"Sir, you will pardon me for the reference. I have heard something here about our Union, about the value of the Union, and the importance of preserving the Union. Gentlemen, if you have been so fortunate as to find a Union worth preserving, I heartily congratulate you. Cling to it with all your souls! For

[1] The first meeting of Garrison and C. M. Clay, whenever it took place, was not as early as 1844, as the latter records in his Autobiography (1 : 99; see *Lib.* 16 : 23). "I said to him: 'Why, Garrison, I had expected to see a long-faced ascetic; but I see you patriots are jolly, sleek fellows — not at all debarred of the good things of life.' He replied, in the same vein: 'And therein, Clay, you are wrong, and somewhat confound things. The ascetics are the wrong-doers! Who should be happy, if not those who are always right?' Garrison was a man of great common sense and much wit."

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myself, I have not been so fortunate. With a price set upon my head by one of the Southern States of the Union — outlawed everywhere in the slaveholding South for my hatred of slavery — you will pardon me if I am somewhat lacking in loyalty to the existing Union. (Laughter.)

"The Union! What is it? Where is it? Where, as the uncompromising friends of liberty, will you find protection under it? Gentlemen, look well to your language; use it intelligently and truly. The two great pro-slavery parties in the land join with you in glorifying this Union, and pledging to maintain it as a slavery-sustaining compact. If you use the term 'Union' in the ordinary political sense, then I ask how it happens that you who are pledged to give [no] support to slavery are thus in perfect agreement with those parties? If you do not, then I ask where is the Union, and what do you mean by preserving it? Why, are you not conscious of the fact that in South Carolina, in Alabama, in any slaveholding State, this anti-slavery gathering would not be tolerated? We should all be deemed worthy of Lynch law, and in all probability be subjected to a coat of tar and feathers! What a glorious Union it is that we are enjoying! How worthy of preservation!

"Alas! the 'Union' is but another name for the iron reign of the Slave Power. We have no common country, as yet. God grant we may have! We have no common Union, as yet. God grant we may have! We shall have it when the jubilee comes — and not till then."

Lib. 23: [78], 81.

The American Anti-Slavery Society met in New York city at the Chinese Assembly Room on May 11, 1853, amid the utmost quiet. Calhoun, and Clay, and Webster had, as Mr. Garrison pointed out, been translated since 1850. Was there no one to give the signal to Rynders to save the Union once more by mobbing the abolitionists away for another term of years? Could Mr. Garrison, unchecked, mention as signs of progress the blotting out of those pillars of the Slave Power, the Jerry rescue, the armed stand against the Fugitive Slave Law at Christiana, the success of 'Uncle Tom's Cabin'? So it appeared. Douglass, too, was there, but where was his "half-brother"? Dr. Furness's place was supplied by Henry Ward Beecher, who made his first speech on an abolition

Lib. 23:81.

Ante, p. 294.

Lib. 23: [82].

platform, not in complete sympathy, yet confessing that he would "choose dismemberment and liberty, sooner than Union and slavery." CHAP. XIII. 1853.

The best-considered and most effective speech of Mr. Garrison's during the year was that delivered at the New England Convention in Boston on May 26. It expounded the constitution and philosophy of the anti-slavery movement, proved its catholicity, and vindicated the criticism meted out on its platform to all who took their stand on it. In form, scope, and strictness of reasoning it was a classical production. But we must pass it by, for the Bible Convention is only a week off. *Lib.* 23: [87], 93.

In the *Liberator* of April 22, 1853, appeared a call to the friends of free discussion, "without distinction of sex, color, sect, or party," to meet at Hartford, Conn., on Thursday, June 2, to Sunday, June 5, "for the purpose of freely and fully canvassing the origin, authority, and influence of the Jewish and Christian Scriptures." It was signed by Andrew Jackson Davis, William Green, Jr., and William P. Donaldson. Mr. Green we have already met at the founding of the American Anti-Slavery Society. Mr. Davis was definable in a single word as a "seer," or prophet, possessed of clairvoyant powers,[1] and sometimes styled the "Great Harmonian," in allusion to the principal work embodying his philosophy. He was commonly classed among Spiritualists, though not strictly in line with them, and his admirers were Spiritualists for the most part. He had risen from a very humble origin without education, and manifested considerable gifts of style as a writer. His manners were amiable, gentle, and attractive. Henry C. Wright accounted him "a Jesus of this day." *Lib.* 23: 63. *Ante*, 1: 398, 401, 415. *Lib.* 23: 96. *Lib.* 27: 94. *Lib.* 23: 64.

Mr. Garrison gave his open approval to the call not long after its appearance, lent his signature to it, and consented to take part in the proceedings. He shared *Lib.* 23: [83].

[1] Procuring a lock of Mr. Garrison's rather scanty supply of hair, Mr. Davis evolved the "psychometry" of his new friend with a degree of success in characterization worth noticing (*Lib.* 23: 139).

Lib. 23 : 95. the hospitality of the Davises with H. C. Wright, Parker Pillsbury, and Joseph Barker, the last-named being chosen to preside over the Convention. Barker had apparently taken permanent leave of his native England, having *Lib.* 23 : 11. purchased a farm in Ohio and removed thither with his family. On his preliminary visit to this country he had *MS. Albany, Apr.* 19, 1851. *J. Barker to W. L. G.; ante, p.* 174. received from Mr. Garrison in Boston attentions like those he had bestowed in England. Once settled, he identified himself with the abolitionists, writing copiously for the *Liberator*, and finding there admission (which Edmund *Lib.* 22 : 80; *MS. Jan.* 13, 1853, *E. Quincy to R. D. Webb.* Quincy denied to it in the *Liberty Bell)* for an article showing that, since the Bible sanctioned slavery, the book must be demolished as a condition precedent to emancipation. In November, 1852, he had been prime *Nov.* 27–29. *Lib.* 22 : 174, 183; *MS. Dec.* 21, 1852, *Barker to W. L. G.* mover in a Bible Convention held at Salem, Ohio, concerning which he reported to Mr. Garrison that the meetings had been crowded, with just enough opposition.

At Hartford, likewise, there was a very full attendance, but the opposition was certainly excessive. Not that the clergy of the city appeared in force to deprecate the proposed examination of the Bible, or to maintain its divine origin and authority. With a single exception, they held entirely aloof. The Rev. Joseph Turner, a local Second-*Ante*, 2 : 67. *Lib.* 23 : 90. Adventist preacher, and the Rev. George Storrs of Brooklyn, N. Y., belonging to the same despised denomination, alone had the courage of their opinions and stood up for the inspiration of the Bible. They were (considering merely their adversaries) very unequal to the task, yet they served as rallying-points to the disorderly elements in the galleries — notably the divinity students from the adjacent Trinity College. These, as Mr. Garrison testified —

Lib. 23 : 90. "attempted to break up the meeting by stamping, shouting, yelling, groaning, grunting, hissing, mocking, cursing, whistling, making indecent and insulting expressions, on one occasion turning off the gas and extinguishing the lights, so that the meeting was for some time compelled to suspend its proceedings, and behaving throughout like a troop of demons let loose from the pit. Every appeal to their sense of propriety, to their

self-respect, was met derisively and with shouts of laughter. Even the Sabbath — *their holy Sabbath* — was no restraint on their rowdyism, so that it became necessary for the Mayor to be in attendance with a constabulary force. In the evening, so protracted and outrageous was their interruption, that an attempt was made to arrest one or two of the leading rioters, when a scene ensued that baffles description. The officers were violently assaulted, blows were freely interchanged, knives were drawn, and sword-canes were menacingly flourished, and it was not till two arrests had been made, with great difficulty, that anything like order was restored. And this was the best defence of the plenary inspiration of the Bible that pious, evangelical Hartford had to make on the occasion! After the adjournment, the theological ruffians (some of them the sons of Southern men-stealers and cradle-plunderers) gathered around the doors and took possession of the staircase, uttering foul language and insulting various persons; but the especial object of their murderous spite was 'Garrison! Garrison!'— and they vociferously exclaimed, 'Where is Garrison?' 'Bring him out!' 'Put a halter about his neck!'— etc., etc.[1] But we passed through them, unattended, and fortunately without injury — probably not being distinctly recognized." *June* 5, 1853.

Strange to say, however, the worst and grossest of the interruptions were directed against a woman, Mrs. Ernestine L. Rose, of great dignity of carriage and of unusual ability. Mr. Garrison himself had escaped, even on Sunday evening, with slight discourtesy. "Notwithstanding the pointedness and cutting character of many of the remarks of Mr. Garrison," says the official report, "addressed more particularly to the turbulent, they were listened to with marked attention throughout, demonstrations of any kind being but very few." Argumentatively considered, they were not as weighty or, perhaps, as "dangerous" (from the clerical point of view) as Joseph Barker's, who, as an ex-clergyman, had some advantages in a technical discussion. The pith of Mr. Garrison's speech lay in the resolutions with which he introduced it, and which incidentally attest the influence of his anti- *Lib.* 23: 114. *Proceedings Hartford Bible Convention, p.* 365.

[1] In the euphemism of the N. Y. *Herald* report, there were many "affectionate inquiries for Mr. Garrison" (*Lib.* 23 : 96).

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slavery experience on the development of his theological beliefs:

Lib. 23:95; *Proceedings Hartford Bible Convention, p.* 142.

"1st.—Resolved, That the doctrine of the American church and priesthood, that the Bible is the Word of God; that whatever it contains was given by Divine inspiration; and that it is the only rule of faith and practice, is self-evidently absurd, exceedingly injurious both to the intellect and soul, highly pernicious in its application, and a stumbling-block in the way of human redemption.[1]

"2d.—Resolved, That this doctrine has too long been held as a potent weapon in the hands of time-serving commentators and designing priests, to beat down the rising spirit of religious liberty, and to discourage scientific development — to subserve the interests of blind guides and false teachers, and to fill all Christendom with contention and strife; and, therefore, the time has come to declare its untruthfulness, and to unmask those who are guilty of this imposture.

"3d.—Resolved, That 'the Word of God is not bound' either within the lids of any book, or by any ecclesiastical edict; but, like its Divine Author, was before all books, and is everywhere present, and from everlasting to everlasting — ever enunciating the same law, and requiring the same obedience, being 'quick and powerful, and sharper than any two-edged sword'— the Bible itself being witness.

Heb. 4:12.

"4th.—Resolved, That it is a secondary question as to when, where, or by whom the books of the Old and New Testaments were written; but the primary and all-important question is, What do they teach and command? And in order to ascertain this, they are to be as freely examined, and as readily accepted or rejected, as any other books, according as they are found worthless or valuable.

"5th.—Resolved, That it is the climax of audacity and impiety for this nation to pretend to receive the Bible as the inspired Word of God, and then to make it a penal offence to give it to any of the millions who are held as chattel slaves on its soil, thus conspiring to make them miserable here and hereafter.

"6th.—Resolved, That, judging them by their course of action toward all the reforms of the age, and their position in society,

[1] *I. e.*, "Progression in knowledge, in wisdom, and in truth; thus perfecting ourselves; simply a matter of progression — redemption from a low and fallen state, bringing us up to a high and exalted one" ('Proceedings Hartford Bible Convention,' p. 204).

the clergy of this country, as a body, would as readily burn the Bible to-morrow if public sentiment overwhelmingly demanded it, and persecution and loss of character should be the result of disobedience, as to-day they are found earnest in their endorsement of the plenary inspiration of that book, in accordance with public sentiment."

Three other resolutions — exhibiting the impossibility of the Bible's being a consistent and unchanging rule of faith and practice, and the multifarious conflicting interpretations of it in the strife of ages, and the worthlessness of a profession of faith in it as a clew to character — were offered by Mr. Garrison on the last day. A single extract from his remarks on the first set, just cited in full, is all that we can indulge in — for its personal and prophetic bearing:

Proceedings Hartford Bible Convention, p. 167. Cf. Lib. 26 : 42.

"Sir, I know well the cost of an appearance in a Convention of this kind. I anticipate all that will be said, maliciously and opprobriously, on both sides the Atlantic, in regard to the resolutions which I have read in your hearing, and to my participancy in your proceedings. Already I hear the outcry of 'Infidel! *infidel!* INFIDEL!' on the part of those occupants of the pulpit who, while they are strong in their 'coward's castle,' never dare to make their appearance on a free platform before the people.

"I know, moreover, it will be said that this is another evidence of the infidel character of the anti-slavery movement. I know that the American Anti-Slavery Society will, by the bigoted and pharisaical, by the designing and wicked, be held responsible for the sentiments I may utter on this occasion. Shall I, therefore, be dumb? Will it indeed injure the cause of the slave, so dear to my heart, for me to express my thoughts conscientiously about the Bible? I do not believe it. Have I any right to speak on any other subject than American slavery? or am I morally bound to give it my undivided attention? Why, sir, no freedom of speech or inquiry is conceded to me in this land. Am I not vehemently told, both at the North and at the South, that I have no right to meddle with the question of slavery? And my right to speak on any other subject, in opposition to public opinion, is equally denied to me; not, it is true, by the strong arm of Government, but by the cowardly and tyrannical in spirit. Now I stand here, not as an abolitionist, not to repre-

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sent the anti-slavery cause, but simply as a man, uttering my own thoughts, on my own responsibility; and, therefore, whoever shall avail himself of my presence here to make me odious as the advocate of the slave, or to subject any anti-slavery body to reproach on that account, will reveal himself in his true character — that of a bigot, a hypocrite, or a falsifier."

Those who care may read the outpourings of the press, both secular and religious, on the "Infidel Convention," as grouped in the *Liberator*. The mob, as usual, found there its justification; and frightened editors even talked of securing legislative prohibition of such gatherings in the State of Connecticut, in view of the announcement that another Bible Convention would be held in January, 1854.

Lib. 23 : 96.

Lib. 23 : 95.

Proceedings Hartford Bible Convention, p. 371.

An excursion to Flushing, Long Island, in August, to take part in the celebration of West India emancipation under the management of the New York City Anti-Slavery Society,[1] broke for a moment Mr. Garrison's summer rest. By the end of the same month, he was on his way to New York to share in an extraordinary series of meetings crowded into a single week. In May a so-called World's Temperance Convention had been held in that city, under the customary clerical auspices, and, though consenting at first to admit certificated delegates from the Women's State Temperance Society, was convulsed by a motion to place one of them on the business committee. A hearing was refused to the women themselves, and they were finally excluded, as not contemplated in the call. A secession accordingly took place, led by the Rev. T. W. Higginson of Worcester, Mass. A fall meeting having been arranged for the same misnamed Convention, on September 6, 7, a counter Whole World's Temperance Convention was projected for September 1, 2, and Mr. Garrison was naturally among the signers of the latter call. He took a very subordinate part in the

Aug. 4, 1853; *Lib.* 23 : 129.

Lib. 23 : [84]; *Hist. Woman Suffrage*, 1 : 499.

Lib. 23 : 115.

MS. Sept. 5, 1853, *W. L. G. to H. E. G.*; *Lib.* 23 : 146.

[1] This organization was consequent upon the transfer of Oliver Johnson from the editorship of the *Pennsylvania Freeman* to the associate editorship (with S. H. Gay) of the *National Anti-Slavery Standard* (*Lib.* 23 : 47, 50, [78], 107).

proceedings, in which the women were of right conspicuous. Few of the clergy were visible, and no dignitaries. On the next evening (Saturday), he witnessed the performance of 'Uncle Tom's Cabin' at the National Theatre. On Sunday morning, he listened to a sermon delivered to a great audience in Metropolitan Hall by Miss Antoinette L. Brown.[1] In the afternoon, he spoke in the same place before the New York City Anti-Slavery Society, and attended without addressing the evening meeting, towards the close of which, during the speeches of Lucy Stone, who "never acquitted herself better," and Lucretia Mott, the rowdyism led by the redoubtable Rynders became so rampant that the session was cut short. But "we are all in fine spirits," wrote Mr. Garrison to his wife. The programme for Monday was a meeting at the Tabernacle in aid of the Women's State Temperance Society; for Tuesday and Wednesday, a Woman's Rights Convention in the Tabernacle, parallel with the bastard World's Temperance Convention at Metropolitan Hall.

CHAP. XIII. 1853. *Sept.* 3. *Sept.* 4. *Lib.* 23: 146. *Lib.* 23: 142, 146. *MS. Sept.* 5. *Sept.* 5. *Lib.* 23: 146. *Sept.* 6, 7. *Hist. Woman Suffrage,* 1: 564.

The woman's rights movement, an outgrowth of the anti-slavery agitation, now first began to succeed to the obloquy, malevolence, and vulgar indignities which the earlier reform had drawn upon itself. All this had been foreshadowed in the anti-slavery experience of the Grimkés and of Abby Kelley Foster; but the organization of women in behalf of political equality, and the multiplication of them as speakers on public platforms, the "intrusion" of them into the pulpit (as in the case of Miss Brown), renewed and intensified the persecution, in which, as formerly, the clergy took a leading part. The Bible was explicitly adduced to discredit the innovation, and the lowest ridicule was deemed justifiable as an aid to Scriptural anathema. The wearing of the Bloomer costume by some of the advocates of the cause furnished a ready occasion for this sort of opposition. The same journals, religious and secular, that nursed the mob spirit

Ante, 2: 133–135, 297, 348, 349; *Lib.* 26: 3; 28: 9.

[1] A graduate of Oberlin. She was shortly ordained pastor of the Congregational Church at South Butler, N. Y. (*Lib.* 23: 151).

Hist. Woman Suffrage, 1: 546, 547.

for the suppression of abolitionism, provoked and fanned it for the Woman's Rights Convention at the Tabernacle in this first week of September, 1853. Mrs. Mott presided, and lent to the occasion all the defence that purity of life and charm of person and Quaker dignity could contribute; but in vain. The overruling of the rights of the promoters of the Convention and of the vast majority of the audience was unchecked, especially in the evening, although the police made a show of preserving order. Mr. Garrison appears to have spoken twice and to have been heard.

Lib. 23: 148; *Hist. Woman Suffrage*, 1: 547–577.

Ibid., 1: 548, 570.

Ibid., 1: 549.

"The land," he said, "is beginning to be convulsed. The opposition to the movement is assuming a malignant, desperate, and satanic character; every missile of wickedness that can be hurled against it is used. The pulpit is excited, the press is aroused; Church and State are in arms to put down a movement on behalf of justice to one-half of the whole human race. (Laughter and cheers.) The Bible, revered in our land as the inspired Word of God, is, by pulpit interpreters, made directly hostile to what we are endeavoring to obtain as a measure of right and justice; and the cry of infidelity is heard on the right hand and on the left, in order to combine public opinion so as to extinguish the movement.

"Now, beloved, let us not imagine that any strange thing has happened to us. We are but passing through one of the world's great crises; we, too, in our day, are permitted to contend with spiritual wickedness in high places — with principalities and powers. What reform was ever yet begun and carried on with any reputation in the day thereof? What reform, however glorious and divine, was ever advocated at the outset with rejoicing? And if they have called the Master of the house Beelzebub, how much more them of his household? (Cheers and stamping.)

"I have been derisively called a '*Woman's Rights Man.*' I know no such distinction. I claim to be a HUMAN RIGHTS MAN; and wherever there is a human being, I see God-given rights inherent in that being, whatever may be the sex or complexion.

"To the excellence of the movement God has given witnesses in abundance, on the right hand and on the left. Show me a cause anathematized by the chief priests, the scribes, and the pharisees; which politicians and demagogues endeavor to crush; which reptiles and serpents in human flesh try to spread their

slime over, and hiss down, and I will show you a cause which God loves, and angels contemplate with admiration. Such is our movement." CHAP. XIII. 1853.

In the intervals of the sessions, he visited the World's Temperance Convention, where Wendell Phillips, a delegate, was endeavoring to obtain a hearing for Antoinette Brown, a fellow-delegate. Here the mob was in the governing body, especially the clerical portion of it, which descended to depths of shamelessness not exceeded by the gallery disturbers of the Woman's Rights Convention. *Lib.* 23: 146, 147, 149, 150.

"I have seen many tumultuous meetings in my day," reported Mr. Garrison subsequently, "but I think on no occasion have I ever seen anything more disgraceful to our common humanity than when Miss Brown attempted to speak upon the platform of the World's Temperance Convention, in aid of the glorious cause which had brought that Convention together.[1] It was an outbreak of passion, contempt, indignation, and every vile emotion of the soul, throwing into the shade almost everything coming from the vilest of the vile that I have ever witnessed on any occasion or under any circumstances; venerable men, claiming to be holy men, the ambassadors of Jesus Christ, losing all self-respect and transforming themselves into the most unmannerly and violent spirits, merely on account of the sex of the individual who wished to address the assembly." *Hist. Woman Suffrage*, 1: 160.

On October 3, Mr. Garrison began a tour to the West with special reference to Michigan. Cleveland was his first halting-place, for there, on the 6th, 7th, and 8th of the month, the fourth National Woman's Rights Convention was to be held. He served on the business committee and was among the speakers, the nine sessions passing off with no sign of popular displeasure, though not without clerical disturbance.[2] The first of seven resolutions from his pen read as follows: *Lib.* 23: 158. *Hist. Woman Suffrage*, 1: 125, 136; *Lib.* 23: 174, 182.

"Resolved, That the natural rights of one human being are those of every other, in all cases equally sacred and inalienable; *Hist. Woman Suffrage*, 1: 818.

1 The political coalition of Prohibitionists and Woman Suffragists in our day throws a curious light on the worldly wisdom of the treatment of Miss Brown.

2 Joseph Barker, having maintained that the Bible was opposed to woman's rights and was therefore to be got rid of (*Lib.* 23: 174), was

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hence the boasted 'Rights of Man,' about which we hear so much, are simply the 'Rights of Woman,' of which we hear so little; or, in other words, they are the Rights of Humanity, neither affected by, nor dependent upon, sex or condition."

Adrian, Michigan, was reached on October 8.

W. L. Garrison to his Wife.

ADRIAN, October 10, 1853.

MS.; Lib. 23 : 190.

At the depot here, I found waiting for us[1] with his team Thomas Chandler, the brother of the lamented Elizabeth M. Chandler, who took us to his home, about five miles from this city. . . . I was received with all the cordiality of Western hospitality.

Ante, 1 : 145.

Oct. 9.

Yesterday (Sunday), we had two meetings in a commodious hall capable of holding nearly a thousand persons. It was crowded most densely, and many could find no entrance. Over the platform was placed the name of "Garrison," in well-executed letters in evergreen, surrounded with a wreath. On one side of the room were inscribed the words, "I am an abolitionist," in a similar manner, and on the other side, "Our country is the world — our countrymen are all mankind." I forgot to add in its place that, under my name, were two hands clasped together, one white, the other black. . . . I spoke at considerable length at both meetings, and was listened to with the most profound attention; and my remarks seemed to be generally well received. It is impossible to say anything new here on the subject of slavery, as they have had all our able lecturers in superabundance. It is almost like "carrying coals to Newcastle," and I felt it to be so.

I was agreeably surprised, while speaking in the afternoon, to see Sallie Holley[2] come into the meeting, with her travelling

fallen foul of as an infidel and a renegade priest by the Rev. Edwin H. Nevin, already known to Mr. Garrison for his assurance and duplicity (*Lib.* 14 : 90; 23 : 182). Nevin's outrageous behavior at length drew from Mr. Garrison the open remark: "He is manifestly here in the spirit of a blackguard and rowdy" ('Hist. Woman Suffrage,' 1 : 140). This led to a laughable vindication of the clergyman at the hall door after the session, where his younger brother "concluded to take an apology from his [Garrison's] nose, as he could not obtain one from his lips" — to quote the reverend gentleman's own account of this "undesirable affair" (*Lib.* 23 : 178, 182).

[1] Viz., W. L. G., and Marius R. Robinson, editor of the *Anti-Slavery Bugle* (*Lib.* 23 : 190).

[2] Daughter of Myron Holley, for some two years past a very acceptable anti-slavery lecturer.

companion, Miss Putnam. She has been laboring with great success in Detroit and other places, and will probably be induced to remain in the State a short time longer. *Caroline F. Putnam.*

W. L. Garrison to his Wife.

BATTLE CREEK, October 15, 1853. *MS.; Lib.* 23 : 190. *Oct.* 11.

On Tuesday last, I spent the day (with Mr. Robinson of the *Bugle*, Sallie Holley, and Caroline Putnam) at Thomas Chandler's. . . . I spent an hour alone at the grave of Elizabeth (the remains of her aunt lying beside those of her own), and pencilled a sonnet on the post of the railing erected around the deceased, expressive of my estimate of her virtues, and the feelings of my heart. Sallie Holley had previously paid a brief tribute with her pencil to the exalted worth of the departed. There was nothing else to identify the persons whose remains were lying beneath the sod. They are buried on a rising elevation in a large wheat field, which is seen conspicuously at a considerable distance — half a dozen young and thrifty oak trees standing in a row on one side of the enclosure. To me it was hallowed ground, and, while standing there, I renewed my pledge of fidelity to the cause of the enslaved while life continues. Thomas reminds me somewhat of dear brother George. His heart was well-nigh buried in Elizabeth's grave, and his reverence for her memory carries an air of solemnity about it, as though she had been an angelic visitant from another sphere. . . . *Lib.* 23 : 190. *G. W. Benson.*

This afternoon I leave for Detroit, where I am to speak to-morrow afternoon and evening. There is a good deal of excitement in that place, caused by the recent meetings held there by S. S. and Abby K. Foster. The Detroit papers are full of pro-slavery slang, especially the Free Soil paper, which has assailed our friends after the style of Bennett's *Herald*.[1] I expect to be slandered, caricatured, and assailed, in the worst manner; but no matter. One of the Detroit papers exults that my nose was pulled at Cleveland! *Free Democrat.* *J. G. Bennett.*

[1] On November 9, 1853, Mrs. Foster wrote from Plymouth, Mich., to Samuel May, Jr. (MS.): "We are doing over again, in Michigan, what we did nearly fifteen years ago in New England, and eight years ago in Ohio — fighting "New Organization," here under the cover of Free Democracy. We little dreamed, when we came here, what we should have to encounter. It never occurred to us that, as a matter of course, this conflict must be passed [through] everywhere before genuine anti-slavery could get a substantial footing. When we went to Detroit, we did not even know that

W. L. Garrison to his Wife.

MS.

DETROIT, October 17, 1853.

Sallie Holley has recently lectured here, to very general acceptance, as she does everywhere — her addresses being of a religious character, without dealing with persons, churches, and parties in a way to probe them to the quick, yet doing good service to the cause. More recently, our friends the Fosters have held four or five meetings in the City Hall, which were well attended, and which created a good deal of excitement and discussion. They are acting, in various places, as my forerunners; and, by their solicitation, I came this long distance *Oct.* 15. from Battle Creek (about 140 miles) on Saturday, with my friend Marius R. Robinson,— they having left a few days previous,— thinking I should find all the necessary arrangements made for my lecturing on Sunday afternoon and evening. But, lo! on our arrival, we found nothing had been done — or, rather, that not a hall in the place could be obtained for me, *Foster.* "for love or money." Stephen and Abby, instead of facilitating my progress, appear to have given me an Irish hoist, "a peg lower." Indeed, the last evening they lectured here, they were enabled to get into the City Hall only by some persons breaking the lock, and taking possession of it without leave — a measure I would not have sanctioned. The notices of their meetings and persons, by the Detroit papers (especially the Free Soil organ), were abusive, untruthful, and scurrilous, to the last degree. Everywhere the press in this country is as foul as the gutter, and as unprincipled as the father of lies. Most of the proprietors and editors more richly deserve a place in the penitentiary than many of its inmates; for they sin as with "a cart-rope," and on the largest and most comprehensive scale. It is a terrible sign of general corruption.

MS. Oct. 17, 1853, W. L. G. to H. E. G.

To pass the time, on Sunday, October 16, Mr. Garrison crossed the Detroit River, and first set foot on Canadian soil at Windsor — a fit place, as it was largely populated

the Free Soil paper was edited by two priests. Indeed, we knew almost nothing about it, though, since, we have learned that it has always been thrusting a stab at Garrison when it could find opportunity. But since Garrison and ourselves were there, it has kept a constant stream running from its vials of wrath, mainly on Garrison. St. Clair, the veritable Alanson, of New Organization memory, is lecturing for the party and obtaining subscribers for the paper. . . ."

by fugitives from the United States. He walked also to the neighboring Sandwich, likewise a place of refuge from American tyranny, and "saw the barracks (formerly occupied by British soldiers) which, winter before last, were opened to shelter the crowd of fugitive slaves then hastening to that spot, to prevent them from perishing." Returning to Detroit, he addressed the colored citizens in the evening in one of their three churches, the Methodist, and was warmly received. CHAP. XIII. 1853.

Adrian was revisited on account of the State Anti-Slavery Convention appointed for October 22, 23, at which a Michigan Anti-Slavery Society was founded. *Lib.* 23: 179. Thence began Mr. Garrison's homeward journey by way of Ohio, the kindest of hosts being found in Joshua R. Giddings at Jefferson. *Lib.* 23: 190; *Nov.* 3. Boston was reached early in November, but home had once more to be abandoned before the close of this restless year. *Lib.* 23: 182. The second decade of the American Anti-Slavery Society called for commemoration, in Philadelphia, on December 3 and 4. *Lib.* 23: 170, [194], [195]; *Pamphlet Proceedings Am. A. S. S. at its 2d Decade.* Mr. Garrison presided, Samuel J. May read once more the Declaration of Sentiments of 1833. Noticeable was the number of women speakers. Not less so was the drift of the remarks towards one topic — the public estimation of the abolitionists as infidels.

On this head the following correspondence will be found instructive. Mrs. Stowe had returned in September from her foreign tour, during which, if she had been taken under the wing of the Glasgow female sectarian abolitionists, engaged at the very moment in advertising Mr. Garrison's infidelity, she had on the other hand been the guest of Mrs. Chapman in Paris. *Sept.* 18, 1853; *Lib.* 23: 151. *Lib.* 23: 73. *Lib.* 23: 155.

Harriet Beecher Stowe to W. L. Garrison.

[ANDOVER, Mass., November, 1853.] *MS., no date. Cf. Lib.* 23: 202.

DEAR SIR: The letter you were so kind as to address to me on my departure for Europe, I was unable to read for some time, owing to ill health. When I could read, I had not strength to reply to it. In Switzerland, I projected the plan of a letter

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which I meant to have addressed to you publicly through the columns of the *Liberator*. That was never finished, but I think I shall finish and offer it to your columns at some future time.

In regard to you, your paper, and, in some measure, your party, I am in an honest embarrassment. I sympathize with you fully in many of your positions; others I consider erroneous, hurtful to liberty and the progress of humanity. Nevertheless, I believe you and those who support them to be honest and conscientious in your course and opinions.

I am a constant reader of your paper, and an admirer of much that is in it. I like its frankness, fearlessness, truthfulness, and independence. At the same time I regard with apprehension and sorrow much that is in it. Were it circulated only among intelligent, well-balanced minds, able to discriminate between good and evil, I should not feel so much apprehension. To *me* the paper is decidedly valuable as a fresh and able exposé of the ultra progressive element in our times. What I fear is, that it will take from poor Uncle Tom his Bible, and give him nothing in its place. You understand me — do you not?

In this view I cannot conscientiously do anything which might endorse your party and your paper, without at the same time entering protest against what I consider erroneous and hurtful. With this view I have written the letter of reply to your invitation,[1] and I imagine that I give you the greatest possible proof of esteem and regard by thus frankly telling you my whole mind, and expecting you to be well pleased with my sincerity.

For many reasons, I should like to have an opportunity of free conversation with you. Could you not come and make us a call one of these days? If you will appoint a time, I will be sure to be at home.

Very truly yours,

H. B. STOWE.

Harriet Beecher Stowe to W. L. Garrison.

MS.

[ANDOVER], Cabin, November 30, 1853.

DEAR FRIEND: I am obliged to you for the frankness and kindness with which you have responded to my note, the more that you are pressed with many engagements. I am not in the least displeased at the frank earnestness of your letter. Thus ever should the friends of truth and goodness speak to each

[1] Presumably, to attend the celebration of the Twentieth Anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society. See next page.

other: life is too short and truth too important for us to do otherwise. CHAP. XIII. 1853.

It seems to me that you have not fully apprehended the purport and spirit of my letter to the Anti-Slavery Society. I willingly, in this view of the matter, withdraw the letter.[1] I, however, differ from you (if I understand you) in some points very considerably; but as I perceive that you misapprehend me somewhat, it is quite possible that I do not fully understand you. My note to you was hasty — not fully elaborated. It is difficult in letter-writing for people to come to a full appreciation of sentiments on a very extensive and somewhat complicated subject; and this leads me to say that the most satisfactory part of your letter is that in which you allow us to hope for the pleasure of seeing you at our house.

Allow me to give a more tangible shape to the anticipation by proposing that any day this week or next, after closing your daily labors, you should take the cars for Andover and pass one night under the shelter of the "Cabin." Then I shall be pleased to show you many memorials of the kindness of English friends shown *to the cause of the slave* through me. I will then frankly lay before you all my views, and perhaps when you see *all* that is before my mind, you will then think differently of my letter, and perhaps you will succeed in leading me to think differently on many points. I am open to conviction, and hope to learn something daily.

May I trouble you to bring the manuscript of my letter, of which your beautifully written epistle makes me sufficiently ashamed. Writing is to me, in my present state of health, such an effort that I am sadly ashamed of many things which I send out simply because I have not strength to copy them.

Harriet Beecher Stowe to W. L. Garrison.

[ANDOVER], Cabin, December 12, 1853. *MS.*

On one point *I* confess myself to be puzzled. Why are Wright, etc., so sensitive to the use of the term "*infidel*"? If I understand H. Wright's letters in the *Liberator*, he openly professes to be what is called commonly an infidel. Names are given for convenience' sake — such as Unitarian, Baptist, Universalist, Infidel. They mark the belief of the individual. If *Henry C. Wright.*

[1] This accounts for its non-appearance in the pamphlet report of the anniversary proceedings.

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H. Wright is not an infidel, what is he? I inquire honestly, for if anybody had asked me if he was one, I should have answered yes without a moment's hesitation, in the same manner as I should have said that May was a Unitarian. . . .

S. J. May.

I find the following numbers missing from the *Liberator* of this year, and should like to have them sent me: 27, 28, 29, 30, 39, 41, 49.

Harriet Beecher Stowe to W. L. Garrison.

MS. no date.

[ANDOVER, December, 1853 (?).]

Lib. 23:202, *Dec.* 23, 1853.

I see you have published your letter to me in the *Liberator*. I did not reply to that letter immediately because I did not wish to speak on so important a subject *unadvisedly* and without proper thought and reflection. The course I pursued was to make up my file of the *Liberator*, and give it a general investigation as to its drift and course of thought for the past summer. I have also read through with attention Theodore Parker's works on religion, which I suppose give me somewhat of a fair view of the modern form of what people have generally denominated "infidelity." I use the word here for convenience' sake, without the slightest invidious intention. I also suppose that these works may not present the subject *exactly* as you view it, since no two persons of independent minds ever view a subject precisely alike; but yet by the two together I can perhaps form a general estimate, sufficiently accurate, of how your mind lies.

I do not answer this letter in the paper, because I think a more private discussion of the matter likely to prove more useful.

Briefly, then, my objection to the *Liberator* is not its free discussion — for that I approve; not the *fact* of its inquiring into the Bible and the Sabbath and other things of that kind — but the *manner* of it. . . . I notice [among] Mr. Parker's sermons one which contains some very excellent thoughts on the uses of the Sabbath. Considered merely as a human institution, according to him, its preservation is exceedingly desirable, and its obliteration would be a great calamity. I notice also a very eloquent passage on the uses and influence of the Bible. He considers it to embody absolute and perfect religion, and that no better mode for securing present and eternal happiness can be found than the obedience to certain religious precepts therein recorded. He would have it read, circulated; and considers it,

Ante, p. 226.

as I infer, a Christian duty to send it to the heathen, the slave, etc. I presume you agree with him.

These things being supposed about the Bible and the Sabbath certainly would make it appear, that if any man deems it his duty to lessen their standing in the eyes of the community, he ought at least to do it in a cautious and reverential spirit, with humility and prayer. My objection to the mode in which these matters are handled in the *Liberator* is, that the general tone and spirit seems to me the reverse of this. In place of calm, serious inquiry, I see hasty assertions, appeals to passion and prejudice, and a very general absence of proof of many of the things stated. Is this the way the image of eternal truth can be discovered? Can the stars mirror themselves in stormy and troubled water? As an instance of appeal to the passion, I notice your assertion with regard to the American clergy, that if public sentiment required it they would burn the Bible to-morrow, etc. This includes *all* the clergy, without an exception, and accuses them of being unprincipled men, not fit to be trusted in any relation of life. Are assertions like these, which, in the nature of the case, cannot be proved, calculated to lead your hearers, on either side of the question, to that serious and dispassionate frame necessary for the examination of vital religious truth? H. C. Wright's pieces, some of them, contain reflections and assertions on the Jewish Scriptures which no benevolent and just man ought to make without great research and care, and without proper proof. . . .

Ante, p. 387.

Your name and benevolent labors have given your paper a circulation among many of the poor and lowly. They have no means of investigation, no habits of reasoning. The Bible, as they at present understand it, is doing them great good, and the Sabbath is a blessing to them and their families. The whole tendency of this mode of proceeding is to lessen their respect and reverence for the Bible while you give them *nothing in its place.*

It is true that *Uncle Tom*, having the *witness in himself*, cannot be shaken; but he has a family whom he is trying to restrain and guide by the motives drawn from this book; and when your paper breaks the bands of reverence and belief — when his sons learn that it (the Old Testament) is a mass of Jewish fables, of absurd and bloody stories, mingled with some good and excellent things, and that the New Testament is a history, of a very low degree of credibility, of a man just as fallible as themselves, and who was mistaken and has misled the whole

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Christian world on many important points, and that he is himself as good a judge of religious truth as Christ — I say, when a Christian father and mother find their children believing such things, of what use will the Bible be to them in education?

I moreover regret these things on account of their inevitable influence on the cause of Human Liberty. It is impossible, while men are what they are, that this course of things should not operate injuriously on the cause. People *will* connect the sentiments and expressions of your paper with the cause, and we all feel continually this difficulty. . . .

I have no *fear* of discussion as to its final results on the Bible: my only regrets are for those human beings whose present and immortal interests I think compromised by this *manner* of discussion. Discussion of the Evidences and of [the] Authenticity and Inspiration of the Bible, and of all theology, will come more and more, and I rejoice that they will. . . .

Once more in regard to the use of the term Infidel. I think every class of men have a right to choose the designation by which they will be called. When a term which has been used as descriptive of their opinions has become a term of odium, they have a right to repudiate it as not fairly expressing their position. The sentiments which Mr. Parker, yourself, and H. C. Wright hold, are what have generally been considered infidel; but as that word, as applied to men formerly, implied a certain degree of contempt and defiance towards the Bible and its teachings which you do not feel, you have a right to choose your own name on fairly stating what it is, and what is implied by it. . . .

Theodore Parker.

As to you, my dear friend, you must own that my frankness to you is the best expression of my confidence in your honor and nobleness. Did I not believe that in many respects "an excellent spirit is in you," I would not take the trouble to write all this. One word more. As to your views of the Bible: Do you examine *both* sides? Do you take pains to seek and to find the most able arguments against your views as well as for them? I take pains to read and study all upon your side — do you do the same as to mine?

If in any points in this note I appear to have misapprehended or done you injustice, I hope you will candidly let me know where and how.

The letter to which the last of the above-quoted series is a rejoinder, may be read in full in the *Liberator*.

We select one passage to which Mrs. Stowe offers no reply: CHAP. XIII. 1853.

"You say it is on the Bible you ground all your hopes of the liberties, not only of the slave, but of the whole human race. How does it happen, then, that, in a nation professing to place as high an estimate upon that volume as yourself, and denouncing as infidels all who do not hold it equally sacred, there are three millions and a half of chattel slaves, who are denied its possession, under severe penalties? Is not slavery sanctioned by the Bible, according to the interpretation of it by the clergy generally, its recognized expounders? What, then, does the cause of bleeding humanity gain by all this veneration for the book? *Lib.* 23:202.

"My reliance for the deliverance of the oppressed universally is upon the nature of man, the inherent wrongfulness of oppression, the power of truth, and the omnipotence of God — using every rightful instrumentality to hasten the jubilee."

Mrs. Stowe's line of argument will seem, to the readers of the present narrative from the beginning, somewhat anachronistic, as if (which was the truth) proceeding from one who knew nothing of Mr. Garrison's theological evolution, either in its hyperorthodox source or in the causes which led to his spiritual emancipation — such, for example, as are implied in the passage just reproduced. This was not to be learned by a single summer's study of the *Liberator*.

The friendly meeting at Andover cannot be exactly dated, but it probably took place in the second week of December. "I was dreadfully afraid of your father," Mrs. Stowe has since said to one of Garrison's children;[1] but the conference under her roof dispelled that feeling forever. His spirit captivated her as it had done many another of like prejudices. "You have," she wrote to him on December 12, 1853, "a remarkable tact at conversation."[2] *MS.*

[1] To F. J. G., at the Garden Party given her by her publishers in 1882.

[2] On Aug. 7, 1854, Wendell Phillips wrote to Elizabeth Pease Nichol (Miss Pease had married Prof. John Nichol of the Glasgow Observatory on July 6, 1853): "Mrs. Stowe has been so intimate, confidential and closely allied with us all here, visiting W. L. G. *often*, and sending for him still oftener, . . ." (MS.)

CHAPTER XIV.

The Nebraska Bill.—1854.

Lib. 24:82. THE Civil War began in 1854 with the passage of the Nebraska Bill. By this measure a tract embracing upwards of 400,000 square miles, bounded on the north by the British dominions, and on the south by the Indian Territory, and lying between the Missouri River and the *Lib.* 24:33. Rocky Mountains,—larger than the original thirteen States, comparable in size to the then existing free States, or to Italy, Spain, and France,—was thrown open to slavery, though expressly dedicated to freedom by the Missouri Compromise, as lying wholly north of 36° 30′. *Lib.* 24:23. This revolutionary proceeding threatened to divide by a great wedge the free States of the Pacific Coast from those of the interior and the East, and to give to the Slave Power the exclusive control of the Mississippi Valley.

The Compromise of 1850 had left the Missouri Compromise untouched and unquestioned. Calhoun — grant him Southern California and New Mexico for slavery — was *Ante, p.* 217. ready, if reluctant, to protract the dividing parallel to the Pacific. Lewis Cass, in his famous letter to A. O. P. Nicholson, December 24, 1847, laid down a principle of "squatter sovereignty" broad enough, indeed, for all the Territories of the United States, yet intended for immediate application only to the imminent acquisitions from *Lib.* 18:105. Mexico. Stephen A. Douglas, speaking at New Orleans in the summer of 1848, had also the Wilmot Proviso expressly in view when echoing Cass's doctrine, viz., that it was for "the people inhabiting them [the Territories] to regulate their internal concerns in their own way [*i. e.*,

Greeley's Struggle for Slavery Extension, p. 47.

to establish slavery]," and that Federal interposition on behalf of freedom was a usurpation. It was Douglas who now gave the widest effect to this view by pretending that it was contained in the Compromise of 1850, and that the Missouri Compromise had been, effectively if not deliberately, superseded and abrogated.

Lib. 24: 6, 9; *Greeley's Struggle for Slavery Extension, p.* 73.

The report of the "Committee on Territories to whom was referred a bill for an act to establish the Territory of Nebraska," was made in the Senate by Douglas on January 4, 1854. On February 15, he procured the passage of an amendment to his bill, excepting from the general applicability of the Federal Constitution and laws to the Territory in question the eighth section of the Missouri Compromise Act —

Ibid., pp. 75, 88.

"which, being inconsistent with the principle of non-intervention by Congress with slavery in the States and Territories, as recognized by the legislation of 1850 (commonly called the Compromise Measures), is hereby declared inoperative and void; it being the true intent and meaning of this act not to legislate slavery into any Territory or State, nor to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States."

This was both an historic and an instant falsehood. Neither the earlier nor the later compromise established general principles, but in each case a specific bargain was struck, which, nominally, was binding for all time, but legally was exposed to repudiation by Congress at any time, so far as promises or prohibitions were concerned. Nor was it the intent of the Slave Power to allow the people to establish free institutions, as the whole framing of the act showed, and as followed from the mere fact of tolerating slave property, like any other, pending organization as a State. As Benton well said in the debates in the House, the squatter "sovereignty" provided for in the bill "only extends to the subject of slavery, and only to one side of that — the admitting side." All laws to prevent the bringing in of slaves were forbidden, and the

T. H. Benton.

Lib. 24: 70.

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"sovereigns" could not pass upon and settle the question of slave or free society till a State government was formed. Meanwhile, the "institution" would have taken possession, and could only have been expelled by force. In 1847, a public meeting at Richmond, Va., affirmed the right to take slave property into the Territories north of 36° 30′, and proposed to assert it "by arms." With the right sanctioned by Congress, and settlement actually made, the whole South could be counted on to maintain the advantage by arms. It only remained to secure Federal protection for slave property in transit in the free States to complete the pro-slavery mastery of the entire Union.

Circa Mar. 1; *Lib.* 17: 38.

The reaction at the North in face of this prospect — the free belt of the continent cut in halves, a barrier raised to the westward movement of population and the incoming of emigrants from abroad, and an indefinite number of slave States creatable to maintain the Senate as the impregnable bulwark of the Slave Power — the reaction, we say, was immediate and tremendous, but as futile after as before the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act. It was all very well to hang Douglas in effigy — for legislatures to protest, and eleven hundred women led by Mrs. Stowe to remonstrate, and the New England clergy to come out in a petition more than three thousand strong, embracing the chiefs of all the denominations and the most conspicuous censors of the abolitionists, like Lyman Beecher, Francis Wayland, and Leonard Bacon.[1] The Slave Power had taken its stride. Even the Boston "respectability," the Hunkers, stood aghast at the breach

Lib. 24: 38, 51, 55, 59, 63. *Lib.* 24: 33, 35; *MS. Feb.* (18?), 1854, *Mrs. Stowe to W. L. G. Lib.* 24: [42], 57.

Lib. 24: 57.

[1] This memorial was received by the pro-slavery press North and South with the utmost contumely (*Lib.* 24: 50, 53), and with marked coarseness by Senator Douglas (*Lib.* 24: [42], 54). "All this," wrote Mr. Garrison, "is equally instructive and refreshing. For more than twenty years, the clergy of New England have denounced the abolitionists as lacking in sound judgment, good temper, Christian courtesy, and brotherly kindness, in their treatment of the question of Slavery," and as having, therefore, "needlessly brought upon themselves the hot indignation of the South; and now, these reverend critics, waking up at last to a sense of their duty, attempt to prevent the introduction of slavery to an immense territory plighted to freedom, [and] are denounced by the minions of the Slave Power as bitterly as the most 'ultra' of the 'Garrisonians'" (*Lib.* 24: 50).

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of national faith, and mouthed feebly. When it came to measures of solid resistance, men of this class instinctively felt released from the obligation to return fugitive slaves, and legislatures began to throw fresh obstacles in the way of kidnappers. More practical was the incorporation, first in Massachusetts, of "Emigrant Aid" associations to pour free-State settlers into Kansas and Nebraska, slavery having the shortest cut to the scene of competition. Yet, as the Rev. T. W. Higginson asked, in a sermon to his Worcester flock announcing a Revolution begun, of what use was it to make of Nebraska a transplanted Massachusetts, when Massachusetts herself had been miserably wanting to the cause of freedom?

Lib. 24: 103, 110, 198.

Lib. 24: 62, 74, 115.

Lib. 24: 95.

In comparing the Nebraska with the Texas excitement, one feels that the Fugitive Slave Law was a weakener of resistance in 1854, since it afforded a satisfying scapegoat to outraged Northern feeling. "Add an unlimited number of slave States to the Union, and we will not return your runaways (or at least such is our intention)!" In 1845, it ran: "Admit another slave State, and the Union is *ipso facto* dissolved!" The best of the Free Soil leaders in Congress were still denying all thought of interfering with slavery in the States; Giddings and Sumner were dodging the plain inquiry whether they admitted *any* Constitutional obligation with respect to fugitive slaves. Seward, discounting the present triumph of slavery in the case of Kansas and Nebraska, and anticipating yet greater,—"slavery not only luxuriating in all new Territories, but stealthily creeping into the free States themselves," and the country "no longer a land of freedom and constitutional liberty,"—could still proclaim his acquiescence in the Compromise of 1850 (of which he had never "spoken irreverently"), and could declare: "I have always heard, with equal pity and disgust, threats of disunion in the free States and similar threats in the slaveholding States." Well did Gerrit Smith write to Mr. Garrison: "I have acquired no new hope of the *peaceful* termination of slavery by coming to Washington.

Lib. 24: 13, 33.

Lib. 24: 105, 121, 149.

Greeley's Struggle for Slavery Extension, p. 81.

MS. July 18, 1854.

J. R. Giddings. S. P. Chase. I go home more discouraged than ever.[1] Giddings, Chase, etc., are full of hope, but I am yet to see that there is a *North.*" Well did Lysander Spooner write to the editor of the *Commonwealth*, refusing to be a delegate to an Anti-Nebraska Bill Convention in Faneuil Hall:

Feb. 13, 1854; *Lib.* 24:30.

Lib. 24:31. "I trust you will allow me space to say, that I decline the appointment; that I have never been a member of the 'Free Soil Party'; that I have never adopted its absurd and contradictory motto, '*Freedom National, Slavery Sectional*'; that I have no sympathy with the pusillanimous and criminal sentiment, '*If slavery will let us alone, we will let it alone*'; that I am in favor of neither making nor keeping any compacts with slavery in regard to boundaries; that I am glad to see that slavery intends neither to make nor keep any such compacts with freedom; that I do not believe the Constitution authorizes any such compromises; that I am glad that all excuses for the discussion of such compacts are likely soon to be swept away; that I hope the Nebraska bill will pass; and that I hope then to see freedom and slavery meet face to face, with no question between them except which shall conquer and which shall die."

While the newest and most formidable encroachment on the rights and liberties of the North found the people too demoralized by the Compromise of 1850 to rally to the one effectual checkmate — disunion — it secured a greater toleration in that section for the abolitionists, shielding them for the moment with a wounded and passionate sentiment, which demanded that at least speech be free. This was signalized in the case of Mr. Garrison when, on the invitation of the New York City A. S. Society, he went on to deliver a lecture in the Tabernacle, on February 14, 1854.

W. L. Garrison to his Wife.

MS. NEW YORK, February 16, 1854.

Feb. 14. I got through to this city on Tuesday afternoon, at 5 o'clock — therefore in ample season for the evening lecture. I was

[1] Mr. Smith had been elected to Congress in the fall of 1852 (*Lib.* 22: 163, [182]). He was now going home for good, having resigned on account of his health.

just "as busy as a bee" with my pencil, the whole distance, writing the remainder of my address, which I finished just before my arrival, not removing from my seat, but for a moment, from Boston to New York. The jolting of the cars was often so great as to make it exceedingly difficult to write a word, and therefore my labor was very great. Of course, with my spinal trouble upon me, I was very much exhausted on my arrival, and felt more like going to bed than delivering a speech. CHAP. XIV 1854.

I found Oliver Johnson at the depot, and went home with him to tea. The weather was perfectly execrable — rainy, foggy, dispiriting — and the walking something less than knee-deep in mud. No evening could have been more unpropitious for my lecture — my usual luck. The Williamsburgh, Brooklyn, Jersey, and other ferry-boats found navigation difficult and dangerous in consequence of the dense fog; and the result was, that hundreds who intended to be at my lecture were deterred from coming over. I was prepared, therefore, to see "a beggarly account of empty boxes," on my going to the Tabernacle, but was agreeably surprised to find a large and substantial audience waiting for my appearance, who warmly applauded me as I walked down the aisle.

I got through with reading my lecture quite as well as I expected, though my voice was somewhat hoarse.[1] My language was strong, and my accusations of men and things, religion and politics, were very cutting; but, strange to say, not a single hiss or note of disapprobation was heard from beginning to end, but some of my strongest expressions were the most loudly applauded. At the close, at the request of the editors of the *New-York Times*, through their reporter, I gave my manuscript entire to be published in that widely circulated daily; and the next morning it was published entire in that paper, occupying more than four columns of the smallest type. Was not that marvellous, as a work of dispatch, and as a sign of the times? The Executive Committee of the A. S. Society purchased five hundred copies of the *Times* for distribution. The address is to be published in the *Standard*, and they have ordered five hundred copies of that paper. Finally, they will print it in a small tract, and so I shall have delivered it to a large number

Feb. 15, 1854.

Nat. A. S. Standard.

[1] "Give yourself no uneasiness about the *reading* of your lecture. Of course, you will feel somewhat constrained, but know for your consolation that you always read impressively, never coldly or dully" (O. Johnson to W. L. G., Feb. 4, 1854, MS.).

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of people, in spite of the bad weather. It seemed to give great satisfaction universally. . . .

N. J.

Yesterday, . . . early in the afternoon, I had to go over to Jersey City and take the cars for Paterson, to fulfil my appointment for that evening. The weather was even more unpropitious than the previous evening, and I thought the meeting must inevitably prove a failure. But, though the walking was so bad that only three or four females were present, the hall was crowded with men. They have had no anti-slavery teaching or lecturing in the place, and my effort was an experiment. It succeeded beyond all expectation. I spoke precisely two hours, and was continually applauded throughout. Not a note of disapprobation was heard — yet I spared "nothing and nobody." . . .

This evening I am going with the Gibbonses to see some spiritual manifestations.[1] . . .

Lib. 24 : 29.

The Tabernacle lecture was an excellent exposition of the sanity, logic, and moderation of the anti-slavery position. There was no attempt to add fuel to the prevailing excitement over the Nebraska Bill, still before the Senate; only a calm appeal to reason and conscience, leading up to the inquiry: "If it would be a damning sin for us to admit another slave State into the Union, why is it not a damning sin to permit a slave State to remain in the Union?" — and to an explicit reaffirmation of the irrepressible conflict between freedom and slavery. At the anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society held in Dr. E. H. Chapin's church in New York on May 10, 11, Mr. Garrison offered two resolutions appropriate to the crisis, which were unanimously adopted, and made the Society's sole deliverance on the Nebraska Bill then pending in the House:

[1] See Mr. Garrison's account of these in *Lib.* 24 : 34. The impersonations were of Isaac T. Hopper (father of Mrs. Abby H. Gibbons), deceased in 1852, and of Jesse Hutchinson (one of the famous singers), deceased in 1853. Various articles in the room were displaced or concealed. "Jesse" beat a march very true, and also beat time to tunes sung by the company; and, at Mr. Garrison's request, held the latter's foot down and rapped *under* it vibratingly, and then patted his right hand held between his knees — all other hands being on the table. The medium was Mrs. Leah Brown, one of the Fox sisters.

"Resolved, That the one grand vital issue to be made with the Slave Power is, THE DISSOLUTION OF THE EXISTING AMERICAN UNION. *Lib.* 24:81.

"Resolved, That an Anti-Slavery conscience which is bounded by 36 degrees 30 minutes north latitude, instead of presenting any barrier to the aggressions of the Slave Power, may be safely disregarded and scoffed at by the South, as hypocritical in its pretended opposition to slavery, cowardly in its spirit, and spasmodic in its action." *John Randolph's phrase; Lib.* 25:109.

On May 22, "against the strongest popular remonstrances — against an unprecedented demonstration of religious sentiment — against the laws of God and the rights of universal man — in subversion of plighted faith, in utter disregard of the scorn of the world, and for purposes as diabolical as can be conceived of or consummated here on earth" (to use Mr. Garrison's language), the final passage of the Nebraska Bill took place in the House. Two days later in Boston, while the city was still profoundly moved by the five months' struggle to avert this calamity, Anthony Burns was arrested as a fugitive from Virginia, and the popular excitement at once rose to fever heat, during a week without a parallel since the days of the Revolution. Various anniversary conventions — of the abolitionists and the woman-suffragists among others — brought great numbers of people to the capital of the State while the case was on trial; but also from the suburbs men poured in expressly to defeat the slave-hunter — in one case, that of Worcester, as a town delegation. Other pens must fill in the picture which we can only outline here — how Burns, like Sims, was kept a prisoner in the Court-house; how a mass meeting in Faneuil Hall, on the evening of May 26, was addressed with impassioned eloquence by Wendell Phillips and Theodore Parker, urging everything short of violent resistance to the rendition of Burns; how a magnanimous attack was simultaneously [1] made upon the Court- *Lib.* 24:82. *May* 24, 1854. *Lib.* 24:86. *Lib.* 24:86, 87. *Lib.* 24:86. *Lib.* 28:43.

[1] Not *consequently*. "The attack was planned deliberately, cautiously, and (as the *almost* success proved) *most judiciously*" (MS. June 28, 1854, T. W. Higginson to W. L. G.).

J. V. C. Smith.

Edward Greely Loring.
Lib. 24 : 90, 91; 25 : 34, 38, 42, 59.

Lib. 24 : 94, 101.

house, ending in repulse and in the death of one of the deputy marshals; how President Pierce and the Mayor of Boston concentrated all the military within reach to prevent a second attempt and enforce the decision of the court; how Commissioner Loring yielded up the victim to his master; and how, amid every emblem and manifestation of popular indignation and mourning, Burns was carried down State Street between armed files to the place of embarkation. To point the contrast that nullification of the Compromise of 1850 meant treason, while nullification of the Missouri Compromise by Congress at Washington meant simply a return to the Constitution, Judge Benjamin R. Curtis charged the Grand Jury to indict Parker and Phillips for their Faneuil Hall harangues, as "obstructing the process of the United States."[1]

Wendell Phillips to Mrs. Elizabeth Pease Nichol.

MS.

[MILTON, Mass.], August 7, 1854.

I would say something on the Burns case if I did not know you saw the *Standard* and *Liberator*, from whose columns you get so many particulars that a note like this can add little.

[1] Edmund Quincy wrote to Richard Webb, Oct. 24, 1854 (MS.): "Phillips has just returned to town from his *villeggiatura* in my neighborhood. Judge Curtis, of the U. S. Supreme Court, and District Attorney Hallett are busy trying to indict him and Theodore Parker and the other speakers at the Faneuil Hall meeting the night the rescue of Burns was attempted. It is not very likely they will succeed, or that, if they do, a petit jury can be found to convict. If they could, the penalty might be a fine of $300 and a year's imprisonment. But they do not probably look to a conviction, but to the advantaging their own characters in the Southern market. Curtis is a man of great talent and learning, probably the greatest lawyer in the U. S., and not surpassed in the world; but he wants to be Chief-Justice, the highest judicial dignity in the country, and would do anything to qualify himself for it. He is not to be confounded with his brother, the Commissioner [George Ticknor Curtis], who sent Sims back [*ante*, p. 327], and who has been roasted in sundry and divers D. Y. letters [Quincy's Boston correspondence in the *Anti-Slavery Standard*]." Indictments against both the orators were found in November (*Lib.* 24 : 190, 202). On Saturday, Nov. 18, 1854, Theodore Parker wrote to Francis Jackson (MS.): "Thank you for the documents — I see where they will fit in. They say I am to be arrested this P. M., as *late* as possible, so as to preclude bail; the Boston Bens [Benjamin R. Curtis and Benjamin F. Hallett] wishing to shut up the meeting-house one day. Where can I find you this P. M. in case of need?"

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'T was the saddest week I ever passed. Men talked of the good we might expect for the cause, but I could not think then of the general cause, so mournful and sad rose ever before me the pleading eyes of the poor victim, when he sat and cast his case on our consciences, and placed his fate in our hands. I could not forget the man in the idea. Time has passed since, and I begin to think more of the 3,000,000 and less of the individual. The effect of his surrender under this infamous law has been, like 'Uncle Tom' and all such spasms, far less deep and general than thoughtless folks anticipated. We always gain at such times a few hundred and the old friends are strengthened, but the mass settle down very little different from before. *Lib.* 26 : 19.

Indeed, the *Government* has fallen into the hands of the Slave Power *completely*. So far as *national* politics are concerned, we are beaten — there 's no hope. We shall have Cuba in a year or two, Mexico in five; and I should not wonder if efforts were made to revive the slave trade, though perhaps unsuccessfully, as the Northern slave States, which live by the export of slaves, would help us in opposing that. Events hurry forward with amazing rapidity: we live fast here. The future seems to unfold a vast slave empire united with Brazil, and darkening the whole west. I hope I may be a false prophet, but the sky was never so dark. Our Union, all confess, must sever finally on this question. It is now with nine-tenths only a question of time.[1]

[1] These pessimistic forebodings had a solid substratum in the signs of the times. Never was the Slave Power more insolent in its consciousness of strength, or wilder in its delirium of empire. See, for the undisguised purpose of President Pierce's Administration to annex Cuba, *Lib.* 24 : 85, 127, 130, 189, 194; and, for the ancillary intrigue to acquire Samana Bay in San Domingo — a menace also to the independence and liberty of Hayti — *Lib.* 24 : 157, 159; 25 : 1, 61. Lieut. Herndon's exploration of the Amazon in 1851, by direction of the Navy Department, had distinct reference to a pro-slavery colonization with an ultimate view to annexation (*Lib.* 24 : 62). On the other hand, see the numerous expressions of the Southern press looking to a restoration of the slave trade (*Lib.* 24 : 149, 173), and in particular Henry A. Wise's letter to the Rev. Nehemiah Adams, D. D. (*Lib.* 24 : 150). "I would," said the Virginian, "recommend the repeal of every act to suppress the slave trade." In November, 1856, the Governor of South Carolina sent a message to the Legislature advising the re-opening of that traffic (*Lib.* 26 : 193, 194). The unparalleled rise in the price of slaves lay at the bottom of this villany. At the date just mentioned, according to the Richmond *Enquirer*, male negroes were worth "seven hundred dollars around" (*Lib.* 27 : 1. Compare 27 : 58, 63, 72, 79, 87, 175, 183, 186; 28 : 11, 191, 198; 29 : 17, 139; 30 : 75, 77, 143).

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It was Mr. Garrison's prerogative to emphasize this truth at all times. On July 4th, at the open-air celebration of the day at Framingham, Mass., by the abolitionists, Mr. Garrison ushered in the proceedings with Scripture readings; and then, having contrasted the Declaration of Independence with the actual state of the Republic and the grasping designs of its slavemasters, said —

Lib. 24: 106.

Lib. 24: 92.

Lib. 24: 101.

"He should now proceed to perform an action which would be the testimony of his own soul, to all present, of the estimation in which he held the pro-slavery laws and deeds of the nation. Producing a copy of the *Fugitive Slave Law*, he set fire to it, and it burnt to ashes. Using an old and well-known phrase, he said, 'And let all the people say, *Amen*'; and a unanimous cheer and shout of 'Amen' burst from the vast audience. In like manner Mr. Garrison burned the decision of Edward G. Loring in the case of Anthony Burns, and the late charge of Judge Benjamin R. Curtis to the United States Grand Jury in reference to the 'treasonable' assault upon the Court House for the rescue of the fugitive — the multitude ratifying the fiery immolation with shouts of applause. Then, holding up the U. S. Constitution, he branded it as the source and parent of all the other atrocities,—'a covenant with death and an agreement with hell,'— and consumed it to ashes on the spot, exclaiming, 'So perish all compromises with tyranny! And let all the people say, Amen!' A tremendous shout of 'Amen!' went up to heaven in ratification of the deed, mingled with a few hisses and wrathful exclamations from some who were evidently in a rowdyish state of mind, but who were at once cowed by the popular feeling."

Lib. 24: 111, 117, 141.

Lib. 24: 111.

The press outcry at this Lutheran incendiarism was what might have been expected; but the oddest repudiation of it came from the *Commonwealth*, which saw in it a gross discourtesy to the Free Soil portion of the audience — both as wounding their feelings of reverence for the Constitution, and as calculated to increase the odium under which their party labored.

Lib. 24: 114.

"The *Commonwealth* kindly informs us," wrote Mr. Garrison, "that it knows of no one who objects to my burning the Constitution, provided I get up a private bonfire on my own

account; but the offence was, in doing the deed 'before all Israel and the sun.' It was 'insulting (!) the convictions of others, whose views of the Constitution are as honest, and perhaps as sensible,' as my own. I 'should have retired to some corner, and burned it on my own private and particular hook, without outraging the feelings of my audience'!!! . . . CHAP. XIV. 1854.

"Let me tell the *Commonwealth* that slavery is a public, not a private concern — a national, not a local system; that it is silly and impertinent to suggest privacy of action against it; that, in the struggle for its overthrow, I neither seek nor take advantage of any man unfairly; that my testimonies, in whatever form given, are for the nation, not for the chimney corner. . . .

"If, for almost a score of years, on all occasions, I have branded the U. S. Constitution as a blood-stained instrument — and if, during all that time, I have disfranchised myself, for conscience' and the slave's sake, under it — was it to 'insult' any one for me to reduce my verbal impeachment to a positive act, in order to make my position palpable to the dullest vision — viz., by burning a few leaves on which that Constitution was printed, as a token of my utter abhorrence of it? The objection is too absurd to require a serious refutation. . . .

"Ah! but there were anti-slavery men at Framingham 'who hold that the Constitution of the United States furnishes no aid whatever to slavery.' Do they indeed? Well, what then? Am I to substitute their convictions for my own? If they have discovered an anti-slavery Constitution, they know I did not burn that (why should I?) on the occasion referred to. How many such were present, I do not know — probably not a 'baker's dozen' in that assembly of three thousand. I burnt a PRO-SLAVERY Constitution, in my judgment, *in the judgment of the nation ever since its adoption*, and therefore was faithful to the slave in so doing; and not one of his 'sincere and true friends' will ever reproach me for the deed — the light of which shall be seen long after 'this mortal shall have put on immortality.'"

From this date the Free Soilers exhibited great sensitiveness to any confounding of themselves with the abolitionists. Their revival, by the folly of those who raised again the issue of slavery extension, had now come with a strength hitherto unknown. From the Ohio wing the Massachusetts Free Soilers adopted the name of the Republi- *Lib.* 24: 126, 146.

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can Party, affirming it to be preëminently the party of the Union and the Constitution, of law and order, and the true National and Democratic Party, "because it is opposed, in its principles, sentiments, and aims, to Sectionalism, Secession, and Disunion." "No matter for the rest [of the resolutions], however worded," said Mr. Garrison; "they are nothing but idle breath and impracticable issues, as time will demonstrate. . . . There is but one honest, straightforward course to pursue if we would see the Slave Power overthrown — THE UNION MUST BE DISSOLVED!"

Lib. 24: 146.

Lib. 24: 146.

For the moment, in Massachusetts, in New Hampshire, and elsewhere, the course pursued by the Free Soilers was, while maintaining a separate organization, to coquet with the mushroom National, Native-American, or Know-Nothing Party, pro-slavery as its professions were. The nominal defeat which this party inflicted on them at the fall elections of 1854 really inured to their great and sudden advantage in the Federal as well as in the State arena,[1] and gave the *coup de grâce* to the remnant of the Whig organization. This fact, with the general rout of the Democratic Party at the same elections in the North, caused genuine alarm to the Slave Power, and confirmed it in its efforts to colonize Kansas. Fraud and violence — without actual bloodshed — were freely practised in the new Territory. Armed "border ruffians" from Missouri crossed the line to elect a pro-slavery Delegate to Congress. Civilization and barbarism confronted each other with weapons drawn, and the year closed with all eyes turned on the scene of impending warfare.

Lib. 24: 182; 25: 9.

Lib. 24: 157, 189; 25: 97, 98, 101.

Lib. 24: 182.

Lib. 24: 178, 182.

Lib. 24: 205.

Lib. 24: 194, 197, 201, 202, 205.

[1] The Know-Nothing Massachusetts Legislature elected sweepingly in 1854 was, as Mr. Garrison remarked (*Lib.* 25: 86), the most democratic known in the annals of the State. "The aristocratic [or "respectable"] element was completely exorcised out of it."

CHAPTER XV.

The Personal Liberty Law.—1855.

BY midsummer of 1855, out of eleven United States Senators elected by the legislatures of eight Northern States since the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, not one was tolerant of that measure. New Hampshire itself, the stronghold of the Pierce Administration, having been carried by the Know-Nothings, returned John P. Hale to the Senate. And, fresh from this act of defiance, its Legislature opened, on June 22, the Hall of the House of Representatives to an abolition convention in session at the capital, and listened without disfavor to disunion addresses from Garrison and Phillips. The year closed with an ominous struggle in the Federal House of Representatives over the speakership; the Free-State candidate being Nathaniel P. Banks of Massachusetts, who had lately, in a speech made in Maine, expressed his willingness to "let the Union 'slide'" in the event of the Government falling completely into the hands of the Slave Power.

Lib. 25:106.

Lib. 25:43, 51, 99.

Lib. 25:102.

Lib. 25:203.

Lib. 25:181; 26:2.

It was reserved for Massachusetts to furnish the most signal examples of resistance to that Power, and to take, logically and in the eyes of the South, a disunion attitude. The first was the address of its Legislature to the Governor, praying for the removal of Edward Greely Loring from his office of Judge of Probate for having, as United States Commissioner, sent Anthony Burns back into bondage. This action was in response to petitions actively circulated by the abolitionists, and to arguments at special hearings, in which Wendell Phillips distin-

Lib. 25:75.

Lib. 25:23.

Lib. 25:30, 33, 35, 59.

Henry J. Gardner. guished himself. Though overruled by Governor Gardner, it had the moral effect intended. When, on April 27, *Lib.* 25:70. the Senate came to vote upon it, Mr. Garrison was taken from the throng of spectators and given a chair beside the President.

Simultaneously with this advertisement, that the State washed its official hands of all complicity in the execution *Lib.* 25:71, 79; *Acts and Resolves of Mass., p.* 924. of the Fugitive Slave Law, came the passage of "An Act to protect the rights and liberties of the people of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts." This, too, was in response *Lib.* 25: [6], 36. to petitions and arguments from the abolitionists, with Wendell Phillips again at the front. It was an extension *Ante, p.* 92. of the Personal Liberty Act of March 24, 1843, to the Fu- *Lib.* 25:71. gitive Slave Law of 1850. Habeas corpus was secured to the alleged fugitive; no confessions of his were admissible, but the burden of proof was to be upon the claimant, and no ex-parte affidavit should be received. For a State office-holder to issue a warrant under the law was tantamount to resignation; for an attorney to assist the claimant was to forfeit his right to practise in the courts; for a judge to do either was to make himself liable to impeachment or removal by address. No United States Commissioner under the Fugitive Slave Law should hold any State office. Any State judge (like Loring), continuing to be United States Commissioner after the passage of the act, would invite the consequences of misbehavior. No sheriff, jailer, or policeman could help arrest a fugitive, no jail receive him. The militia could not be called out on the claimant's behalf. The Governor should appoint county commissioners to help defend fugitives and secure them a fair trial.

Regarded as a safeguard against kidnapping, this statute will never seem more than the simple duty of the State. As an impediment to the Federal execution of the Fugitive Slave Law, the discussion of its constitutionality may be left to those who think it profitable. The South *Lib.* 25:93, 94, 97, 101, 105, 117, 129; 26:17, 21. treated it — as it did any diminution, not of the constitutional compromise, but of the letter of the law of 1850 — as

an act of disunion, that demanded extraordinary measures of retaliation, even to the exclusion of the State's representatives in Congress. Governor Gardner viewed it in the same light when he vetoed it, but the Legislature stood firm, and passed the act again over his veto. It was the high-water mark of Northern manhood.

Lib. 25 : 82.

In Kansas, on the other hand, the Slave Power was in the ascendant. Hordes of degraded beings, such as only slavery and whiskey could produce, crossed in arms at the spring elections from Missouri into the Territory, took possession of the polling-places, terrorized and maltreated judges of election and free-State voters, stuffed the boxes with ballots in wild excess of the census-voting population, and elected a legislature which purged itself of every free-State delegate, removed the capital nearer the Missouri border, adopted the slave code of that State, and in other ways completed what Governor Reeder himself rightly called the subjugation of Kansas. Powerless to rectify the doings of this bogus body, for what he did do honestly the Governor was removed by President Pierce and succeeded by Wilson Shannon, who acknowledged the legality of the Legislature, and put himself openly at the head of the invaders, assuring them of the firm support of the Administration at Washington. Every difference growing out of the unsettled state of society in a new country — and disputes over titles to the land were inevitable — was liable to array free-State men against slave-State, and to end in bloodshed. The first homicide of this character occurred before Governor Reeder's dismissal, and nearly led to a pitched battle. Arms were sent to the Territory by the friends of the Emigrant Aid Association to prevent the extermination of the Northern settlers. Gerrit Smith and his little knot of Simon Pure Liberty Party men, now styling themselves Radical Political Abolitionists and met in convention at Syracuse June 27, 28, took up a collection in response to an appeal from "a Mr. John Brown, who had five sons in Kansas, and who was desirous to join them. They had written for arms

Lib. 25 : 17, 55, 61, 62, 66, 67, 73.

Lib. 25 : 123.

Lib. 25 : 123.

Lib. 25 : 133, 134, 139, 143, 146; 26 : 49.

Lib. 25 : 71.

Lib. 25 : 67, 123.

Lib. 25 : 131.

Lib. 25 : 146.

Lib. 25 : 191, 193, 201.

Lib. 25 : 86, 87, 105, 131.

Lib. 25 : 91; *Sanborn's John Brown*, *pp.* 212–215.

Lib. 25 : 107.

CHAP. XV. 1855.

and means of defence, and declared in their letters that fighting suasion was the most important institution in the new Territory."[1]

Lib. 25: 195, 198, 199, 203.

Lib. 25: 203; 26: 2.

Lib. 25: 199.

In November, another homicide led to the siege of Lawrence by the Border-Ruffian army under Atchison and Stringfellow, and the so-called "Wakarusa war." Governor Shannon summoned out the "militia" (*i. e.*, the Missourians), and made demand on the President for Federal troops.

It would be a grave error to look upon the Kansas struggle — any more than upon the civil war of which it was the prelude — as one between *abolitionists* and pro-slavery men. Mr. Garrison had been careful to say nothing to discourage emigration to the Territory, but he had "never had any faith in it as a breakwater against the inundation of the dark waters of oppression." He knew that the emigrants represented only the average sentiment of the North on the subject of slavery. As Charles Stearns wrote to the *Liberator* from Lawrence on December 24, 1854:

Lib. 25: 86.

Lib. 25: [6].

"Multitudes of those who are such flaming abolitionists here, as they call themselves, are a *sui generis* kind of abolitionist — a mongrel character, like Aunt Ophelia in 'Uncle Tom's Cabin.' They are desperately opposed to slavery entering here — and why? Because they 'don't want the niggers about them.' . . . Now I feel quite certain that the very people who will vote against the introduction of slavery will also vote for a 'Black Law.'[2] . . . I can find but few who dare to say that

[1] See John Brown's own account of the Convention in Sanborn's Life of him, pp. 193, 194. Among the donors was Capt. Charles Stuart — a clear case of "British Gold."

[2] For confirmation of this, note the action of the convention which formed a free-State Constitution at Topeka in October, 1855. An article instructing the first General Assembly to exclude free people of color from the Territory was not, indeed, incorporated in that instrument, but was left to be voted on separately at the time of the general adoption (*Lib.* 25 : 191). Exclusion was desired by the Big Springs Convention which preceded that at Topeka (*Lib.* 25 : 155, [160]). The popular vote was to that effect (*Lib.* 26 : 69; 28 : 47). The Constitution legalized slavery till July 4, 1857 (*Lib.* 26 : 69, 70). One could hardly have expected anything else of a free-State population preponderatingly Western, and which contained a larger element from Indiana "than from any other State in the Union" — larger than that from New York and all New England combined (*Lib.* 26 : 81, 103).

they are in favor of allowing the colored man to come here and buy land on an equality with the white man. The common cry is, 'We want no slavery and no niggers.' . . . I am much disappointed in the character of the New England emigrants. They come here, as men go to California, mainly after money." CHAP. XV. 1855.

The siege of Lawrence, and the sight of a free-State man wantonly murdered in this exciting period, caused Mr. Stearns formally to renounce his non-resistance views, and to shoulder his Sharp's rifle against wild beasts (not men). Mr. Garrison still held to the faith. He presided on March 24, 25, at a New England Non-Resistance Convention held in Worcester,[1] and drew up a long array of resolutions, from which we single out one for its freshness in this connection: *Lib.* 26 : 2. *Lib.* 25 : 50, 60.

"17. Resolved, That the plan of supporting governments by tariffs, and other indirect taxes, is a cunning contrivance of tyrants to enable them to attain their ambitious and bloody aims without exciting the alarm of the people by a direct appeal to their pockets; therefore, one most potent way to put an end to war and tyranny is to abolish all tariffs and indirect taxes, and to substitute free trade and direct taxation as the means of sustaining political institutions." *Lib.* 25 : 50.

Mr. Garrison's anti-slavery labors for the year were, barring illness both at the beginning and close, as extensive and incessant as usual. On March 1, as a private venture, he lectured in Tremont Temple, Boston, in reply to Senator Sam Houston of Texas, who, the week before, in a nominally anti-slavery course of lectures conducted by Dr. S. G. Howe and others, had made "a stolid defence of slavery." The experiment was a success, the audience being large. One feature of the review was the exhibition to the audience of eleven yards of Southern and slave-holding atrocities clipped from the columns of the *Lib-* *Lib.* 25 : 38, 39. *Lib.* 25 : 35, 36. *Cf. ante*, *p.* 162.

[1] By way of record, let us state here that the New England Non-Resistance Society held its last annual meetings and ceased to exist in 1849 (*Lib.* 19 : 2, 3, 174, 186). On Jan. 1, 1848, Adin Ballou's paper had been made the organ of the Society, under the title of the *Non-Resistant and Practical Christian* (*Lib.* 18 : 14). The compound name and the organship lasted only a year (*Lib.* 19 : 14).

CHAP. XV. 1855. *May* 9. *erator.* As landmarks, we will cite resolutions which he introduced at the annual New York meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society in May:

Lib. 25:70, 78. "Resolved, That Liberty and Slavery are in their nature antagonisms, which no power in the universe can reconcile; and that any effort to make peace, or to effect a compromise, between them is an insult to God, a crime against nature, and an outrage upon man.

"Resolved, That a Church or Government which accords the same rights and privileges to Slavery as to Liberty, is a house divided against itself, which cannot stand — is an attempt to pay equal honor to Belial and to Christ — is inherently corrupt and tyrannical, and deserving of universal execration."

Lib. 25:70. These resolutions were originally drafted for an anti-slavery convention at Dover, N. H., on April 25. The *Ante*, 2:338. sentiment they contain is anything but new from Mr. Garrison's lips, but the phraseology arrests attention. The expression, "a house divided against itself," may be said to have made the fortune of Lincoln as a statesman when uttered three years later.[1] Now, it fell on deaf ears.

Lib. 25:82. Worthy of mention is the speech which accompanied the above resolutions — logical and orderly, and fortified at every step with documentary evidence. On August 1, near Jamaica, Long Island, Mr. Garrison spoke again, at *Nat. A. S. Standard, Aug.* 11, 1855, *p.* 2. the celebration of the day by the New York City Anti-Slavery Society. A most competent judge shall testify to the weight of his remarks on this occasion, in the following letter (a translation by the hand of the recipient):

[1] "We are now far into the fifth year since a policy was initiated with the avowed object, and confident promise, of putting an end to slavery agitation. Under the operation of that policy, that agitation has not only not ceased, but has constantly augmented. In my opinion, it will not cease until a crisis shall have been reached and passed. 'A house divided against itself cannot stand.' I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved — I do not expect the house to fall — but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other" (Speech of Abraham Lincoln at Springfield, Ill., June 17, 1858, upon being made Republican candidate for the Senate of the United States. Arnold's 'Lincoln and Slavery,' p. 114).

Nicholas Tourgueneff[1] *to Mrs. M. W. Chapman.*

PARIS, September 29, 1855. *Liberty Bell for* 1856, *p.* 100; *Lib.* 26 : 60.

MADAME: Seeing you on the point of departing for America, I cannot forbear entreating you to be the bearer of my tribute of respect and admiration to one of your compatriots. Need I add that I have in view our holy cause of human Freedom, and one of its most eminent defenders, Mr. Garrison? Every word he utters is dictated by the deepest sense of justice; but his recent discourse on the anniversary of British Colonial Emancipation is distinguished not only by its profound feeling of sympathy for the emancipated, but by that rigorously just reasoning, and that clear, firm, and, above all, moral logic, which leads him to prefer the separation of the States to the continuance of Slavery. It is by this trait that I recognize the true Abolitionist, and the truly worthy man. It was with the truest joy that I read those strong and noble words, each going straight to its end, acknowledging no law superior to the sentiment of right engraven in the human conscience by its divine Creator, and disdaining all the commonplace sophistry of weakness and hypocrisy that is so often employed in these discussions. Deeply touched by this discourse of Mr. Garrison, I felt [*je me suis dit*] that a Cause so holy, defended by such advocates, could not fail to triumph, if urged forward without delay. Every action, every word, which brings nearer the time of this triumph, is a blessing to millions of unfortunate beings.

May Almighty God crown with success the generous labors of all these noble men, who, after all, are but following the commands and walking in the ways traced by his holy will!

May I entreat of you, Madame, the kindness of presenting to Mr. Garrison the accompanying copy of my work, by which he will see that a co-laborer in another hemisphere has long wrought in the same vineyard of the Lord; if not with the *La Russie et les Russes.*

[1] A kinsman of the celebrated novelist; an exile on the false charge of connection with the December conspiracy on the accession of Nicholas to the throne in 1825, but equally obnoxious to that despot because of his anti-slavery views and action; author of 'La Russie et les Russes' (including the "Mémoires d'un Proscrit") and 'Un Dernier Mot sur l'Émancipation des Serfs en Russie.' He was an ardent admirer of Baron Stein, whom he accompanied as attaché on the invasion of France by the Allies in 1813. Tourgueneff rightly held that emancipation in Russia would come about not from below but from above — that is, from the Czar; and happily he lived to see the great consummation.

CHAP. XV. 1855.

same renown, I may at least venture to say with the same disinterestedness, with the same self-abnegation, with the same love for the oppressed. Even the efforts I made in their behalf they could never directly know, for exile and proscription have compelled me to live far from my own land, and to plead the cause of human rights in a language which is neither theirs nor mine. I am thoroughly persuaded that all success obtained in America in the cause of the colored race will be eminently serviceable to my poor countrymen in Russia. It is, then, first as a man, and secondly as a Russian, that I hail the efforts of Mr. Garrison and his fellow-laborers for the deliverance of their Country from the hideous plague-spot of Slavery.

Receive, Madame, my earnest good wishes for your voyage. May Heaven grant that in again beholding your native Country, you may there find new consolations and fresh encouragements to persevere in the great Cause which you have made the principal object of your life. Accept, at the same time, the expression of my high respect.

Oct. 21, 1855.

The most interesting event of the year for Mr. Garrison was the celebration of the twentieth anniversary of the Boston mob in the very hall from which the Female Anti-Slavery Society had been expelled in 1835. Nothing it lacked, of solemnity or historic picturesqueness, but the presence of Mrs. Chapman, who was on the eve of embarking for America after a seven years' residence abroad. But beside Francis Jackson, who of right was called to preside, sat Mrs. Thankful Southwick, one of the former vice-presidents of the Society, supported by Miss Henrietta Sargent, a fellow-member. The Rev. Samuel May, Jr., read fitting extracts from the Psalms. Prayer was offered by the Rev. James Freeman Clarke. Mr. Garrison then read, and the audience sang tenderly, those thrilling lines of Whittier's "Pæan" which, though composed in 1848, seemed designed for the present occasion:

Ante, 2: 12.

Ante, 2: 106.

"Now, joy and thanks for evermore!
The dreary night has well-nigh passed,
The slumbers of the North are o'er,—
The Giant stands erect at last!

"More than we hoped in that dark time
When, faint with watching, few and worn,
We saw no welcome day-star climb
The cold gray pathway of the morn!

"O weary hours! O night of years!
What storms our darkling pathway swept,
Where, beating back our thronging fears,
By Faith alone our march we kept.

"How jeered the scoffing crowd behind,
How mocked before the tyrant train,
As, one by one, the true and kind
Fell fainting in our path of pain!

"They died,— their brave hearts breaking slow,—
But, self-forgetful to the last,
In words of cheer and bugle blow
Their breath upon the darkness passed.

"A mighty host, on either hand,
Stood waiting for the dawn of day
To crush like reeds our feeble band;
The morn has come,—and where are they?"

Where indeed were they? Otis, as Wendell Phillips remarked, was gone. The editor who stirred up "the *Atlas* mob," was gone. Mayor Lyman was in his grave; so was the judge before whom Garrison was arraigned as a rioter; so was the sheriff who had committed him to jail on that charge. And in the broader field of contest, what haughty leaders of the pro-slavery phalanx had passed away! Filled with this retrospect, and naturally assuming the historical-biographical part of the appointed exercises, no wonder that Mr. Garrison spoke with good cheer of the contrast between 1835 and 1855, and found "all the signs of the times encouraging," though admitting that "more than a million slaves are to be delivered who were not in existence twenty years ago." We shall seek in vain in his speech any prescience or intimation of the impending Civil War. As little will it be found in those

H. G. Otis. *Lib.* 25:274.

B. Whitman, D. Parkman; ante, 2:28, 29.

Lib. 25:174.

Lib. 25 : 174, 175. of Wendell Phillips and Theodore Parker. Henry C. Wright grazed it in these passages :

Lib. 25 : 175. "Now, Mr. Chairman, the question we have to decide is, What shall we do? Some of us, *many* of us, I believe, have put on the armor for death or victory; and now, what have we to do? We have got a terrible *fact* to deal with in this country, and we cannot stop to discuss the technical meaning of words, whether in the Bible or in the Constitution. We have to deal with a *fact* that manifests itself in the religion, in the government, in the literature, in the domestic and social life of the country — the SLAVE POWER. What shall we do? Shall we go on trying to compromise, to keep the peace between Liberty and Slavery? I say, No! Sir, there is but one way to meet that Power, and that is, on the field where 'Death or Victory' is to be the motto. . . . We have got to come to this, and let us meet it. Let the people of Massachusetts take their stand, and proclaim that no minion of the Slave Power shall be allowed to exercise any of the functions of his office on the soil of this Commonwealth. I wish that you would do towards the Slave Commissioners what your ancestors did towards the Stamp Commissioners. What did they do? Go and read the history of your Revolutionary struggle. In 1764 or '65, when a certain Mr. Andrew Oliver undertook to act as Commissioner in Boston to enforce the odious Stamp Act of the British Parliament, your fathers took him and bore him to the old Liberty Tree, and there, under its spreading branches, they made him solemnly swear never to exercise his office in this country. Now, go call your United States Commissioners, your Curtises and Lorings, and make them swear never to exercise their infamous office in your midst. . . . I go, Sir, for revolution!

Dec. 17, 1765; *Memorial History of Boston*, 3 : 15.

"Mr. Chairman, while I have been sitting here this afternoon, I have noticed quite a number of young men in this assembly, and I have asked myself, What course will they take? Here are three sitting near me — neither of them, twenty years ago, had any existence; two of them, the sons of the man who was dragged through the streets of Boston, and one, your own grandson.[1] I ask, What course will these young men, now in the bloom of early manhood, pursue? Will they take hold and help us in this cause, or will they go on in supporting and strengthening that Power which has so long ruled the nation?

[1] Francis Jackson Meriam, afterwards one of John Brown's men at Harper's Ferry (Sanborn's 'Life of John Brown,' p. 546).

Will the young men take their stand, and throw off this incubus? CHAP. XV. 1855.

"I say, Mr. Chairman, let us strike for revolution. Let us drive slavery from our soil, and never allow a man to be put on trial on the question whether he is a man or a beast. How long shall this last? I hope to live to see the hour of triumph; and as I mark the spirit that pervades this assembly, I can hardly help crying out, Hallelujah!"

A comparatively new-comer in the anti-slavery ranks, the Rev. T. W. Higginson, who followed Mr. Wright, saw and expressed the tendency of current events with a distinctness close akin to prophecy:

"It is good for us to have been here, Sir. I have felt it almost every moment of the afternoon; and when I have looked around this hall, and seen alternately the smiles upon the lips of noble women, and the tears in the eyes of brave men,— seen them as well as I could for the closer tears that dimmed my own,— I have felt the same hope with the last speaker, that the younger among us, especially those who cannot speak from personal memory of the 'inside' or the 'outside' of this hall, on the day we celebrate — that these young persons, from this Anniversary, may at least rekindle the enthusiasm of their self-devotion. *Lib.* 25:175.

"Mr. Chairman, one sentence spoken by Mr. Garrison sunk deep into my heart this afternoon: 'Things are so changed around us,' he said. It is not for me here and now to question one word of his; but my heart asked my intellect, Are things so changed, after all? Is the Massachusetts of 1855 so transformed from the Massachusetts of 1835? Is State Street so utterly changed now from what it was when it poured forth its base-hearted myriads then? Is it true that all the hard work is done, no great duties left, and no great demands made upon us — us, whose misfortune it is, not our fault, that we could not bear the yoke of twenty years ago? He did not mean it — I know he did not mean it; for it is not true, and therefore he did not mean it. What is that great change in which we exult? The abolitionists of Massachusetts have labored for twenty years, and what have they conquered? *What have they conquered?* The right of free speech! They have conquered the right to meet in Stacy Hall and call their souls their own! But what else? . . .

"If this is the result of those magnificent labors and sacrifices of twenty years, how long, do you think, are the labors and

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sacrifices of the future to continue before the work is done? If all that has passed has only come to this, what is the future to be? God knows; I do not know. We never know what new openings God may have in store for putting an end to the long controversies of men, and letting the weary, saddened spirit of humanity out from its perplexity by some new door it did not know until it opened. Upon a single thread of flax, perhaps, at this moment, the destinies of this continent may hang. We cannot allow for future revelations and possibilities. We have got to take the present as it is, and work in it; and that present, even in Massachusetts, is dead against the life of freedom, the purposes of freedom, and the hope of freedom; and if you see it differently, it is because you do not know Massachusetts — do not see how far off we are from realizing that great, determined uprising of the people in behalf of freedom about which we dream. . . .

"My friends, even in the greatest self-devotion, there is something more to be learned, and we have got it to learn. Passmore Williamson is in his prison, and Massachusetts men are quiet, and go about their daily business; and if he were in prison in Boston, it would be very nearly the same thing.[1] In Kansas, the liberty of white men is struck down, and held at the point of the bayonet, and here in Massachusetts we sympathize — in the abstract! But when a brave man comes here to raise money to arm with Sharp's rifles his company of a hundred Kansas farmers, does he find a 'material aid' at all commensurate with his expectations?[2] Alas, no! I have a sad letter which tells the contrary, but I will not read it, 'lest the

[1] Passmore Williamson, a respected citizen of Philadelphia, and an active abolitionist, on July 18, 1855, notified three slaves of a Virginian, the U. S. Minister to Nicaragua, about to embark for his post, that they were free in consequence of having been voluntarily brought by their master into a free State. For this act he was arrested and brought before Judge Kane, who ordered of him an impossibility, viz., that he produce the late slaves. Williamson's truthful reply that they were not in his custody, and that he could not produce them, was treated as "contempt of court," and he was accordingly imprisoned for three months, until the pressure of public opinion led the Judge to find a way out of his monstrous position. For arbitrary judicial tyranny, the case stands alone in the history of the anti-slavery struggle. See, for details, *Lib.* 25 : 119, 131, 167, 178, 179, 182, 191, 194, and the volume, 'The Case of Passmore Williamson,' Philadelphia, 1856. Judge Kane took the extraordinary ground that the "law of nations" (!) guaranteed the right of transit for slave property like any other (*Lib.* 25 : 167).

[2] Doubtless the agent referred to was Major James B. Abbott. See Sanborn's 'Life of John Brown,' p. 212.

daughters of the Philistines rejoice.' But you cannot wonder if members of Congress, statesmen, refuse to sacrifice their places for freedom, when we will not sacrifice our purses. . . . CHAP. XV. 1855.

"Mr. Phillips told us, that on this day, twenty years ago, the military could not protect the meeting, because 'the guns were outside in the mob — or the men who should have carried them.' There has been a time since when the men were on the outside, and the guns too; and as surely as this earth turns on its axis, that time will come again! And it is for you, men who hear me, to think what you will do when that time comes; and it is for you, women who hear me, to think what you will do, and what you are willing — I will not say, to *consent* that those you love should do, but what you are willing to *urge* them to do, and to send them from your homes, knowing that they will do it, whether they live or die.

"I am speaking of realities now; of real dangers and duties here in Boston, that appeal to all,— to non-resistants as much as any other; and in speaking of these, I have said enough. But, I say, in closing, if there is any young man here who is not prepared to devote himself to the doing of such duties, he had better meet the issue now, for this night the duty may be required of him."

The mob anniversary was a sort of family gathering, a Thanksgiving festival, of the Boston circle of abolitionists, with joy for those who had survived, and a feeling remembrance for those who had dropped by the way. Among the latter and more recent were John Bishop Estlin of Bristol, England, one of the half-dozen indispensable coadjutors of the American Anti-Slavery Society across the water;[1] and William H. Ashurst, belonging to the same group. *Lib.* 25:106. *Ante, pp.* 169, 170.

Mrs. Matilda Ashurst Biggs to W. L. Garrison.

BARDEN PARK, near TUNBRIDGE, KENT, December 27, 1855. *MS.*

A painful duty devolves upon me to inform you of the death of my dear honored father, W. H. Ashurst. He died at my brother's house about eight weeks since, but illness and much *Lib.* 26:10. *Oct.* 13, 1855.

[1] See the Rev. S. May, Jr.'s memorial tribute to Mr. Estlin's character and services in *Lib.* 25 : 171, 179, 182, 186, 190, 195, 199, 202.

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occupation have prevented my writing to you earlier. His death was very sudden and unexpected, although his strength had been failing since his return from America, and the loss of my dear mother was a shock from which he never entirely rallied. . . .

And now, dear sir, I scarcely know how to express to you and to Mrs. Garrison, and to Mr. H. C. Wright (and, indeed, to all his American friends), the obligations that his children feel towards you who did so much for him when prostrated by illness in America. To visit your country had long been his wish. He accomplished his desire when quite unequal to the exertion, but he always felt gratified to have seen America, the "land of his love." The last time I saw him, he spoke of you and your family, and playfully he has expressed himself sometimes in speaking of the continued hospitalities almost heaped upon him. "As for Garrison, he would, if he had had his own way, have killed me with kindness, but Mrs. Garrison, with *her* kindness, would have brought me to life again."[1] H. C. Wright, he said, had nursed and attended and cheered him as "a woman would have done"; and repeatedly he has said how gratified he should be to return in any way to your friends some portion of the kindness which was shown to him by *all* in America. Will you bear us in mind, dear sir, and give us some opportunity of so doing, and feel that, in doing so, you will add yet another obligation to the many for which we are indebted to you and to America?

Cf. MS. Sept. 20, 1853, W. H. Ashurst, Jr., to W. L. G.

The home in which Ashurst had been an honored guest, was in Dix Place, near Hollis Street, whither the Garrison family had removed in 1853 from Concord Street, on Boston Neck — their residence for a year after quitting Shawmut Avenue. In the heart of the city, and very accessible, it drew upon the anti-slavery leader and his wife a great deal of company, to entertain which was no small tax on their slender resources.[2] Hitherto, Francis

No. 8, afterwards No. 14.

Ante, p. 262.

[1] Mr. Ashurst landed in America in July, 1853, and sailed for home on Sept. 7, in a very feeble state (*Lib.* 23 : 118; MS. Sept. 5, 1853, W. L. G. to his wife). An amusing adventure of his while in Boston is worth recording. Having occasion to inquire his way, he excused himself by explaining that he was an Englishman. "An Englishman, eh?" was the response. "Well, we licked you in '76!"

[2] On June 26, 1855, C. F. Hovey begged Mrs. Garrison's acceptance of a barrel of flour. "I see you have a houseful of people. . . . Your husband's position brings him many guests and expenses which do not belong to him" (MS.).

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Jackson had been their landlord as well as near neighbor and generous friend. Now, in the year under review, the fund which had been accumulated to this end principally, was augmented sufficiently to purchase the house of Mr. Jackson, at its original cost. Mr. Hovey, already a liberal contributor to the fund, notified the Garrisons that, in addition, he proposed to pay them annually a sum equal to the interest on a contemplated legacy. This aid was gratefully accepted by Mr. Garrison, on condition that it should be freely revoked at any time, for any reason, and saving his own independence of thought and action.[1]

Ante, p. 265.

MSS. Oct. 1, 1855, *F. Jackson to W. L. G., Sept.* 12, *Hovey to Jackson.*

MS. Sept. 15, 1855, *W. L. G. to Hovey.*

Close upon the heels of the mob anniversary, both Francis Jackson and Mr. Garrison fell ill — the former dangerously, so that his life was despaired of. Neither could visit the other, though but a short distance apart.

W. L. Garrison to Mrs. Eliza F. Eddy.[2]

[BOSTON], November 3, [1855]. *MS. Saturday morning.*

I beg you to convey to your dear, noble father all the warm sensibilities and grateful emotions of my soul for his prompt and truly characteristic reply (through you) to my letter last evening. The grapes were delicious to my taste, and surprisingly sweet. But the quantity sent was over-liberal. . . .

Last night was a sleepless one to me throughout, and I feel much exhausted this morning; but I cannot refrain from sending you this brief note. Of course, your dear father was constantly in my thoughts. I lived twenty years of my life over

[1] It was in Dix Place, and presumably on Sept. 21, 1855, that the gathering occurred which was thus described in a private letter by Miss Susan B. Anthony ('Hist. Woman Suffrage,' 1 : 256). A Woman's Rights Convention had just been held in Boston: "In the evening, Ellen Blackwell and I attended a reception at Mr. Garrison's, where we met several of the *literati*, and were most heartily welcomed by Mrs. Garrison, a noble, self-sacrificing woman, the loving and the loved, surrounded with healthy, happy children in that model home. Mr. Garrison was omnipresent, now talking and introducing guests, now soothing some child to sleep, and now, with his charming wife, looking after the refreshments. There we met Mrs. [Caroline H.] Dall, Elizabeth Peabody, Mrs. McCready, the Shaksperian reader, Mrs. [Caroline M.] Severance, Dr. [Harriot K.] Hunt, Charles F. Hovey, Francis Jackson, Wendell Phillips, Sarah Pugh of Philadelphia, and others. Having worshipped these distinguished people afar off, it was a great satisfaction to see so many face to face."

[2] Daughter of Francis Jackson; Mrs. Meriam by a previous marriage.

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again, associated with him in counsel and effort. His personal kindness to me and mine — his generous support to the cause of the slave — his unbounded hospitality to its advocates and friends — his frequent sheltering beneath his roof the homeless wanderer and the trembling fugitive — his solid judgment, rare discrimination of character, and grand integrity of life — his cheerful surrender of office, popular favor, and "respectable" standing in the community, for the sake of universal freedom and eternal right — his prompt disposition to "hoist the banner on the outer wall," and to take his stand in "the deadly, imminent breach," with heroic courage and sublime self-forgetfulness — all these, and a thousand other considerations, growing out of the probable nearness of his removal to the world beyond us, occupied my mind during the silent watches of the night, and rendered sleep impossible.

Francis Jackson to W. L. Garrison.

MS. in pencil. Afternoon.

[BOSTON], Nov. 3d, '55.

DEAR GARRISON: Among the choicest cordials the nurse brings to my parched lips are your very kind letters, which I should like very much to reply to; but my physician counsels me to put aside all business, forego to meet old friends, even, and keep very quiet. I am now violating his injunctions, but I must send you a word. It has been one of the most fortunate circumstances of my life that I was thrown so near your teaching and influence. I am very greatly indebted to you. It has for many long years been one of the aims of my life to stand by you — how well, it is not for me to say. I want to write more, but cannot; I cannot see you now, but I send you my love.

W. L. Garrison to Francis Jackson.

MS., dictated. Saturday evening.

14 DIX PLACE, Nov. 3, 1855.

Happy am I, if, in any manner, I have been of any service to you during our long and endearing acquaintance. But you had nothing to learn of me in regard to the sacred rights of conscience, the freedom of the mind, and the duty of standing by the right at all hazards, whether solitary or backed up by a multitude. These things I found to be a part of your own nature. Moreover, it was your good fortune to throw off, at a much earlier period in life than I did, the fetters of that terrible

theology which has so long held mastery over the New England mind, making one universal blight of human existence here below, and filling a future state of existence with inconceivable dangers and unutterable horrors. The Fatherhood of God was a doctrine early accepted by you, and at a time when it required the greatest moral courage to do so. Happily, you have lived to see it grow and extend in every direction; and of its ultimate acceptance by the whole human family you and I have no reason to doubt. God shall be all, and in all; which is saying, in other words, that nothing but goodness is immutable, all-conquering, everlasting. CHAP. XV. 1855.

I dwell, dear friend, with inexpressible satisfaction upon the fact, that your last public act in the service of the slave was that of presiding at the 20th anniversary of the memorable mobocratic 21st of October, 1835. It will constitute a fitting crown of honor to a well-spent life. Nothing could have been more felicitous, or more beautifully and historically, as well as personally, appropriate.

I have to communicate to you the death of Capt. Weston at Weymouth. He finished his voyage of life last evening, and has entered into the haven of rest. I have dictated a letter to Anne, conveying my sympathy to the family, in view of their bereavement, and communicating to them, also, the sad intelligence of your own dangerous illness. It will add much to their weight of sorrow, I know; but, at the same time, I felt sure they would wish to be apprised of the fact without any delay. *Warren Weston. Nov.* 2, 1855. *A. W. Weston.*

The reference, in your note, to your parched lips is very touching. My own are somewhat affected by the little fever I have had; but I am getting better, while you are growing worse. However, this is saying that you are nearer your heavenly home, and that the troubles and cares of life with you are nearly ended.

In life, in death, and ever, yours.

W. L. Garrison to Mrs. Maria W. Chapman.

BOSTON, November 24, 1855. *MS.*

Now that the joyful event is made certain, I avail myself of the earliest opportunity to congratulate you upon your safe arrival home after so long an absence from your native land. The fact that you are really with us again only needs to be generally known, to excite the liveliest emotions of pleasure in ten thousand hearts, bound up with yours in the most vital and *Saturday, Nov.* 24, 1855; *Lib.* 25: 191.

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far-reaching movement of the age, and cherishing for you the warmest regard and the highest appreciation as one of the earliest, most clear-sighted, uncompromising, and efficient advocates of the imbruted slave. The delight I feel in the anticipation of seeing you, face to face, in due season, is inexpressible; it will be almost like a resurrection from the dead, or a return from a higher plane of spiritual existence, so far as your bodily presence is concerned. From a particular standpoint, it seems a whole age since you left us. Seven years is, indeed, a long period to have been absent, considering the brevity of life; but, in the activity and tumult of a desperate campaign, where no time is left for leisure, meditation, or retirement, they seem reduced to a single point. How extraordinary and multitudinous have been the events directly connected with the anti-slavery cause within this term! What changes in sects, parties, and whole sections of country on the right side! What rapid strides, startling achievements, and boundless aims, on the part of the Slave Power! In what a close death-grapple are Liberty and Slavery found!

Though absent in body, we know you have been with us unceasingly in spirit since you left us; that nothing which has occurred, affecting either the integrity or success of our glorious cause, has escaped your observation; that you have not only improved, but created, opportunities to aid us, on British and on French soil, by speech, testimony, personal influence, the press, the preparation of circulars and tracts, a generous pecuniary coöperation, multitudinous letters, and well-directed blows, struck at the right time and with irresistible force. For all these efforts and sacrifices we are immensely indebted to you, to say nothing of antecedent years of unequalled industry and labor at home, under the most trying circumstances, and in the midst of all-abounding obloquy, proscription, and danger. I will not put up the superfluous petition: "May the blessings of those who are ready to perish rest upon your head!"— because they do now rest upon it. I will not add: "God bless you!"— as it might seem to imply that he had been "slack concerning his promises," and was growing forgetful. "Blessed *are*," not *shall be*, "the merciful. Blessed *are* they who are persecuted for righteousness' sake," etc., etc. The reward is ever in the performance of the deed.

Lib. 28:4; *Liberty Bell for* 1858, *p.* 243.

Welcome home again — a thousand times welcome! Welcome to whatever of unpopularity yet attaches to inflexible and incorruptible abolitionism! Welcome to a still further partici-

pation in a cause which, notwithstanding its grand advances, has yet to contend with Church and State, and all that is rich, strong, and powerful in the land! You have a place in our heart of hearts; we already feel the magnetism of your spirit and the quickening influence of your presence.

How deeply do I regret that you did not arrive in season to be at the twentieth anniversary of the memorable twenty-first of October, 1835, held on the very spot where the mob of "gentlemen of property and standing" achieved such a ruinous victory! It was a most thrilling occasion, as you may readily suppose, and full of heart-stirring reminiscences.

Three weeks ago, we were expecting the speedy and inevitable departure to the Spirit Land of our well-tried and noble friend Francis Jackson — his physician having oracularly pronounced his disease incurable, warranting no hope of his continuance beyond a fortnight. Now we are rejoicing that, almost as by superhuman power, he is convalescent, and looking and feeling much better than he has done for a year past! How happy will he be to take you by the hand, and you not less so to reciprocate congratulations!

Mrs. Maria W. Chapman to W. L. Garrison.

[WEYMOUTH, MASS., Dec. 1, 1855.]

MS. Saturday.

Most cordial thanks for your kind words of welcome. I hoped to have seen you on Wednesday, and tried hard; for I had a message and paper to give you from one who loves you well — Harriet Martineau. My sister Mary will give you the paper. It was copied with great difficulty, owing to her extreme feebleness at the time; and under that sense of the precarious tenure by which she has her life at this time, which gives to it the earnestness and impressiveness of a dying utterance.[1]

Mary G. Chapman.

I hope Mrs. Garrison is better this morning. My kindest love to her and all your family.

[1] The piece transcribed was the Rev. W. J. Fox's hymn, "A little child in bulrush ark" (*Lib.* 25 : 194).

CHAPTER XVI.

FRÉMONT.—1856.

Feb. 2, 1856; *Lib.* 26:23.

THE election of N. P. Banks to the Speakership of the lower house of Congress, after a two months' struggle, over a South Carolinian slaveholder, was, in Mr. Garrison's hope, "the first gun at Lexington of the new Revolution." The victory of the Slave Power in the election of James Buchanan — a typical Northern doughface — to the Presidency in November, over John C. Frémont, with three parties in the field and only one issue, was in fact the Bunker Hill of that Revolution. Between these events, of the first political importance, occurred the beating of Charles Sumner in his seat in the Senate Chamber of the United States by the nephew of one of his colleagues, a Representative from South Carolina, Preston S. Brooks. The speech which drew down upon the Massachusetts Senator this murderous assault, was entitled "The Crime against Kansas"; and the assault itself was merely a part of that crime. Jefferson Davis, Pierce's Secretary of War, wielding all the power of the Administration in support of the pro-slavery invaders of Kansas, publicly approved Brooks's action. Senator Douglas, the arch-contriver of the Kansas iniquity, witnessed without emotion and without interfering ("lest his motives might be misconstrued") the plying of the dragoon strokes which Brooks had learnt in the Mexican War; and afterwards took the stump with the South Carolinian in behalf of Buchanan. The Southern press spoke but one language. The Richmond *Enquirer* held, as to Sumner's treatment, that it was the right discipline for him and the other

Lib. 26:23.

Lib. 26:178.

Lib. 26:125.

May 22, 1856; *Lib.* 26:87.

Lib. 26: [30], [151].

Lib. 26:173.

Lib. 26:91, 103.

Lib. 26:87.

Lib. 26:107.

Lib. 26:93.

"vulgar abolitionists in the Senate," who were "getting above themselves." "They have grown saucy, and dare to be impudent to gentlemen. . . . They have been suffered to run too long without collars. They must be lashed into submission. . . . They will soon learn to behave themselves like decent dogs." So the Muscogee (Ala.) *Herald* summed up "free society" as "but a conglomeration of greasy mechanics, filthy operatives, small-fisted farmers, and moon-struck theorists," not "fitted for well-bred gentlemen. . . . This is your free society which the Northern hordes are endeavoring to extend into Kansas." CHAP. XVI. 1856. *Lib.* 26: [149].

How the love of Union on the part of the North ever survived such representative expressions of contempt and contumely as these, must always remain a mystery. The narrow miss which the Republican Party made of electing Frémont may fairly be set down to the fear of disunion, industriously played upon by men who meant what they said, as was proved four years later. Toombs, and Mason, and Rhett, gave fair warning. Brooks recommended that the South rise, march on Washington, and seize the archives and the Treasury: "We should anticipate them [the free States], and force them to attack us." Henry A. Wise wrote with utmost accuracy to John W. Forney: "Whether the present state of peaceful revolution, of warlike brotherhood, of confederated antagonisms, of shake-hand enmity, of sectional union, of united enemies, shall continue, depends precisely upon the issue whether Black Republicanism is strong enough to elect John C. Frémont, with all the demon isms at his heels." Even Millard Fillmore, the Know-Nothing Presidential candidate, had the frank indecency to justify secession in the event referred to. If all this was set down as bluster by those who knew the value of the Union to slavery, the abolitionists at least were excusable, as being the only party who proposed to put it to the test by a peaceable Northern secession. *Lib.* 30: 17. *Lib.* 26: [142], 169, 185. *Lib.* 26: [145]. *Lib.* 26: [153]. *Lib.* 26: 170.

The Pierce Administration being resolved to sink or

CHAP. XVI. 1856.

swim with Border-Ruffian supremacy in Kansas, the Territory was plunged deeper and deeper into civil war, with the United States troops as a complicating factor — dispersing the free-State Legislature, disarming Northern immigrant bodies as well as attempting to exclude the Southern raiders, and assisting in the execution of "bogus" writs. Three Southern armies spread terror in every free-State settlement, especially Lawrence, whose hotel and printing-office were battered down by way of judicial abatement as nuisances, and Osawatomie, which was sacked. Entrance to Kansas by the Missouri River route was practically closed, and even the Iowa and Nebraska frontiers were watched and picketed. The first free-State reprisals were made by John Brown in what his latest biographer calls the "Pottawatomie executions" — midnight extirpation with the sword, in true Southern fashion, of a nest of harborers of Border Ruffianism; and the capture of a raiding company at Black Jack Creek, "the first regular battle fought between free-State and pro-slavery men in Kansas."

Lib. 26:127, 171, 103.

Lib. 26:87, 95.
Lib. 26:99.
Lib. 26:107, 110, 129, [135], [147], 171.

Sanborn's John Brown, chap. ix.

May 25, 1856.

June 2, 1856.
Sanborn's John Brown, p. 241.

Wanton bloodshed in that Territory, and not anti-slavery principle, wrought the North to the pitch of resistance symbolized by the vote for Frémont. It carried the clergy off their feet, and opened their churches to meetings for the donation of Sharp's rifles for Kansas — Henry Ward Beecher and Theodore Parker being conspicuous in the promotion of this object, and both incurring Mr. Garrison's friendly and discriminating censure. To the former, who had said, "You might just as well read the Bible to buffaloes as to those fellows who follow Atchison and Stringfellow," he rejoined:

Lib. 26:51.

Lib. 26:51, 54.

Lib. 26:34, 42, 54, 58.
Lib. 26:42.

D. R. Atchison. B. F. Stringfellow.

> "Is it not to be sorely pressed, yea, to yield the whole ground, to represent any class of our fellow-creatures as being on the same level with wild beasts? To such a desperate shift does the slaveholder resort, to screen himself from condemnation. The negroes, he avers, are an inferior race — a connecting link between men and monkeys — and therefore it is folly to talk of giving them liberty and equal rights.

Lib. 26:42.

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"For our own part, we deeply compassionate the miserable and degraded tools of the slave propagandists, who know not what they do, and (as Mr. Beecher correctly says) are 'raked together from the purlieus of a frontier slave State, drugged with whiskey, and hounded on by broken-down and desperate politicians.' But they are far less blameworthy than their employers and endorsers. To a great extent, they are the victims of a horribly false state of society in Missouri, and no doubt fearfully depraved; yet they are not beasts, nor to be treated as beasts. Convince us that it is right to shoot anybody, and our perplexity would be to know where to begin — whom first to despatch, as opportunity might offer. We should have to make clean work of the President and his Cabinet — Douglas, Atchison, Stringfellow, Toombs, Wise, and their associates — Doctors Lord, Adams, Spring, Fuller, and others of the same cloth — Judges Loring, Kane, Grier, and Slave Commissioners generally — the conductors of such papers as the New York *Journal of Commerce*, *Observer*, *Express*, *Herald*, and the Satanic press universally. These are the intelligent, responsible, and colossal conspirators against the liberty, peace, happiness, and safety of the republic, whose guilt cannot easily be exaggerated. Against their treasonable course our moral indignation burns like fire, though we wish them no harm; only we are sure that they are utterly without excuse."

"Mr. Beecher says: 'We know that there are those who will scoff at the idea of holding a sword or a rifle, in a Christian state of mind.' He will allow us to shrink from such an idea without scoffing. We know not where to look for Christianity if not to its founder; and, taking the record of his life and death, of his teaching and example, we can discover nothing which even remotely, under any conceivable circumstances, justifies the use of the sword or rifle on the part of his followers; on the contrary, we find nothing but self-sacrifice, willing martyrdom (if need be), peace and good-will, and the prohibition of all retaliatory feelings, enjoined upon all who would be his disciples. When he said: 'Fear not those who kill the body,' he broke every deadly weapon. When he said: 'My kingdom is not of this world, else would my servants fight that I should not be delivered to the Jews,' he plainly prohibited war in self-defence, and substituted martyrdom therefor. When he said: 'Love your enemies,' he did not mean, 'Kill them if they go too far.' When he said, while expiring on the cross: 'Father, forgive them; for they know not what they do,' he did not treat

Lib. 26:54.

Luke 12:4.

John 18:36.

Luke 6:27.

Luke 23:34.

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them as 'a herd of buffaloes,' but as poor, misguided, and lost men. We believe in his philosophy; we accept his instruction; we are thrilled by his example; we rejoice in his fidelity. How touching is the language of James! — 'Ye have condemned and killed THE JUST; and *he doth not resist you.*' And how melting to the soul is the declaration: 'He was led as a lamb to the slaughter'! And again: 'God commendeth his love towards us in that, while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us.'[1] . . .

James 5 : 6.

Acts 8 : 32.

Rom. 5 : 8.

"What are the facts respecting Kansas? Briefly these: 'Squatter Sovereignty' has turned out to be repeated invasions of the Territory by armed bandits from Missouri, who have successfully made it a conquered province, manufactured a Territorial Government, enacted a code of laws worthy of pandemonium, and trampled the civil and political rights of the *bona-fide* settlers under their feet; and for one sole object — to make Kansas a slave State. Hence the appeal, in self-defence, to the people of the free States for men, money, and arms; hence the justification for the employment of Sharp's rifles against the 'border ruffians.' It is said to be a struggle for liberty; and earnest appeals are made to the hearts and the pockets of all who desire to see liberty victorious.

"We burn with indignation at the insults and outrages to which the settlers have thus been subjected, and acknowledge their position to be a most perilous and trying one. But we deny, in the first place, that they are acting upon principle, or contending for equal rights. They resent as a foul slander the

[1] This New Testament argument, met with unsigned, would probably in no quarter of Christendom suggest anything but a Christian origin. But in this very year a book reviewer was allowed, in the N. Y. *Independent* of Jan. 3, 1856, to say: "Of the converts to Spiritualism whose previous belief is mentioned in this book, almost all of them were infidels, and some of them, like Garrison and Robert Owen, of a most degraded class" (*Lib.* 26 : 22, 51). Joshua Leavitt, D. D., was at this time the office editor of the *Independent*, which, for the rest, had an honorable distinction among the religious press for its views on slavery. The editorial board consisted of Joseph P. Thompson, D. D., Leonard Bacon, D. D., and Richard S. Storrs, D. D. Henry Ward Beecher was the most prominent contributor. In the course of the summer Dr. Bacon, addressing an Evangelical Association, professed his antipathy to political preaching. "For example, he did not believe in introducing the name of the President of the United States into the pulpit, or the name of the Senator from Illinois [Douglas]. (Laughter.) He rarely spoke of the Devil in the pulpit (laughter), *and never of Mr. Garrison.* (Great laughter.)" "Dr. Bacon," commented the target of this clerical facetiousness, "is diabolically amiable and considerate towards us" (*Lib.* 26 : 118).

charge of being abolitionists; they proclaim a truce on their part with slavery where it now exists; they are pro-slavery in spirit and position, in regard to the millions who are grinding in the Southern house of bondage; they have meanly and wickedly proscribed every man of color, and made it illegal for him to be a resident in the Territory; they do not object to slave-hunting on their soil, but recognize it as a constitutional obligation which they have no disposition to annul; they go for *all* the pro-slavery compromises of the American Constitution; they are contending for their own rights *as white men*, not for the rights of all, without distinction of caste or color; they have pursued a shuffling and compromising policy throughout; they have consented to make the existence of liberty or slavery in the Territory dependent upon the will of the majority, fairly expressed, and *to abide by the result.* The retribution now meted out to them is divinely ordered: having sown the wind, they are reaping the whirlwind. It is for them to say to one another, as did the treacherous brethren of Joseph: 'We are verily guilty concerning our brother, in that we saw the anguish of his soul when he besought us, and we would not hear; therefore is this distress come upon us.' And while they are yet standing, in common with the great body of the American people, with their feet upon the necks of four millions of chattel slaves,—and while, to propitiate the pro-slavery spirit, they have banished from their presence all free colored emigrants, at the very time they are complaining of having their own rights wrested from them,—with what face can they ask for the sympathy and coöperation of those who are battling for the cause of freedom on a world-wide basis? 'Let the dead bury their dead.'

"Again — if such men are deserving of generous sympathy, and ought to be supplied with arms, are not the crushed and bleeding slaves at the South a million times more deserving of pity and succor? Why not, first of all, take measures to furnish them with Sharp's rifles? Their wrongs are beyond description; in comparison with which, those of the people of Kansas are utterly insignificant. Why strain at a gnat, and swallow a camel? If every 'border ruffian' invading Kansas deserves to be shot, much more does every slaveholder, by the same rule; for the former is guilty only of attempting political subjection to his will, while the latter is the destroyer of all human rights, and there is none to deliver. Who will go for arming our slave population?"

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The answer to this question would presently come from Kansas itself (from John Brown, namely) with the aid of Gerrit Smith, who had got bravely back up the "dam of non-resistance" which he was once carried over. He was now even more prominent than Beecher and Parker in bestowing and soliciting arms for Kansas; and, from a Revolutionary standpoint, nothing could be better than his remarks, full of insight, at a Kansas convention in Buffalo, July 10, 1856:

Ante, 2:317; *Lib.* 26:54.

Lib. 26:125, *and broadside.*

"Most of you are relying largely on political action, and especially on the next election, to save Kansas. Unhappy reliance! I speak deliberately when I say, that nothing so much as this reliance is now in the way of the deliverance of Kansas. You are looking to ballots when you should be looking to bayonets; counting up voters when you should be mustering armed, and none but armed, emigrants; electioneering for candidates for civil rulers when you should be enquiring for military rulers. All the time that you are making this mistake, slavery is fortifying itself in Kansas, and weakening and expelling liberty. . . . There was a time when slavery could have been ended by political action. But that time has gone by — and, as I apprehend, forever. There was not virtue enough in the American people to bring slavery to a bloodless termination; and all that now remains for them is to bring it to a bloody one. No man has called longer than I have on the American people to vote slavery to death. For many years, however, I have well-nigh despaired of their doing so, and for the last month or two I have entirely despaired of it. . . .

Lib. 26:126.

"No, the American people have never proposed to vote slavery to death, and they do not now propose to do so. The only question that remains is, whether they are prepared to put it to death by violence. They think that they are not. But I think that they are. I admit that they are not in purpose. Nevertheless, I think that they are in effect, for I trust that they are ready to put it to a violent death in Kansas — and in that death will be involved the whole of American slavery. . . .

"But why do I conclude that the North will put slavery in Kansas to a violent death? Because I am certain that the South will persevere in fighting for Kansas, and that the North will do so too. If all manhood has not departed from us, we will

not consent to leave our Kansas brethren to be butchered. If all love of freedom has not departed from us, we will not leave them to be cursed with slavery. And, I add, if the North but resolves to conquer, it will conquer. . . .

"And why, too, do I conclude that a death-struggle between liberty and slavery in Kansas will be a death-struggle between these powers in all the land? Because I am certain that the South will never give up Kansas until compelled to give up all slavery. She will fight for it to the last. . . .

"With no delight do I look upon these scenes of blood that seem to me so certain and so near. All the horrors of war are to my heart emphatically horrors. Let us all be filled with sincere and pious regret at the wretched circumstances into which our preëminently guilty country is brought. I say our guilty country — for I mean the North as well as the South. If the South has sinned fearfully in keeping alive and extending the system of slavery, no less fearfully has the North sinned in refusing to kill the bloody and infernal system at the ballot-box. For the civil war that has already broken out in this land, I hold the North and the South equally responsible."

Mr. Garrison entertained no illusions about the efficacy of ballot-boxes or bayonets without a public sentiment behind them. He held to the simple Christian and humane remedy which consisted solely in breaking up the unholy partnership that ensured the national support of slavery. Here are his resolutions offered at the New England Anti-Slavery Convention on May 27, 1856:

"10. Resolved, That we deplore the moral blindness and inconsistency of those who are seeking to transform the anti-slavery cause into a mere territorial struggle, in accordance with the Missouri Compromise — making it no longer a question as to the liberation of four millions of imbruted slaves at the South, but only one of latitude and longitude — basing it on a corrupt bargain, and not on the rights of man — sacrificing one race for the benefit of another — and consenting to the constitutional protection of slavery in fifteen States of the Union where it now exists, and to the outlawry of the fugitive slave in every section of the land. *Lib.* 26:89.

"11. Resolved, That slavery in a Territory is no worse a crime than slavery in a State; that Kansas is no more entitled to freedom than Carolina; and while we yield to none in zeal and

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effort to prevent the extension of that most hideous system, and appreciate at its true value whatever is said or done to baffle the designs of the Slave Power in regard to future territorial acquisitions, we declare every other issue to be deceptive and futile except that of the liberation of every slave, and the separation of the North from the South as a moral and religious duty, and as a sure method of effecting the speedy downfall of slavery universally.

"12. Resolved, That the successive invasions of Kansas by the Missouri bandits — their seizure of the ballot-box, and usurpation of governmental authority — their horrible enactments in regard to slavery, surpassing in murderous atrocity any code yet devised by human diabolism — their numberless crimes and bloody outrages upon the persons of the free settlers of that Territory, victim after victim having been assassinated with impunity — their introduction and establishment of chattel slavery, at the point of the bowie-knife and revolver — the extensive coöperation given them by the Southern States, and now by the army of the United States, by order of the President and his Cabinet, to the utter overthrow of all natural and legal rights, and the extinction of all the hopes of freedom — constitute 'an assemblage of horrors' which no pencil can portray and no language express, and in comparison with which the grievances suffered by our Revolutionary fathers are as dust in the balance. . . .

"18. Resolved, That a delegated Convention of the free States should be held at as early a period and at a point as central as practicable, for the purpose of taking measures to effect a peaceable withdrawal from an alliance which an experience of more than three-score years has demonstrated to be as impracticable as it has been disastrous to genuine republicanism and a pure Christianity.

"19. Resolved, That, to secure this desirable object, the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society is hereby respectfully requested to appoint committees of correspondence and vigilance in the several free States, who shall be duly empowered to make all necessary arrangements to secure a full representation in the Convention aforesaid."

The narrowing of the issue by the Republican Party, as described in the first of the foregoing resolutions, was the natural result of a purely defensive policy. Like Demosthenes's unskilful boxer, the party covered the place last

hit, exposing the rest of its body to fresh blows. Hence, not a word in its platform about the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law, or urging abolition in the District of Columbia, *against* which, by the way, Frémont, during his brief Senatorial career, had twice voted. Kansas was the sole vital issue put forward. "The tone of the Republican Party," wrote Mr. Garrison to S. J. May, on March 21, 1856, "is becoming more and more feeble and indefinite, in order to secure a large vote in the approaching Presidential struggle. At Pittsburg,[1] they resolved to vote for the admission of Kansas into the Union as a free State! Wonderful! 'Put not your faith in'— politicians!"

Lib. 26: [142].

Lib. 26: 114, [142].

MS.

His cherished correspondent, like many another abolitionist, was swept away by the hope of political success into ardent support of Frémont; and such examples encouraged the Democrats in their policy of identifying the Republicans with the disunion abolitionists. Howell Cobb of Georgia, addressing a Democratic meeting at Portland, Me., on August 6, charged the Republicans that "the only difference between you and Garrison is — he goes at the question boldly, like a man, and you are sneaking around it. Garrison says your Constitution protects slavery, and he is against the Constitution. Well, I admit that he is foolish, but, at the same time, you are obliged to admit that he is bolder and honester than you are." The editor of the *Liberator* was beset with inquiries as to his attitude towards the Republican Party, often from members of it who hoped he would disavow it, in order that the party might disavow him. His replies left no room for ambiguity. In a long article, reviewing the duty of abolitionists under the temptation to which Mr. May had succumbed, he held them to the fundamental principle of the disunion position, with this admission: "As against Buchanan and Fillmore, it seems to us, the sympathies and best wishes of every enlightened friend of freedom must be on the side of Frémont; so that if there

Lib. 26: 122, 170, 171, 174.

Lib. 26: [142], [143]; 27: 2.

Lib. 26: 133.

Lib. 26: [142], 162.

Lib. 26: [142].

Lib. 26: [146].

[1] Feb. 22, 1856; the convention which paved the way for that at Philadelphia on June 17 (*Lib.* 26 : 38).

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were no moral barrier to our voting, and we had a million votes to bestow, we should cast them all for the Republican candidate." Returning to the subject in a later issue, he said:

Lib. 26: 166; *Nat. A. S. Standard, Oct.* 25, 1856, *p.* 2.

"What, then, is our duty as abolitionists in the present crisis?

"First — what it is *not*.

"It is not to abandon our principles, for they are immutable and eternal. It is not to lessen our demands, for they are just and right. It is not to lose sight of, or postpone to a more favorable period, the glorious object we have ever had in view, — to wit, the total and immediate extinction of slavery, — for this would be fatuity. It is not to substitute the non-extension for the abolition of slavery, for this would be to wrestle with an effect, while leaving the cause untouched — to seek to avert the penalty of sin, while allowing the sin itself to go unrepented of. It is not to lower our standard in order to propitiate the time-serving and cowardly or to carry any measure however desirable, for this would be certain defeat. It is not to concentrate our forces upon any geographical or side issue with the Slave Power, for this would be a fatal diversion. It is not to plead for the white laborer to the forgetfulness of the black laborer, nor to concern ourselves exclusively with consecrating to freedom any particular portion of the American soil, for ours is neither a complexional nor a sectional movement. It is not to act upon the jesuitical maxim, that the end sanctifies the means, for this is the all-corrupting sin in every part of this rebellious world. It is not to seek what is most available for the hour, or temporary success upon a false basis, for this is to rely upon numbers, and not upon God — upon policy, and not upon principle.

"Our duty is first personal, in regard to ourselves. We are to see to it that we make no truce with slavery, either directly or by implication; that we give to it no religious or political sanction, in any form or to any extent; that our hands are clean, and our consciences without condemnation; that we 'remember them that are in bonds as being bound with them.'

"This duty performed, our next is to call to repentance our guilty land; to impeach, criticize, admonish, entreat, rebuke every sect, every party, every person, in alliance or sympathy with the oppressors, or indifferent to the claims of the perishing bondmen; to reject all half-way measures, while hailing with gladness the smallest indications of progress; to be as

inexorable as justice, as contumacious as truth, as unbending as the pillars of the universe; to 'put on the whole armor of God, and, having done all, TO STAND.'

"Where, then, is our proper place in the political struggle which is now convulsing the nation, and exciting an unparalleled anxiety in the breasts of the people?

"Surely, not with the Democratic Party — beyond all question, the most corrupt, the most shameless, the most abandoned, and the most desperate party in existence. . . .

"As for the American Party, it is based upon proscription, and thoroughly pro-slavery. . . .

"Where stands the Republican Party, and to what extent is it deserving of commendation or censure?

"1. Unquestionably, it embodies the whole *political* anti-slavery strength of the country — the legitimate product of the *moral* agitation of the subject of slavery for the last quarter of a century; for it is not conceivable that any voter, desirous of frustrating the aim of the Slave Power at universal dominion, will bestow his suffrage upon either Buchanan or Fillmore. In general intelligence, virtuous character, humane sentiment, and patriotic feeling — as well as in the object it is seeking to accomplish — it is incomparably better than the other rival parties; and its success, *as against those parties*, will be a cheering sign of the times.

"2. It is sincerely, strenuously, and against the combined forces of the slave oligarchy wielded with diabolical malignity, endeavoring to prevent the vast territories of the West from becoming a slaveholding empire, divided into manifold slave States; and to this extent it is favorable to the cause of freedom.

"3. It is allowed no foothold at the South, but is everywhere furiously ostracized, so that no meeting can be safely held to advocate its claims, no electoral ticket favorable to the election of its candidates can be formed, no slaveholder, even, can declare his adhesion to it without imperilling his life; and every vial of slaveholding wrath is poured out upon it, and upon all who are identified with it, notwithstanding its constant disavowal of all wish or intention to interfere with slavery where it now exists.[1]

[1] Witness the cutting down of a Republican flagpole in Portsmouth, Va. (*Lib.* 26 : 171), and the charge of Judge George W. Thompson, of the Supreme Court of the same State, to the Grand Jury, that support of the "Black Republican" ticket would be treason to Virginia (*Lib.* 26 : 166, 175). For cases of expulsion, see *Lib.* 29 : 35.

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"4. It divides the nation by a geographical line, but without any sectional feeling on its own part; this division being caused solely by its just defence of the rights of the North against the daring invasions of the Slave Power, which is determined to 'crush out' every sentiment of freedom in the land, and to punish opposition to its monstrous designs as summarily in Massachusetts as in Virginia or Alabama.

"5. It helps to disseminate no small amount of light and knowledge in regard to the nature and workings of the slave system, being necessitated to do this to maintain its position; and thus, for the time being, it is moulding public sentiment in the right direction, though with no purpose to aid us in the specific work we are striving to accomplish — namely, the dissolution of the Union, and the abolition of slavery throughout the land.

"All this may be fairly set down to the credit of the Republican Party; and it is a wise apostolic injunction to give 'credit to whom credit is due.' Let us be clear in our discrimination, and just in our award, without yielding one jot or tittle of principle, or moving a hair's-breadth from the path of duty."

Lib. 27:2. *Lib.* 26:162.

In disregard of this consistent attitude, maintained at a loss to the editor's subscription-list, Horace Greeley made no scruple, in his N. Y. *Tribune*, of pronouncing the *Liberator* "especially hostile to Frémont and the Republican Party"; and his timidity at last prompted him to commit Mr. Garrison in the most tangible manner.[1]

Horace Greeley to W. L. Garrison.

Lib. 26:174.

NEW YORK, Oct. 29, 1856.

DEAR SIR: The *Pennsylvanian* publishes conspicuously from day to day the following:—

"HORACE GREELEY'S HONESTY.

"'We hold that honesty in politics, as in everything else, is the best policy. We do not believe falsehood is stronger than truth.'—*Horace Greeley.*

[1] "One of the keenest lobbying members of the Frémont Party came home from Pennsylvania, before election, and asked me to urge Mr. Garrison to write an article against Frémont as bitter as he could make it. 'It will be worth a thousand votes to him [Frémont],' said he; 'I know the very districts where he will gain as many'" (Wendell Phillips, in speech at Worcester, Jan. 15, 1857; *Lib.* 27:32).

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"'The Garrisonian abolitionists *do not* support Frémont; on the contrary, they will neither vote for him nor advise others to do so.'—*Horace Greeley.*

"'Now, this is a *false imputation. We have never evinced any such preference, in private or in public, in speech or in writing; on the contrary, we have* UNIFORMLY EXPRESSED OUR "PREFERENCE" FOR FRÉMONT *as against Buchanan or Fillmore,* AND THIS IS THE UNIVERSAL FEELING OF THE "ULTRA ABOLITIONISTS."'—*Wm. Lloyd Garrison.*

"'If we had a MILLION of votes to bestow, we should cast them all for the Republican candidate.'—*Wm. Lloyd Garrison.*"

Will you please state in reply whether the above fairly represents your views, and whether you will personally vote, and advise those who agree with you to vote, for Col. Frémont?

Yours,

HORACE GREELEY.

W. LLOYD GARRISON, Esq.

The answer through the *Liberator* was immediate and unequivocal:

"To these inquiries," said the editor, "we shall make categorical replies. 1. Personally, we shall not vote for Frémont. 2. We do not advise those who agree with us to vote for him, because he goes for perpetuating 'the Union as it is'—we for its immediate dissolution as 'a covenant with death.' 3. The language attributed to us by such lying journals as the *Pennsylvanian* and the Boston *Post*, being torn from its connection and basely garbled, does not truly represent our views. We said: 'If there were no moral barrier to our voting' (but there is), and we had a million of votes to bestow, we should cast them all for Frémont, 'as against Buchanan and Fillmore'—not because he is an abolitionist or a disunionist (for he is neither, any more than was Washington, Jefferson, Webster, Clay, or Jackson, occupying precisely their ground), but because he is for the non-extension of slavery, in common with the great body of the people of the North, whose attachment to the Union amounts to idolatry. *Lib.* 26:174.

"Well, the Presidential struggle will terminate on Tuesday next, with all its forgeries, tricks, shams, lies, and slanders. *Laus Deo!* Whatever may be the result, upon our banner will still be inscribed in ineffaceable characters the motto: 'NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS!'" *Nov.* 4, 1856.

CHAPTER XVII.

The Disunion Convention.— 1857.

Jan. 2, 1857. THE opening number of the twenty-seventh volume of the *Liberator* contained two notices, significant in themselves, but more particularly from their juxtaposition. The one appointed a festival at Faneuil Hall on January 2, 1857, to celebrate the twenty-fifth anniversary of the *Ante*, 1:279. founding of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society in Belknap-Street Church; the other, a State Disunion Convention to be held at Worcester, Mass., on January 15.

Two only of the twelve founders of the anti-slavery organization were visible at the festival — Mr. Garrison, who (with Edmund Quincy's aid) presided, and Oliver Johnson among the speakers. Two, if not four, were *Lib.* 27:5. numbered with the dead, as Joshua Coffin recorded in a *Lib.* 27:5. letter to the festival. Arnold Buffum regretfully offered his old age and his infirmities and distance from the scene as an excuse for non-attendance. Moses Thacher wrote *Lib.* 27:10. that he had in his possession the original draft of the *Ante*, 1:281. Address which he was commissioned to prepare for the new-born Society. Samuel J. May, as he had been com- *Ante*, 1:278. pelled in 1831 to leave Boston before the agreement to *Lib.* 27:5. form a society was reached, so now was drawn homeward from the same city on the very eve of the festival. His *Ante*, 1:277. cousin, Samuel E. Sewall, who, like himself, participated in the first counsels from which the Society sprung, and *Ante*, 1:223. whose importance to the anti-slavery agitation in its infancy could hardly be overestimated, took his place upon the platform as one of the vice-presidents of the festival.

"*The new chapter in the history of America* which was opened twenty-five years ago by the organization of the New England Anti-Slavery Society — may it soon be closed with the record of the accomplishment of its object, the complete, peaceful, unconditional abolition of American slavery." To this toast, proposed by Quincy, Mr. Garrison responded in an historical retrospect, mingled with tributes to his departed co-laborers, whether steadfast or alienated. Had the division in the anti-slavery ranks in 1840 not taken place, he thought emancipation might already have been achieved. T. W. Higginson thanked the abolitionists of Massachusetts, "not alone that they first told the secret of slavery, twenty-five years ago, to the astonished nation, but that they have told another secret, more recently, more daringly, to a nation yet more astonished — told the secret of anti-slavery, and told it in one word — DISUNION!" "As God is in heaven," he continued, "our destiny and our duty are to be found there. It is our only hope." With the thought of Kansas weighing heavily on his mind, he concluded his remarks by saying: "To-morrow may call us to some work so stern that the joys of this evening will seem years away. To-morrow may make this evening only the 'sound of revelry by night' before Waterloo." Theodore Parker, sending a letter in lieu of a speech, was likewise in no "festal mood." He found "the Republican Party in Congress which carried eleven of the States at the last election, apologizing, and 'defining its position,' declaring it is 'not an abolition party,' 'not an anti-slavery party,' 'not even hostile to the extension of bondage,' 'only opposed to spreading it into Kansas,' but 'never intending to interfere with slavery in the States,' and 'does not propose to discuss the relation between master and slave,' or 'the right to hold property in man.'" "Twenty-five years ago," he said, "I thought this terrible battle might be fought with the pen, and our victories written only in ink. Now, it seems quite otherwise. . . . Absent in body, I send you a word as a sentiment for the festivity: *The triumph of Free-*

Lib. 27:6. *Lib.* 27:6. *Lib.* 27:9. *Lib.* 27:5. *Cf.* 27:24.

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dom in America — peaceably if we can, forcibly if we must."

Lib. 27:2. The call for a State Convention "to consider the practicability, probability, and expediency of a separation between the Free and Slave States, and to take such other measures as the condition of the times may require," was issued by citizens of Worcester, with T. W. Higginson and Thomas Earle at their head —

Lib. 27:2. "Believing the result of the recent Presidential election to involve four years more of pro-slavery government, and a rapid increase in the hostility between the two sections of the Union;

"Believing this hostility to be the offspring, not of party excitement, but of a fundamental difference in education, habits, and laws;

"Believing the existing Union to be a failure, as being a hopeless attempt to unite under one government two antagonistic systems of society, which diverge more widely with every year;

"And believing it to be the duty of intelligent and conscientious men to meet these facts with wisdom and firmness."

Lib. 27:14. The Convention met on January 15, with Frank W. Bird of Walpole in the chair, Mr. Garrison being one of the vice-presidents. To the latter it was no disappoint-
Lib. 27:19. ment to find it "'nothing more than a Garrisonian meeting,' with the exception of a very few others hitherto acting with the Republican Party." Nor could Mr. Higginson have been surprised. At the anti-slavery festival he had
Lib. 27:9. complained — "I talk with my Republican friends in vain to know whence comes this wondrous change which has altered their whole horizon since election. I talk with a man who said, before election: 'If Buchanan is elected, I am with you henceforward — I am a Disunionist,' and I find he thinks there must have been some mistake about that remark; he thinks it must have been his partner who said it, not he. They all have their partners!" The Rev. Samuel May, Jr., was painfully aware that, on the subject of disunion, public opinion outside the abolition body had
Lib. 27:20. retrograded in the past decade. He recalled another gathering in the same hall in 1845, representing Wor-

cester County without distinction of party, which received with acclamation — even if, alarmed at its own boldness, it presently reconsidered and rejected — a resolution, "That the annexation of Texas to the Union would be a just and sufficient cause for a dissolution of the Union."

The letters addressed to the Convention by the most eminent Republican politicians of the day revealed their irresolution and utter impotency before the unchecked advance of the Slave Power. Charles Francis Adams, who in 1843 had incurred the charge of being a disunionist by his simple proposal of an amendment to the Constitution abolishing slave representation, still found the greatest defect in the Constitution to be the "anti-republican preponderance which it gives to the slaveholding class." He was of opinion that "the notion of no union with slaveholders is founded on a mistaken theory of morals," compelling the good to withdraw altogether from the society of the bad. On the basis of "honoring the former, and endeavoring as far as possible to reclaim the latter," he said: "I am willing to continue to live indefinitely with slaveholders, even though some of them should trench a little upon my rights." Amasa Walker saw clearly enough that "slavery and freedom are absolute and irreconcilable antagonisms, that cannot by any human possibility co-exist," but his disunionism was confined to the non-extension of slavery. Joshua R. Giddings wrote that the South had notoriously for thirty years cherished the hope of forming a Confederacy:

Ante, pp. 92, 93.

Lib. 27:20.

Lib. 27:14.

> "Editors and politicians now announce their determination to secede from the Union as soon as the Republicans shall obtain control of the Federal Government, which they generally expect to take place in 1860. Preparatory to this event, they are collecting arms, establishing magazines of powder and military supplies, strengthening their defences, organizing and disciplining their militia, and forming associations and combinations to effect a separation from our free States."

Lib. 27:14.

In spite of all this, Mr. Giddings was for holding on to "the Union as it now is" *(i. e.*, with indefinite possible

Lib. 27:14.

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encroachments to strengthen the Slave Power so long as its policy was to postpone secession), believing that the Union could be wielded for the benefit of liberty. In the event of Republican success, "we will then say to the slaveholders of those [slave] States, *Unbind the heavy burdens and let the oppressed go free;* or, if you prefer to maintain that institution, '*perish with it!*'"

The one letter to the Convention which astonished and offended its recipients by its tone came from Sumner's colleague in the U. S. Senate, Henry Wilson. He had read

Lib. 27:14.

the call with profound regret, believing that the movement could have no other effect than to put a burden on the Republican Party, by arraying against it "that intense, passionate, and vehement spirit of nationality which glows in the bosoms of the American people." He frankly avowed his want of sympathy with it, and refusal to be connected with it. "The logic of the head and the logic of the heart," he declared, "teach me to regard all such movements, either in the North or [in] the South, as crimes against liberty." He hoped the Convention would "conclude to leave all the impotent and puerile threats against the Union to the Southern slave-propagandists; and proclaim their readiness to follow, in the conflicts of the future, the banner of 'LIBERTY AND UNION!'"

Mr. Garrison's speech at the Convention was, in part, as follows:

Lib. 27:15.

"Mr. President, it was my intention to have prepared, with some care and deliberation, the views I desired to express on this grave occasion; but, having been ill for the last two weeks, I have not been able to give a moment to the preparation of a set speech. It is true, sir, with me, the subject is familiar; nevertheless, this is no ordinary gathering, and nothing should be hastily uttered on a question so vast, so solemn, and so revolutionary.

"Sir, I do not marvel at the general hesitancy which I find in the community to come up to the high position of demanding a dissolution of the Union. I remember how men are born, and how they are bred. I know, in regard to my own case, with what tenacity I clung to this Union, inspired by the patriotic

feelings of my early days, and never dreaming that anything would ever separate me from it, or lead me to desire its dissolution. Men do not change the institutions which have come down to them from the past lightly, or for transient reasons. They must be placed in a trying emergency,— they must feel a strong moral obligation pressing upon them,— they must clearly perceive some great impending evil to be shunned, some great good to be gained,— before they will go into revolution; whether it be a physical revolution, attended with the shedding of human blood, or a moral revolution, attended with the loss of friends and popularity, and the sacrifice of worldly interests. If the great mass of the people were ready to respond at once in favor of the dissolution of the Union, with no more light on the subject than they now enjoy, I would give little or nothing for the response, because I should be certain it was but the mere impulse of the moment; but when they hesitate, and hold back, and forbear to the last, trusting that there may be some way of escape; when they beg for a little longer time to look at a question involving such momentous consequences, before openly committing themselves, I say: 'Well, that is all right and proper — it is human nature.' When such men move, it is with the force of the thunderbolt; they are as reliable as the everlasting hills.

"If, therefore, Disunion be a matter of slow growth — as it is — I am sure it is a true growth, and that everything is gained thereby. I expect it will go on, slowly gathering to itself friends and advocates, until at last it shall culminate in an all-pervading Northern sentiment, and the great work be easily accomplished. Our Revolutionary fathers hesitated long before they threw off the yoke of the mother country. How many years did they hope, and pray, and struggle for redress of their wrongs, trusting to the justice of England — that Parliament would give heed to their petitions, and that they might be spared the necessity of raising the banner of independence — all the while avowing their loyalty to the British throne! Yet the hour came when, in spite of their veneration for the past, in spite of their feebleness in regard to numbers and resources, and in spite of the colossal power of Great Britain, they said, 'We will submit no longer! The time has come for us to throw off the yoke, and declare ourselves free and independent.' The men who, after that time, through cowardice or selfishness, sided with the mother country, were justly branded as Tories. Sir, the race of Tories did not die off with the Revolutionary

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struggle. In our day, we are passing through the same ordeal. We are engaged in a revolution more far-reaching, more sublime, more glorious than our fathers ever dreamed of. I know that there are honest men yet struggling with conscientious doubts, who sincerely ask, 'Has the time for separation come? May we not be pardoned if we wait a little longer? Is there not some turn of the wheel whereby Freedom will come uppermost and Slavery go down?' Such men are to be respected, for they are not animated by a craven spirit. In due time they will assuredly be with us. But there are others who are not honest; who are actuated by the old Tory spirit which was so hostile to the struggle for colonial independence; and these are to be branded as the enemies of mankind. . . .

"The air is filled with objections to a movement of this kind. I am neither surprised nor disquieted at this. One of these is of a very singular nature, and it is gravely urged as conclusive against Disunion. It is to this effect: We must remain in the Union because it would be inhuman in us to turn our backs upon the millions of slaves in the Southern States, and leave them to their fate! Men who have never been heard of in the anti-slavery ranks, or who are ever submitting to a compromise of principle, have their bowels wonderfully moved all at once with sympathy for the suffering slave! Even our esteemed friend, Theodore Parker (who deals in no cant), says, in his letter, that he cannot consent to cut himself off from the slave population. Now, we who are engaged in this movement claim to be equally concerned for the liberation of the slave. If we have not yet proved our willingness to suffer the loss of all things, rather than to turn and flee, God knows that we are prepared to bear any new cross that He, in his providence, may be disposed to lay upon us. For one, I make no parade of my anxiety for the deliverance of those in bondage; but I do say that it strikes me as remarkable that those who, for a quarter of a century, have borne the heat and burden of the day, should have the imputation cast upon them of intending to leave four millions of slaves in their chains, by seeking the overthrow of this Union! . . .

Lib. 27: 14.

"Now, all I have to say is, that this is a man of straw! I have no idea of forsaking the slave, under any circumstances. The slaveholder knows it, and the country knows it; and I am sure that those who are associated in this movement intend to continue the conflict till every yoke is broken. I declare that this talk of leaving the slave to his fate is not a true representa-

tion of the case; and it indicates a strange dulness of comprehension with regard to our position and purpose. What! is it to forsake the slave when I cease to be the aider and abettor of his master? What! when the North is pressing down upon four millions of slaves like an avalanche, and we say to her, 'Take off that pressure — stand aside — give the slave a chance to regain his feet and assert his freedom!' is that turning our backs upon him? Here, for example, is a man engaged in highway robbery, and another man is acting as an accessory, without whose aid the robber cannot succeed. In saying to the accomplice, 'Hands off! Don't aid the villain!' shall I be told that this is enabling the highwayman to rob with impunity? What an absurdity! Are we not trying to save the pockets of all travellers from being picked, in seeking to break up all connection with highway robbery? . . .

"What is the American Union? Has it form and substance, or is it something which belongs to the imagination — a mere piece of dough, which every man may mould and fashion as he thinks proper, without regard to its original design or positive provisions? Men talk of interpreting the Constitution as they understand it. Does it never occur to them that this is a game at which two can play? If they may interpret it *ad libitum*, so may the slaveholders. Now, sir, I assume that we have such a thing as the American Union; that it has height and breadth and exact dimensions; that the nation understands what it is and has been from its origin, in regard to its slaveholding conditions. Now let us see who are for its perpetuity. I turn to the Southern slaveholders and ask, 'Are you for a dissolution of the Union?' and they are for hanging me up by the neck for raising the question. True, they threaten, in case certain things shall be done, that they will separate from us; but, mark you! they are in favor of perpetuating 'the Union as it is,' and as our fathers made it. I turn to all that remains of the Whig Party, and ask, 'Are you in favor of preserving the Union?' and they exclaim, 'Yes, to the end of time!' I turn to the Democratic Party, and ask, 'Are you in favor of preserving the Union?' and they reply, 'Accursed be he who is not!' I turn to the American Party, and ask, 'Are you for this "glorious" Union?' 'Yes, until the crack of doom.' Finally, I turn to the Republican Party, and say, 'And you, also, go for the Union?' and they make the loudest noise, and throw up their caps the highest in its behalf.

"Now, either these parties mean by 'Union' the same thing,

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or they do not. Henry Wilson, when he says, 'I am for perpetuating the Union,' means by it what the South means, or he does not. All these parties mean the same thing, or they do not. If they do, then I stain them all with the blood of four millions of slaves, who lie crushed and bleeding beneath the Union. If they do not, then I say, there is treachery somewhere; because they are using the same word, representing the old idea of the Union as understood and carried out by our fathers. Who is it that is playing falsely?

"My reasons for leaving the Union are, first, because of the nature of the bond. I would not stand here a moment, were it not that this is with me a question of absolute morality — of obedience to the 'higher law.' By all that is just and holy, it is not optional whether you or I shall occupy the ground of Disunion. It is not a matter of political expediency or policy, or even of incongruity of interests between the North and the South. It strikes deeper, it rises higher, than that. This is the question: Are we of the North not bound in a Union with slaveholders, whereby they are enabled to hold four millions of our countrymen in bondage, with all safety and impunity? Is not Massachusetts in alliance with South Carolina, Rhode Island with Georgia, Maine with Alabama, Vermont with Mississippi, giving the strength of this nation to the side of the dealer in human flesh? My difficulty, therefore, is a moral one. The Union was formed at the expense of the slave population of the land. I cannot swear to uphold it. As I understand it, they who ask me to do so, ask me to do an immoral act — to stain my conscience — to sin against God. How can I do this? I care not what consequences may be predicted. It is a sin to 'strike hands with thieves, and consent with adulterers.' I aver that the compact made by our fathers, in relation to its slaveholding guarantees, is a compact more wicked than was ever made since the world began. . . .

"Again, I am for the speedy overthrow of the Union because, while it exists, I see no end to the extension of slavery. I see everything in the hands of the Slave Power now. I see the national Government for four years to come — all the resources of the country — every dollar in the treasury — the army, the navy, the judiciary, everything — in its grasp; and I know that, with all these means and facilities, and the disposition to use them, nothing can successfully contend against it.

I am sure of another thing — that when the North shall withdraw from the Union, there will be an end to Southern

filibustering and schemes of annexation. Then the tables will be turned, and we shall have the slaveholders at our doors, crying for mercy. Rely upon it, there is not an intelligent slaveholder at the South who is for a dissolution of the Union. I do not care what the folly or insanity of the Southern nullifiers may be; I do not care how much they hate the North, and threaten to separate from us; they are contemptible numerically, and only make use of these threats to bring the North down on her knees, to do their bidding, in order to save the Union. Not one of them is willing to have the cord cut, and the South permitted to try the experiment. If it be otherwise, God grant that she may soon take this step, and see whether she will be able to hold a single slave one hour after the deed is done!" CH. XVII. 1857.

Mr. Higginson reported the resolutions of the Convention. The last only need be quoted: *Lib.* 27:14.

"Resolved, That the sooner the separation takes place, the more peaceful it will be; but that peace or war is *a secondary consideration*, in view of our present perils. Slavery must be conquered, 'peaceably if we can, forcibly if we must.'" *Lib.* 27:14.

It was further resolved to form a State Committee of Seven, to direct the propaganda of the new movement. Of this, Mr. Higginson was made chairman. "A general convention of the free States during the current year" was recommended.

The prospect of such a convention being treated with less ridicule or less vituperation by the press seemed to improve as the year grew older. In Kansas, the bogus Legislature carried out a bogus census; its creature, the bogus Constitutional Convention, met and performed its work, submitting to the popular vote for ratification not the Constitution as a whole, but the instrument *(a)* with the pro-slavery clauses, or *(b)* without them. This exemplification of "squatter sovereignty," though entirely satisfactory to President Buchanan, drew an ominous protest from Senator Douglas, that cost the latter at once his standing in the Democratic Party and his favor both with the Administration and at the South.[1] But the

Lib. 27:21, 25.

Lib. 27:30, 39, 63, 179, 206.

Lib. 27:55, 155, 190, 199.

Lib. 27:198.

Lib. 27:198, 201, 205; 28:5, 17.

[1] Douglas's material identification with this section was destroyed by the sale at this time of his Mississippi plantation *(Lib.* 28 : 11).

Lib. 27:43, 45, 46, 118.

disunion spirit was still more developed by the Dred Scott decision, delivered by the U. S. Supreme Court on March 6, through the mouth of Chief-Justice Taney.

Lib. 26:207; 27:45; 28:49.

Scott had been the slave of an army surgeon, who took him to a military station in Illinois for two years, and thence to Fort Snelling in Nebraska (now Minnesota), where he was married to the slave woman of another officer. The sojourn in Illinois (being voluntary on the master's part) would have freed him, as this State was embraced in the Northwest Ordinance. The Territory of Nebraska was in the tract covered by the Missouri Compromise, prohibiting slavery north of 36° 30′. Scott and his wife were sold to a common owner, and returned voluntarily — or at least without resistance — to Missouri, where the husband brought suit for their freedom. The State court denied the suit, in default of evidence that their owners meant to manumit them by taking them on to free soil. Appeal was then made to the Federal Supreme Court, a body of nine members, of whom five were slaveholders.

Lib. 27:62.

Lib. 27:173; 177, 181. *MS. Oct.* 24 (?), 1857.

"The article in the *Westminster* [for July, 1857, by Harriet Martineau, on the "'Manifest Destiny' of the American Union"]," wrote Mrs. M. W. Chapman to Mr. Garrison, "was, I find by comparison of dates, written at a time when no two papers in the United States agreed as to what the Dred Scott decision did mean — all the A. S. papers agreeing that if it meant anything, it meant the extension of slavery throughout the States. . . . I should really like to read the decision, with all the different ideas as to what it means — if I had a month's leisure. I must confess to not having yet done so, whatever the *Westminster Review* may have done. One thing seems clear — they made it, like the Constitution of the United States, of india-rubber: to read one way in one State, a second way in another, and a third out of the United States, and are frightened when its *intentions* are exposed."

Scott's suit was dismissed for want of jurisdiction, the power of the State court in the premises being upheld; but the incidental doctrines enunciated were of the most alarming character. First, the Constitution recognizes no

distinction between slaves and other property, but expressly confers the right of property in slaves, and guarantees it to every State. Secondly, as an historical fact, citizenship under the Constitution was denied to the black race, which had, "for more than a century, been regarded as beings of an inferior order, and unfit associates for the white race, either socially or politically, and had no rights which white men were bound to respect."[1] Thirdly, the control of Congress over the Territory of the United States was limited, under the Constitution, to the territory possessed at the time of the adoption of that instrument, and the clause in question had, in fact, a special reference to the territory ceded under the Northwest Ordinance. Fourthly, in consequence, so much of the Missouri Compromise as related to the exclusion of slavery from a certain part of the Louisiana purchase was inoperative and void. Fifthly, the legal condition of a slave returning from a free to a slave State was unaffected by his sojourn in the former, but depended upon the law of the latter. As, by the law of Missouri, Dred Scott was not a citizen, but still a slave, he could not sue in a United States court.

Lib. 27:45. *Lib.* 27:45. *Lib.* 27:45. *Lib.* 27:43, 45. *Lib* 27:43 *Lib.* 27:45.

Whatever the intention of Judge Taney and the majority of the court, their deliverance was taken to mean both that Kansas and all other future embryo States were freely open to slaveholding immigration, and that the slaveholder would be protected by the Federal judiciary in carrying his human as well as his ordinary goods and chattels into the free States — a right already asserted by Judge Kane in the Passmore Williamson case. The steadily deepening feeling of wrath and resistance which the Kansas iniquity had evoked, now flamed out anew at the North. The decision was met by legislative resolutions and acts vindicating the freedom of all men — save the unhappy fugitive from slavery; by fresh obstacles to kid-

Ante, p. 426.

Lib. 27:57, 63, 66, 67, 69, 75, 103, 105, 115.

[1] Hence, whereas formerly passports had been granted to free colored men as citizens by the State Department, they were now refused in obedience to the "decision" (*Lib.* 27 : 43, 45, 54, 175; 28 : 62).

nappers, in the shape of Personal Liberty laws. Massachusetts would issue passports to her own colored citizens. The New York Court of Appeals, in the long-pending Lemmon case, decided against the right to bring slaves into that State.

Lib. 27 : 66.

Lib. 27 : 199, 201 ; 22 : 186, 187.

This revolt against the Slave Power was neither against the Constitution nor the Union. Nevertheless, the promoters of the Northern disunion movement determined to proceed with their proposed convention of the free States. The circular call was issued in July. It was signed by T. W. Higginson, Wendell Phillips, Daniel Mann,[1] W. L. Garrison, and F. W. Bird — the editor of the *Liberator* going far beyond the language of it, since it proposed merely an inquiry into the practicability and expediency of disunion, and committed no one signing it to the doctrine. The date of the Convention was fixed in October, and the place selected was Cleveland, Ohio. In that State, the abolitionists had in January petitioned the Legislature to take steps to withdraw from the Union; with the result at least of precipitating a very edifying debate, in which the Republican members solemnly reaffirmed their "affection and fidelity to the Union."

Lib. 27 : 118.

Lib. 27 : 118.

Lib. 27 : 146.

Lib. 27 : 19.

Lib. 27 : 57.

Rev. T. W. Higginson to W. L. Garrison.

MS.

WORCESTER, August 27, 1857.

Mr. Howland[2] and I agreed quite well about your note to Mr. May in respect to the superiority of Syracuse to Cleveland. I regret your change of opinion about it, but the following considerations entirely convince my mind of the inexpediency of a change.

Rev. S. May, Jr.

1. It is *too late*, as Mr. Robinson has been already authorized by me to engage a hall in Cleveland.

Marius R. Robinson.

[1] A Boston dentist residing in Worcester Co., Mass., possessed of much shrewdness of character, and a racy and forcible writer. See the *Liberator* of this period *passim*.

[2] Joseph A. Howland of Worcester, a lecturing agent of the Massachusetts A. S. Society (*Lib.* 28 : 35), and one of the signers of the call for the Disunion Convention of Jan. 15 (*Lib.* 27 : 2).

2. "Cleveland" and "the West" have been freely spoken of as the locality by the *Standard* and other papers.

3. The Ohio friends are stronger and stronger for Cleveland, as time advances; especially Robinson and Brooke. *Samuel Brooke.*

4. Bradburn, who at first dissuaded us from Cleveland, now advises it;[1] and Mr. Tilden, M. C.,[2] has written a letter which I consider rather favorable than otherwise, as to that locality.

5. Those who have objected to Cleveland, have only suggested points farther West, not East, especially Chicago.

6. Agitation has commenced with a view to securing attendance from the Western Reserve, and, perhaps, a reduction of R. R. fares.

7. Of the signatures now received (some 700), a clear majority are from Ohio, thus showing a good degree of preparation.

8. The recent slave hunts in Ohio, under Republican administration, afford an admirable text; while the proximity of the State to slave States makes it a peculiarly suitable locality for a convention of national interest. *Lib.* 27: 103.

9. Burritt's convention[3] will be an excellent preparation for ours. *Elihu Burritt.*

[1] In 1851, George Bradburn, who, after giving up the Lynn *Pioneer*, had been associated with Elizur Wright on the Boston *Chronotype*, removed to Cleveland, Ohio, and became one of the editors of the *True Democrat* (afterwards the *Leader)*. He had greatly impaired his health by taking the stump for Frémont (Life of Bradburn, pp. 229, 233).

[2] Daniel R. Tilden, a native of Connecticut, Representative in Congress of Ohio, 1843–47. See in Sanborn's 'Life of John Brown,' p. 609, Brown's letter to Tilden written in Charlestown jail Nov. 28, 1859. On Dec. 2, 1859, he participated in the mass-meeting held at Cleveland in commemoration of the execution of Brown *(Lib.* 29 : 211).

[3] Amid flagrant civil war, on a rapidly rising market for slave property, and at a time when steps were being actively taken to reopen the slave trade *(ante*, p. 411), Elihu Burritt started a preposterous movement for emancipation at less than half price, from sales of the public lands *(Lib.* 27 : 58). According to the rule, that the more impracticable the scheme of abolition, the easier it was to secure the adhesion of the clergy at large, Mr. Burritt succeeded in putting forward the Rev. Eliphalet Nott, the Rev. Mark Hopkins, the Rev. George W. Bethune, the Rev. Leonard Bacon, the Rev. Abel Stevens, and other leading divines, together with *(mirabile dictu!)* Gerrit Smith, to call a convention at Cleveland on Aug. 25. See for the proceedings, which ended in the formation of a National Compensation Emancipation Society, with Elihu Burritt for its corresponding secretary, *Lib.* 27: 143, 148; and see for Mr. Garrison's comments on the movement and on the Convention *Lib.* 27 : 58, 163. Burritt was thirty years behind Dr. Channing, who, interested by Lundy's personal advocacy of gradualism in Boston in 1828, wrote on May 14 of that year to Daniel Webster: "It seems to me that, before moving in this matter, we ought

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10. After talking about Cleveland, a retreat to Syracuse will be inevitably regarded, and with some justice, as a confession of weakness.

11. The Convention will attract far more *national* attention on the comparatively new ground of Cleveland than on the hackneyed ground of Syracuse.

12. Even as to the local sympathy, I think you overrate the superiority of Syracuse. On consulting S. J. May about it, some months since, he wrote me a more discouraging reply than I have ever had from Cleveland — thinking that the people would take no interest in such a convention.

I understood that Mr. Howland and myself were authorized to decide as to place and time, and was only waiting to hear definitely from Robinson that he had engaged a hall. I at first

to say to them ["our Southern brethren"] distinctly, 'We consider slavery as your calamity, not your crime, and we will share with you the burden of putting an end to it. We will consent that the public lands shall be appropriated to this object; or that the general Government shall be clothed with power to apply a portion of revenue to it'" (Webster's Works, 5 : 366). But slavery had now become, in the Southern view, no evil, but a positive good — "a necessary social and political institution" wherever human society existed, to use the words of the Richmond *Examiner (Lib.* 27 : 1; cf. 28 : 7, 57). The agents of the new Society would no more have been tolerated at the South than the disunion abolitionists. Even those of the Colonization Society had from the first purchased immunity solely by abstaining from any implication that slavery was a moral evil, and confining their pity to the free blacks. Senator Hayne of South Carolina, in a speech on the Panama question in the spring of 1826, became the mouthpiece of the Slave Power in a way that should have convinced Channing of the futility of his panacea. "On the slave question," said the haughty Southerner, "my opinion is this: I consider our rights in that species of property as not open even to discussion, either here [in Congress] or elsewhere; and, in respect to our duties imposed by our situation, we are not to be taught them by fanatics, religious or political. To call into question our rights, is grossly to violate them; to attempt to instruct us on this subject, is to insult us; to dare to assail our institutions, is wantonly to invade our peace. Let me solemnly declare, once for all, that the Southern States never will permit, and never can permit, any interference whatever in their domestic concerns; and that the very day on which the unhallowed attempt shall be made by the authorities of the Federal Government, we will consider ourselves as driven from the Union" *(Niles' Register*, 30 : 171). These words are proof that compensated emancipation had no chance except as a spontaneous *Southern* movement. The national political power which the Constitution bestowed upon the ruling caste at the South, effectually precluded the thought of such a movement. Clay's scheme in Kentucky, like McDonogh's in Louisiana, consisted in making the *slave* pay his full market value for freedom, and then betake himself to Africa.

favored Syracuse, but am more and more convinced that Cleveland is better. If, however, you still doubt, and think it worth while to call a meeting of our committee, please inform me without delay, and I will appoint one. We must have one in a week or so at any rate, to prepare the list of names for publication. CH. XVII. 1857.

The financial panic which has made the year 1857 memorable, and which began in September with the failure of an Ohio banking institution, frustrated the scheme for holding the Convention.

W. L. Garrison to Samuel J. May.

BOSTON, October 18, 1857. *MS.*

In view of the earthquake shock which all the business operations of the country have received, and the absorption of all minds in the deep pecuniary embarrassments of the times,— and, therefore, the palpable inexpediency of attempting to hold a Convention of *the Free States* (as hitherto contemplated) at Cleveland, on the 28th and 29th inst.,— Mr. Higginson, Mr. Phillips, and myself, after grave and serious consideration, have assumed the responsibility of postponing our projected Northern Convention until a more auspicious period — at the same time, letting an informal convention be held at Cleveland at the time specified, of such as can make it convenient to be present, so as not to create too great a local disappointment. All our Agents will be there, and no doubt they will make it a stirring meeting. But, in the present paralyzed state of things, it would be absurd to try to secure anything like a representation from the several States, and so we shall go for postponing *the* Northern Convention. I am the more reconciled to this because Phillips could not have gone to it, if it had been held this month. *Lib.* 27: 170. *Lib.* 27: [178].

Theodore Parker, Phillips, Higginson, etc., will send letters to the meeting at Cleveland, expressive of their views on the Disunion question, which will help to mitigate the disappointment that will be felt by our Ohio friends at their non-attendance. I shall also send a letter; and I hope you will do the same, in case you shall conclude not to go to Cleveland, after what I have written.

The panic greatly crippled the regular operations of the anti-slavery societies, and forced a reduction of

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expenditures in all their departments. Mr. Garrison's support was naturally rendered more precarious than ever, while some special burdens were laid upon him. In the just-quoted letter to Mr. May, he wrote: "After a wasting sickness of nine months' duration (more than six of which were passed under my roof), my aunt Charlotte saw 'the last of earth' on the 2d inst. I rejoice that I was able to give her every attention, and to do all in my power to relieve and save her; but her illness has thrown upon me a heavy pecuniary load,— some hundreds of dollars additional."

Charlotte E. Newell; Lib. 27: 163.

Mrs. Newell was the youngest and much loved sister of Fanny Lloyd. On her losing her employment in 1854, Mr. Garrison wrote to his widowed relative, offering her a home for the remainder of her days. "While I have a place to shelter my own head," he said, "or a crust of bread to eat, you shall share it with me." On the very eve of her dissolution, a curious discovery was made, after more than thirty years, of a few hundred dollars belonging to Mr. Garrison's mother in a Baltimore savings-bank. This sum, by the friendly intervention of John Needles, was paid over to the rightful heir, and served to discharge a part of the expense of Mrs. Newell's medical attendance and burial. "It looks almost like a providential occurrence," wrote Mr. Garrison to Mr. Needles. "If my mother can take cognizance of what I am doing in this matter, her heart will thrill with delight to perceive to what a use her bequest is put."

MS. Apr. 7, 1854.

MS. Sept. 22, 1857.

But the charity of Mr. Garrison and his wife neither began nor ended at home. Straitened themselves for means in this gloomy time, their active sympathy was extended to various forms of poverty and distress — from a reduced Irish family to refugees from Napoleon's prison-house at Cayenne.

MSS. W. L. G., June 18, 20, *Lib.* 27: 203; 28: 3; *MS. Nov.* 8, 1857, *W. L. G. to T. Parker.*

CHAPTER XVIII.

The Irrepressible Conflict.— 1858.

No attempt was made in 1858 to renew the Disunion Convention of the previous year. The financial prostration continued, and, furnishing a pretext to the clergy to blow up a spurious revival of religion, became a greater obstacle than ever. The Massachusetts abolitionists, however, relying upon the new Executive of the State, again besieged the Legislature for the removal of Judge Loring from an office which he doggedly clung to, in open defiance of the Personal Liberty Law of May 21, 1855 — an unconstitutional statute, as he insisted. Mr. Garrison went in March before the Joint Special Committee having the petitions under consideration, with a paper drawn up by himself, and signed also by Samuel May, Sr. and Jr., by Francis Jackson, Wendell Phillips, Theodore Parker, and others. Both the Committee and the Legislature were favorable; an address for removal was voted, and Governor Banks acceded, but with a request, amounting to a condition, that the law of 1855 should be "materially" modified. The subservient Legislature did accordingly remove the stigma and the prohibition of slave-catching from a large class embraced in the original measure, and otherwise diminished the disunion attitude of the State.

Lib. 28 : 70, 78, 83.

N. P. Banks.

E. G. Loring.

Lib. 28 : 38; *ante, p.* 416.

Mar. 2, 1858; *Lib.* 28 : 38.

Lib. 28 : 42, 46, 50.

Lib. 28 : 50, 54.

Lib. 28 : 54.

Loring removed, the *Liberator* urged as the next step the procuring of an enactment that no man should be put on trial for his freedom in Massachusetts. At the New England Anti-Slavery Convention in May, Mr. Garrison introduced a resolution recommending petitions to this effect, which were duly put in circulation. While the con-

Lib. 28 : 51.

Lib. 28 : 90.

Lib. 28 : 98.

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stitutionality of the unmutilated Personal Liberty Law could be defended at every point as a simple throwing of the whole burden of slave-catching on the Federal Government — the Constitution being silent as to the agents in this matter — the position which the State was now asked to take was incontestably opposed to "the compact." *Lib.* 28 : 98. "That no person who has been held as a slave, shall be delivered up by any officer or court, State or Federal, within this Commonwealth, to any one claiming him on the ground that he owes 'service or labor' to such claimant, by the laws of one of the slave States of this Union" — was clearly at odds with the Constitutional injunction *Art.* 4, § 2, ¶ 3. "shall be delivered up." Nevertheless, the abolitionists *Lib.* 28 : 170. could appeal on their own behalf to so high an authority as John Quincy Adams. That statesman, objecting to the Constitution of Missouri (pending her admission to the Union) that it disfranchised all the people of color who were citizens of the free States, and was thus "directly repugnant to the rights reserved to every citizen in the Union" under the Federal Constitution, justified a declaratory act by any free-State legislature, making the citizens of Missouri aliens as long as the obnoxious article was maintained. Moreover, he had the courage to say that Congress, by admitting Missouri with such an article, made a breach in the Federal Constitution that would warrant a still more revolutionary proceeding:

J. Quincy's Life of J. Q. Adams, p. 113; *Lib.* 28 : 170.

"*Therefore, until that portion of the citizens of Massachusetts whose rights were violated by the article in the Missouri Compromise, should be redintegrated in the full enjoyment and possession of those rights, no clause or article of the Constitution of the United States should, within the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, be so understood as to authorize any person whatsoever to claim the property or possession of a human being as a slave; and he would prohibit by law the delivery of any fugitive upon the claim of his master.*" All which, he said, should be done, not to violate, but to redeem from violation, the Constitution of the United States. It was, indeed, to be expected that such laws would again be met by retaliatory laws of Missouri and the other slaveholding States, and the consequences would be a dissolution *de facto* of the Union; but

that dissolution would be commenced by the article in the Missouri Constitution. 'That article,' declared Mr. Adams, 'is itself a dissolution of the Union.'"

Time had added tenfold strength to this argument, for Congress, at the behest of the Slave Power, had gone on violating the Constitution. It would now shortly seek to impose on Kansas a constitution open to Mr. Adams's special objection, but also far more infamous in that it not merely recognized an existing state of society, but was an instrument in the erection of slavery on virgin soil. Senator Douglas had warned the Administration in December, 1857, that if it persisted in foisting the Lecompton Constitution on the people of Kansas, it would have to maintain it by force of arms. You will then, he said, have nationalized this difficulty; you will have legalized civil war instead of localizing the Kansas quarrel. Nevertheless, on February 2, President Buchanan sent a message to Congress, denouncing the free-State inhabitants of Kansas as rebels, and counselling a settlement of the existing distraction by making the Lecompton Constitution the basis of admission to the Union. He reminded them that the Supreme Court had adjudged that "slavery exists in Kansas by virtue of the Constitution of the United States," and that "Kansas is therefore at this moment as much a slave State as Georgia or South Carolina."

Dec. 22; *Lib.* 28:5.

Lib. 28:23, 28; *Wilson's Rise and Fall of the Slave Power*, 2: 544.

Lib. 28:28.

The popular demonstrations against this policy, the resistance promised by the Legislature of Kansas, Douglas's adverse report in the Senate, Crittenden's attempt to secure submission of the Lecompton Constitution to the popular vote — were all in vain. The two houses disagreeing, a conference committee adopted the bill contrived by William H. English of Indiana, and on April 30 the enabling act was passed. The first section of Article 7 of the Constitution embedded in the act read as follows:

Lib. 28:27, 28, 48. *Lib.* 28:34. *Lib.* 28:59; *Wilson's Rise and Fall of the Slave Power*, 2:558.

Lib. 28:75; *Wilson*, 2: 564, 565.

"The right of property is before and higher than any constitutional sanction; and the right of the owner of a slave to such

Lib. 28:107.

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slave and its increase is the same, and as inviolable, as the right of the owner of any property whatever."

Lib. 28 : 155; *N. Y. Herald, May* 1, 1858.

The bill allowed Kansas to enter the Union at once with slavery established, and a land grant was offered as an inducement. Should she obstinately hold out for freedom, she must first have a population of 92,000 before she could be deemed fit for admission. The bribe was promptly spurned and the menace disregarded by the Territory, which stood erect by more than ten thousand majority.

Lib. 28 : 131; *Wilson's Rise and Fall of the Slave Power,* 2 : 565.

The Slave Power had staked everything on Kansas and had lost. In both sections of the country there was a growing sense of the political revolution in progress, a growing conviction that the Republicans would at the next election take control of the Government. Governor Moore of Alabama, in his inaugural address to the Legislature in December, 1857, denounced the Black Republican scheme to stop the extension of slavery — "confining it within the limits of the States where it now exists, so as ultimately to render slaves valueless to their owners, and thus effect their emancipation." The Legislature unanimously responded by asking him to call a State Convention if Congress refused to admit Kansas under the Lecompton Constitution. At the so-called Southern Commercial Convention held at Montgomery, Ala., on May 10, 1858, to discuss the African slave-trade and the relations of the South to the Union, Roger A. Pryor of Virginia could pledge his State to disunion in case a Black Republican President were installed at Washington with a majority in Congress. Henry W. Hilliard of Alabama agreed that the election of such a President would result in the subversion of the Government, and that the South would neither wait to see him installed, nor delay for some overt act. William L. Yancey of Alabama, though denying that Republican success at the next election would constitutionally justify secession, nevertheless held the Union to be already dissolved. He

Andrew B. Moore.

Lib. 28 : 1.

Lib. 28 : 15.

Lib. 28 : 87; *Hodgson's Cradle of the Confederacy, p.* 371.

Ibid., p. 382.

Ibid., p. 385.

Ibid., p. 391.

should at least expect Virginia to say, "Form your Confederacy, and we will see that you are not molested by a foe that should reach you across our territory." During the summer he agitated for a "League of United Southerners," and publicly discussed the probable course of the movement for a Confederacy when once initiated. On November 11, at Jackson, Miss., Jefferson Davis — disregarding the lines of demarcation which Union-saving Republicans ostentatiously drew between themselves and the Garrisonians — said the question of disunion would arise "if an *Abolitionist* be chosen President of the United States." He entreated Mississippi to make ready for the contest, and alter over its old arms. He reported having heard President Pierce say that when a Northern army should go to subjugate the South, its first fighting would be done on Northern soil.[1]

Cradle of the Confederacy, p. 390.

Ibid., p. 395.

Lib. 28 : 193; 30 : 17.

Davis took for his text the famous speech of Senator Seward at Rochester, N. Y., on October 25, 1858, in which the latter foretold the supplanting of the Democratic Party in power by the Republican, and gave universal currency in a happy phrase to the old abolition view of the existing "Union":

Lib. 28 : 177.

Ante, 2 : 338.

"Shall I tell you what this collision [of two antagonistic systems continually coming into closer contact] means? They who think that it is accidental, unnecessary, the work of interested or fanatical agitators, and therefore ephemeral, mistake the case altogether. It is an irrepressible conflict between opposing and enduring forces, and it means that the United States must and will, sooner or later, become either entirely a slaveholding nation, or entirely a free-labor nation. Either the cotton and rice fields of South Carolina and the sugar plantations of Louisiana will ultimately be tilled by free labor, and Charleston and New Orleans become marts for legitimate merchandise alone, or else the rye-fields and wheat-fields of Massachusetts and New York must again be surrendered by their farmers to slave culture and to the production of slaves, and Boston and

Lib. 28 : 177.

[1] Compare a like warning on the part of Pierce's Attorney-General, Caleb Cushing, in Faneuil Hall, Dec. 9, 1859, in case his fellow-citizens of Massachusetts embarked in "a war of invasion [of the South] for the destruction of the Union and the Government of the Union" (*Lib.* 29 : 197).

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New York become once more markets for trade in the bodies and souls of men. It is the failure to apprehend this great truth that induces so many unsuccessful attempts at final compromise between the slave and free States; and it is the existence of this great fact that renders all such pretended compromises, when made, vain and ephemeral."

At the West, in June, Abraham Lincoln had embodied the same truth in the less immediately famous sentence, already quoted, depicting the "house divided against itself," and prophesying that it would ultimately become wholly one thing or the other. His successful rival for the United States Senate, Stephen A. Douglas, repudiated the dictum alike of the statesman unanimously predesignated as the Republican candidate for President in 1860, and of the obscure Illinois politician who was in reality to stand and to be elected. The logic of Lincoln, he said on July 9, meant a war of extermination directed against the South.

Ante, p. 420.

Lib. 28 : 193.

Wilson's Rise and Fall of the Slave Power, 2 : 572, 573.

Something more than philosophical reflections on the tendency of the Union was needed if the rôle of the North in the great change in prospect was to be anything more than passive. When Freedom could inspire the same jealousy, devotion, and unity — the same passion — as Slavery, the battle would be over. Mr. Garrison presented this view with his customary gravity in a speech at the twenty-fifth anniversary of the American Anti-Slavery Society in New York in May:

May 11, 1858.

Lib. 28 : 83.

"First, a word in regard to the South.

"There are those who say they do not marvel at all that slaveholders are unwilling to part with their slave property. Well, I also think that Southern men are behaving very much according to human nature in its ordinary manifestations, in view of the fact that, inheriting an old institution, and finding it sustained by all that is deemed respectable, honorable, and religious in the South, they feel that to ask them to give up their slaves is tantamount to asking the men of the North to give up their houses and lands; and he, surely, would be regarded as a fool or a madman who should undertake to prove to the people of the North the enormity of holding horses, sheep, and swine as property, and

should call upon them, in the name of the living God, to cease holding such as property. I do not wonder that slaveholders strain every nerve to perpetuate slavery. As slaveholders, they are sagacious, far-sighted, and prompt to do the very thing that needs to be done to preserve their slave-system intact. They are not extravagant in any effort they make; they do not employ one single slave-driver too many; they do not own one superfluous bloodhound; they have none too many fetters — none too many whips; they have a slave code exactly adapted to the necessities of their position — everything complete and perfect from beginning to end. . . .

"Now, I say, if slavery is to continue, we must have just this condition of things. It is absurd to talk about the cruel treatment by slaveholders of their slaves, while conceding the right of property in man. They are not unnecessarily brutal; they do the best they can under the circumstances.

"If, then, it is to be expected that, on Southern soil, Southern men will stand up for slave institutions, let me ask you, men of the Empire State, men of the North, whether we are not bound, on our side of the line, to stand up as boldly and uncompromisingly in favor of free institutions? Why should we not do so? And if we are false to our own principles and professions, the more shame to us.

"Now, throughout our mighty North, you know we have settled one thing — that slavery shall not be one of our institutions. Not a solitary slave clanks his chains on our Northern soil. We have put an end to chattel servitude as it once existed among us. This was well done, was it not? We abolished it because of its inherent injustice and immorality; because it could not be defended; because it was a blighting curse; because man was never made to be a slave, and freedom is the inalienable right of all. If this is so, then I hold that they who undertake to frame or furnish apologies in behalf of Southern slaveholders, and bring up objections against abolitionists, are not Northern men, but recreant to their own principles, and should migrate to the South.

"We are 'fanatics,' forsooth! and the men who are flinging this taunt at us are the very men who have, by constitutional enactment, in the Empire State — throughout the whole North — subscribed to the doctrine of '*Garrisonian*' abolitionism! No man is allowed to be a slaveholder here. Tell me, men of the Empire State, why not? How dare you pass a law making it penal for me to take even the very first step towards making a

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slave? How dare you have a law interfering with my benevolence and philanthropy, so that when I see a poor creature who 'cannot take care of himself,' I may not seize him and claim him as my property — for *his* good, of course? If you say, God has not authorized me to hold a slave here, then I say, he has not authorized it at the South. There are not two Gods — one for the North, and one for the South — but one God; and if he makes it immoral to hold slaves at the North, he makes it no less immoral to hold slaves at the South. Before you reject a single doctrine I have laid down, you have got to burn every Northern State Constitution. I do not transcend them a hair's-breadth. The only difference between me and the people of the North is, that I am for a consistent and uncompromising adherence to the doctrine they have laid down, and they are not. . . .

"I do not wonder that the North is driven to the wall, by the South, in this controversy. Against such glaring contradictions, such a shuffling morality, the slaveholder has the argument. For if you concede his right to hold slaves on his own plantation, on the ground of benevolence and in consistency with morality and religion, then he logically answers that it cannot be wrong to hold slaves in the Empire State, and slavery ought to be a universal institution. The argument, I repeat, is with the slaveholder."

T. W. Higginson.

At the same meeting, Mr. Higginson dwelt at length on the "new element coming to settle the question of slavery by-and-bye on the soil where it exists." Probably no one who heard him could read John Brown between the lines. Mr. Higginson spoke with knowledge when he asked — "Is it [slavery] destined, as it began in blood, so to end? Seriously and solemnly I say, it seems as if it were."

Sanborn's Life of John Brown, pp. 435, 440, 447, 457–460.

At the New England Convention in Boston on May 26, Theodore Parker (equally with Mr. Higginson a confidant of John Brown, and fresh from meeting him with his secret committee of backers at the Revere House) reiterated his belief that the time had passed "when the great American question of the nineteenth century could have been settled without bloodshed." Mr. Garrison, who had long since regarded a bloody solution as inevitable, nevertheless deprecated the deviation of abolitionists from the policy observed from the beginning:

Ibid., pp. 440, 447, 458–460, 463, 511, 512; *Weiss's Life of Parker*, 2: 161. *May* 24, 1858.

Lib. 28: 94.

Ante, 2: 183, 184.

"When the anti-slavery cause was launched," he said, "it was baptized in the spirit of peace. We proclaimed to the country and the world that the weapons of our warfare were not carnal, but spiritual, and we believed them to be mighty through God to the pulling down even of the stronghold of slavery; and for several years great moral power accompanied our cause wherever presented. Alas! in the course of the fearful developments of the Slave Power, and its continued aggressions on the rights of the people of the North, in my judgment a sad change has come over the spirit of anti-slavery men, generally speaking. We are growing more and more warlike, more and more disposed to repudiate the principles of peace, more and more disposed to talk about 'finding a joint in the neck of the tyrant,' and breaking that neck, 'cleaving tyrants down from the crown to the groin,' with the sword which is carnal, and so inflaming one another with the spirit of violence and for a bloody work.[1] Just in proportion as this spirit prevails, I feel that our moral power is departing and will depart. I say this not so much as an Abolitionist as a man. I believe in the spirit of peace, and in sole and absolute reliance on truth and the application of it to the hearts and consciences of the people. I do not believe that the weapons of liberty ever have been, or ever can be, the weapons of despotism. I know that those of despotism are the sword, the revolver, the cannon, the bomb-shell; and, therefore, the weapons to which tyrants cling, and upon which they depend, are not the weapons for me, as a friend of liberty. I will not trust the war-spirit anywhere in the universe of God, because the experience of six thousand years proves it not to be at all reliable in such a struggle as ours. . . . *Lib.* 28 : 90.

"I pray you, abolitionists, still to adhere to that truth. Do not get impatient; do not become exasperated; do not attempt any new political organization; do not make yourselves familiar with the idea that blood must flow. Perhaps blood will flow — God knows, I do not; but it shall not flow through any counsel of mine. Much as I detest the oppression exercised by the Southern slaveholder, he is a man, sacred before me. He is a man, not to be harmed by my hand nor with my consent. He is a man, who is grievously and wickedly trampling upon the rights of his fellow-man; but all I have to do with him is to rebuke his sin, to call him to repentance, to leave him without excuse for his tyranny. He is a sinner

[1] See Adin Ballou on this point, *Lib.* 29 : 176.

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before God — a great sinner; yet, while I will not cease reprobating his horrible injustice, I will let him see that in my heart there is no desire to do him harm,— that I wish to bless him here, and bless him everlastingly,— and that I have no other weapon to wield against him but the simple truth of God, which is the great instrument for the overthrow of all iniquity, and the salvation of the world."

Peace seemed a proper theme for Mr. Garrison when occupying Theodore Parker's pulpit in Music Hall on May 30, 1858, as a substitute:

Theodore Parker to W. L. Garrison.

MS.

BOSTON, June 3, 1858.

MY DEAR MR. GARRISON: I owe you many thanks for standing in my place and preaching the able discourse of last Sunday. I am glad, also, that you took that theme on which we probably differ most; for though I don't think with you thereon, I yet wish your views to be ably set forth before those who listen to me.

Please accept the pecuniary *consideration*, also, with the hearty thanks of

Yours faithfully,
THEODORE PARKER.

W. L. Garrison to Theodore Parker.

MS.

14 DIX PLACE, June 3, 1858.

MY DEAR MR. PARKER: I am greatly obliged to you for your kind note — so characteristic of your catholic spirit in all matters pertaining to an honest and conscientious difference of opinion. Be assured, if I had supposed you would have felt averse to a religious presentation to your people of my views on the subject of peace, I should not have done so. Be true to your own convictions, and I will try to be true to mine — holding the mind open to receive any new light that may be shed in any direction.

As to the pecuniary "consideration" enclosed in your note for my discourse, I return it with thankfulness —

1. Because I never thought, and cannot think, of receiving a farthing on that score.

2. Because I informed your people that I stood in your place as an act of friendship, to enable you to dispense "the word" in a distant State; and, therefore, not as a matter of contract. And,

3. Because, on the score of favors, I am still very much your debtor, especially for your consoling services in times of affliction and bereavement by death. *Ante, p.* 243.

"May grace, mercy, and *peace*" be with you and yours, now and evermore!

Yours, with high regards,

WM. LLOYD GARRISON.

CHAPTER XIX.

JOHN BROWN.—1859.

CHAP. XIX. 1859.

THE crest of time now reached by the abolition movement, after the lapse of a full generation, was the Pisgah outlook over the Promised Land of universal emancipation. Destined himself to descend into that land, the Moses of the little band who had followed after the banner unfurled in 1831, could see the providence of God singularly displayed hitherto in the preservation of the earliest and most prominent of his associates. Yet, on the very threshold, the ranks began to thin with ominous rapidity. Ellis Gray Loring, best of counsellors on the Massachusetts Board, and among the first and truest of Mr. Garrison's supporters, had departed in May, 1858. In March, 1859, died Arnold Buffum, one of the founders of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society and signers of the Declaration of Sentiments at Philadelphia; to whom Mr. Garrison and the cause owed much in the day of small things. In September, 1859, almost simultaneously, Effingham L. Capron and Samuel Philbrick passed away — both birthright Quakers (like Arnold Buffum), and Capron a fellow-signer of the Declaration, who first looked upon the editor of the *Liberator* with tears that forbade utterance; Philbrick, the prudent Treasurer, almost to the last, of the Massachusetts Society, and financial care-taker of the *Liberator*, and generous friend-in-need of Mr. Garrison.[1]

Lib. 29: 87.
Lib. 28: 91.
Ante, 1: 223.
Lib. 28: 86, 91, 100; 29: 83.
Lib. 29: 42, 48, 55, 71; *ante*, 1: 280, 395, 398.
Lib. 29: 150.
Ante, 1: 398; *Lib.* 29: 150.
Lib. 29: 130, 150.
Ante, 2: 332.

More striking to the public eye, and more untimely, was the death of Charles F. Hovey in April, 1859. Not a vet-

Lib. 29: 70, 83, 87. *Apr.* 28.

[1] Mr. Philbrick left a bequest of $500 to Mr. Garrison (MS. Oct. 11, 1859, Edward S. Philbrick to W. L. G.)

Saml. Philbrick

eran of the thirties, like the foregoing, he had nevertheless fought the good fight for nearly two decades with unquenchable ardor and utter devotion. Quincy, whose character of him has already been quoted, renewed his testimony to Webb in 1857: "Hovey is, on the whole, the best man I know—the most thoroughly conscientious and truly benevolent and rarely liberal"; and Mr. Garrison bore witness: "What always impressed me was his moral courage. I think if there was ever a man delivered from 'the fear of man,' it was Charles F. Hovey." In his will he not only made specific bequests to certain anti-slavery laborers, Mr. Garrison included, but devised about a quarter of his estate for the active promotion of the anti-slavery and other reforms. His trustees for this purpose, clothed with absolute discretion, were Phillips, Garrison, S. S. and Abby K. Foster, Parker Pillsbury, H. C. Wright, Francis Jackson, and C. K. Whipple. Seeing the strongest bond of the Union of the States in "the chains upon four millions of slaves, with tyrants at one end and hypocrites at the other," he desired the trustees to expend his bequest "by employing such agents as believe and practise the doctrine of 'no union with slaveholders,' religiously or politically, and by the circulation of such publications as tend to destroy every pro-slavery institution."

Ante, *p.* 220.

MS. Nov. 24, 1857.

Lib. 29:87.

Lib. 29:92.

Lib. 29:92.

"Our glorious cause," said Mr. Garrison at the New England Convention, "has been before this nation for thirty years, challenging the sympathy and aid of all classes. Many rich men have died during that time; — men of property are dying every day, and are making liberal bequests for charitable purposes. But, mark you! always for those purposes which will be sure to receive the approbation of everybody, but never to promote an unpopular movement. So calculating, timid, and conservative is wealth. Charles F. Hovey is the very first man of property who has died and left a large portion of his means, or any considerable amount, to the anti-slavery cause, or to other kindred enterprises. May he not be the last!" [1]

May 26, 1859; *Lib.* 29:87.

[1] A letter of Wendell Phillips to Francis Jackson, Oct. 9, 1858 (MS.), seemingly relates to the latter's intention to provide a fund for the benefit of fugitive slaves in his lifetime, as was afterwards effected in his will.

W. L. Garrison to Henry C. Wright.

MS.

BOSTON, June 27, 1859.

Wendell Phillips.

Mr. Phillips duly communicated to us the letter you sent to him, in which you so gratefully and affectionately express your feelings towards my dear wife and myself; and direct him, whenever he receives the legacy left you by Mr. Hovey, to pay one fourth of it over to us, for our benefit, as a token of your appreciation of our friendship and hospitality. . . .

Whatever we have done for you, my dear friend, on the score of hospitality, has always been done as to *one of the family*, without thought or desire of remuneration at any time. Hence, we are unwilling to consider the relation a different one, by receiving for ourselves the gift you propose. While we live, and have a roof over us, you shall always find "a home" with us, in health or sickness, in strength or in helplessness.

But your instruction to Mr. Phillips is, that the money you proffer us, if declined by us, is to be deposited in some bank for the benefit of Fanny and Franky. As in this case you will take no refusal, we have conferred together about it, and our conclusion is to accept it in trust — with this proviso, that if, from any unforeseen misfortune or destitution on your part, you should need it at any time, it shall be wholly expended for your benefit. Accordingly, it will be safely deposited in the Savings Bank in this city, whenever received.

The legacies of our lamented friend Hovey have attracted a great deal of attention, and made a marked sensation, in various quarters. No doubt the pseudo-religionists and heartless conservatives of our times are much disturbed and chagrined in view of their appropriation. Forty thousand dollars to be expended for the promotion of the most radical and unpopular reforms! Did the world ever hear of such a thing before! Is it not enough to throw all hunkerdom into convulsions? And then, six thousand dollars distributed among such "fanatical," "infidel," "disorganizing" persons as Henry C. Wright, Parker Pillsbury, Stephen S. Foster, and William Lloyd Garrison, and their families! Verily, this is to cause endurance to pass its bounds! It is quite insufferable!

I am more and more struck with the moral courage and deliberate purpose manifested by our departed friend Hovey, in these bequests. He had a host of friends, and many in the anti-slavery ranks to whom he was strongly attached, and whom he held in the highest esteem; but no other half-dozen in the land

were so proscribed and denounced by the scribes and pharisees and hypocrites in the Church, and by the time-servers and demagogues in the State, as those to whom he specifically gave in his will the tokens of his respect, confidence, and undying friendship. It was his last and most striking testimony of his interest in the most radical reformers. *We were singled out for no other purpose.* It was his "ruling passion strong in death." CHAP. XIX. 1859.

It is a great trust which has been committed to us — the expenditure of eight thousand dollars per annum for five years in the cause of anti-slavery, woman's rights, peace, temperance, etc.[1] No doubt we shall be bored with all sorts of applications, from all sorts of persons; indeed, they already begin to pour in. But the estate is not yet settled.

"Hovey," to quote Quincy again, "is the best Christian I know, though he is a professing Infidel. He cannot stand Theodore Parker, even," adds the writer playfully, "and looks upon him as not much better than the common run of infidels." This great preacher had, on the morning of January 9, 1859, been attacked with bleeding from the lungs, which admonished him that his end was approaching. It was a Sunday morning, when his sermon would have been "On the Superiority of Good Will to Man over Belief in Theological Fancies." *MS. Nov. 24, 1857, to R. D. Webb.* *Lib.* 29:6.

"There is," said Mr. Garrison, who once more filled the place of the absent pastor, on January 23, with a discourse on "What is Infidelity? and who are the Infidels?"—"There is much pious exultation, I hear, in various quarters at the illness of Mr. Parker, as though it were a visitation of divine displeasure on account of his alleged 'infidelity'; as though it were in direct answer to the stupid and superstitious, the ferocious and malignant prayers that were made in the Park-Street Vestry, during the late artificial revival, that the Lord would put a hook into his jaws, or paralyze his tongue, or in some way break him down, empty Music Hall, and scatter his congregation to the winds. . . . There is no such God in the universe. No — it is not for his 'theological heresies,' or his 'pernicious teachings,' that your beloved minister has been stricken down, but for his unwearied zeal and devotion in the cause of mental freedom, of religious liberty, of suffering *Lib.* 29:11, 14. *Ante, p.* 465; *Lib.* 30:148.

[1] The one unnamed here was free trade.

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humanity, which have overtaxed his brain and drawn exhaustingly upon his vital powers. . . . No matter who may seek to disparage or revile him; we know him as one who has proved his love to God by the love he bears for his fellow-men — and every other test is worthless. . . .

"'By their fruits ye shall know them. Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?'—'He that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?'—'Which, now, of these three, thinkest thou, was neighbor unto him that fell among thieves?'"

It was quickly decided that Mr. Parker must seek a warmer climate for the bare chance of recovery, and on February 4 he sailed for the West Indies.

Lib. 29:23.

W. L. Garrison to Theodore Parker.

MS.

BOSTON, January 15, 1859.

As an act of friendly consideration, I have forborne calling to see you, knowing you need to be kept very secluded, and rejoicing to hear that you are so well guarded in this respect; yet I hope it may be possible for me to give you the parting hand, and my benediction at the same time, without burdening you, before you leave the city. Of that you and Mrs. Parker must be the judge.

I shall try to look wholly on the bright side, and hope for the best results in regard to your voyage and a change of climate. Life with you, I am sure, is mainly desirable that you may continue your labors in the field of humanity, and for the good of all mankind. How much you have done for the freedom of the human mind, for the exposure of political corruption, for the removal of theological error, for the suppression of religious bigotry and superstition, for the overthrow of injustice, for the slave in his fetters, for the prisoner in his cell, for the "perishing classes" of every description, it is not for you to know, it is not for me to compute. You have touched, quickened, inspired thousands of minds, which in their turn shall impregnate other minds with generous and noble sentiments, down through the centuries to come,— an ever-widening circle, on both sides of the Atlantic. "The past, at least, is secure." What the future has in store, only the Infinite Father knows. His will be done!

I thank you for the many kind words you have spoken in my behalf, and for various acts of kindness done to me and mine.

As I have nothing to offer in return but my grateful acknowledgments, I must ever remain your debtor. If, however, at any time or in any way, I can be of service to you, it will give me great pleasure to perform it.

Theodore Parker to W. L. Garrison.

BOSTON, January 31, 1859. *MS., pencilled.*

I thank you heartily for your very kind note, and beg you to come and let me take you by the hand once more before we go. I can't talk much, so let me say now a brief word with the *pen.*

I knew *you* long before you ever heard of me, and often heard you speak — never without instruction and admiration. Three men now living have done New England and the North great service. They are quite unlike, but all are soldiers in the same great cause — Wm. L. Garrison, Horace Mann, and R. W. Emerson. You took the most dangerous and difficult part, and no soldier ever fought with more gallant hardihood, no martyr ever more nobly bore what came as the earthly reward of his nobleness. The great work of a great man — *Himself*, his *character* — that is sure to do its work though his special labors fail of immediate triumph. I am to thank you for what your character has taught me — it has been a continual Gospel of Strength. I value Integrity above all human virtues. I never knew yours fail — no, nor even falter. God bless you for it!

But it is getting late, and I must write no more, or Dr. Cabot will ask, "What brought your pulse up so high?" Remember me kindly to your wife and your children, to Mr. Wallcut, Mr. May, Mr. Nell, and the Yerrintons, at the office, and believe me

Samuel Cabot, Jr.

R. F. Wallcut. S. May, Jr. Wm. C. Nell. J. B. and J. M. W. Yerrinton.

Affectionately and thankfully yours,

THEODORE PARKER.

All these losses to the working strength of the abolition body were in the course of nature. When we turn to the political opposition to the Slave Power, we behold a woful spiritual falling off caused by the approaching election. No matter of what party or epoch, our politicians have alternately shrunk and expanded as they had or had not visions of the White House. We may liken them to the

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fabled "spiry trees" that sprung from the tomb of Protesilaus —

Wordsworth, Laodameia.

> "And ever, when such stature they had gained
> That Ilium's walls were subject to their view,
> The trees' tall summits withered at the sight:
> A constant interchange of growth and blight!"

The gubernatorial messages of the three leading Republican States, at the opening of the year, gave dismal foreboding of what would attend Republican successes in 1860. Governor Morgan of New York proclaimed the readiness of that State to submit if the voice of the country should prove to be for slavery extension. The ambitious Governor of Ohio, Salmon P. Chase, "a political huckster who hopes to carry his principles to the Presidential market" (in Quincy's phraseology), was silent on the absorbing national topic; in Massachusetts, Governor Banks, "a Presidential baby at nurse," was equally dumb. Later on, both Chase and Banks prevented their respective legislatures from passing laws such as Vermont had enacted to make the trial or rendition of slaves impossible on her soil.[1] Chase's successor, William Dennison, taking the stump on his own behalf in the fall of 1859, declared the Republican Party a white man's party, repudiated for himself the name of abolitionist, and said he had no desire "to disturb the relation of master and slave where it exists under the sanction and protection of State Law."

E. D. Morgan. Lib. 29:6.

Lib. 29:107.

Lib. 29:6.

Lib. 29:107.

Lib. 28:199; 29:22, 44, 122.

Lib. 29:145.

It was not surprising that, in view of such manifestations, a portion of the abolitionists, particularly those whose labors in the field had acquainted them with the

[1] In the summer of 1858, Mr. Garrison (in company with the Rev. Samuel May, Jr., and the Rev. N. R. Johnston, pastor of the Covenanter Church at Topsham, Vt.), made an anti-slavery tour of the Green Mountain State, which he had not revisited since he left it to join Lundy in Baltimore (*Lib.* 28:135, 146). These speakers urged the sending up of petitions for an anti-slave-catching law, which were promptly heeded by the Legislature (*Lib.* 29:22). See Mr. Garrison's cogent speech before the Massachusetts Legislative Committee on behalf of a similar law on Feb. 24, 1859 (*Lib.* 29:34). The legislators' oath to support the U. S. Constitution he offset by their oath to the State Constitution, with its Art. 1, "All men are born free and equal," etc.

lack of anti-slavery vitality in Republican communities, and subjected them to the abuse of Republican journals, denounced the party as the greatest obstacle in the path of the slave. In their endeavors to commit the anti-slavery organization to this doctrine, they encountered the optimism and fair-mindedness of Mr. Garrison, in discussions that led to no little personal feeling and alienation, which time would make more visible. "As to the Republican Party," said he, at the annual meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, "every political party will be proportionate to the character of the people. This one," he continued, not mincing his words, "is a time-serving, a temporizing, a cowardly party, . . . a piebald, a heterogeneous party, very diverse in the constituents which compose it. It has never professed, as the old Liberty Party did, to be an anti-slavery party. It claims only to oppose the extension of slavery, and it does oppose it." It must be measured by its own standard:

Cf. ante, *pp.* 393, 394.

Lib. 29:17.

MSS. Mar. 24, 1859, *P. Pillsbury to S. May, Jr.; June* 3, *W. L. G. to Pillsbury; July* 22, 25, *to A. K. Foster.*

Jan. 27, 1859, *Lib.* 29:17.

"I have not said that they have made it [the non-extension of slavery] a vital principle, and declared that the Union should be dissolved if they were overcome. That is not the issue. But I say that, up to that point, they do carry out all their professions of resistance to the extension of slavery. I hold that I may give them all credit for what they have done, without at all compromising the anti-slavery cause, and without at all diminishing my right to say to that party—'You are on a sandy foundation, after all; and though you may think you can do something for liberty, I believe you will fail in the end.' The Republican Party has certainly been consistent in its efforts to prevent the extension of slavery; it has spent a vast amount of money for the purpose of enlightening the public sentiment so as to save Kansas and Nebraska, and the vast territories of the West, from the encroachments of the Slave Power. Let the party have the credit of it. Why not? I know of nothing in this anti-slavery cause which justifies me in being uncharitable or unfair. Give to every party its due; and I say that, up to this time, the Republican Party has tried to prevent the extension of slavery, and has suffered greatly on that account. Tell me that it is to be put in the same scale with the Democratic Party—that party which is ready for everything that the South

Lib. 29:18.

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desires, in the way of extending and eternizing slavery! How was it in the last Presidential election? Was it nothing to the credit of the Republican Party that no representative of John C. Frémont could stand upon Southern soil, except in peril of his life — when the whole party was outlawed in all the Southern States — when no electoral ticket bearing his name could have been tolerated in Georgia, or Alabama, or Carolina, or any Southern State — and when, if Henry Wilson had dared to go down South and advocate his election to the Presidency, he would have gone there as a man goes to the grave, and never would have come back to Massachusetts alive? When a party stands in that attitude to slavery, and slavery stands in that relation to it, I hold it is unfair and unjust to say that, after all, it is as bad as the party that goes all lengths for the extension and eternization of slavery. . . .

"And yet, this being conceded, it does not follow that I may not here, as I do everywhere, say that the Republican Party, being a compromising party, never will succeed in heading off the Slave Power, and preventing what it is laboring to prevent; and I think it does not preclude me from saying, that to attempt to make a geographical distinction in regard to the law of God and the rights of man, is a great moral absurdity, or from saying to the party that it cannot maintain its position against the inexorable logic of the South; for, granting that it is right, constitutional, and proper to hold slaves in fifteen States of the Union, the argument is irresistible that it is right, constitutional, and proper to hold them in the Territories also, and in any additional States that may be brought into the Union.

"My hope is in the great Republican Party — not where it stands, but it has materials for growth. The men who have gone into it are men who have suffered, or lost caste, to some extent, because they would not go with the Whig Party or the Democratic Party, in their wickedness, on the side of the Slave Power. They have something of self-respect and manhood left; and they have said: 'We are not prepared for disunion yet; we trust it will not be necessary to divide; we will endeavor to prevent the extension of slavery, and that, in process of time, will bring slavery to an end.' I believe this is a delusion; but to their minds it does not appear so. It is an experiment, and they have got to learn, as we have had to learn, that all compromising expedients are hopeless as against the domineering Slave Power; for we ourselves have had to change our position again and again. Twenty years ago, I thought I was an abolitionist,

but I had not then cleared myself from all actual complicity with slavery, because I had not then seen to the extent I now see. If any man had said to me, twenty years ago: 'You talk about being an abolitionist, do you? and there you are voting at the polls, and sustaining the pro-slavery Constitution of the United States,' I should have been dumb. I might have said, perhaps: 'I do not comprehend this; I will look into the matter'; but he, seeing exactly what was involved in a vote, might very properly have said: 'Sir, you are not a consistent, thorough-going abolitionist.' So, in the spirit of justice and true charity, we must confer with each other, argue and reason with each other, and endeavor to enlighten each other; and he who thinks his feet are planted upon the solid rock, let him say to those who may be standing, in his judgment, upon the sand: 'You cannot remain where you are with safety; here is solid footing; come up hither, and you shall conquer.'

"I am not here to say anything by way of apology for the Republican Party; it is not my vocation, and I know it not to be my duty. I have said what I have as a matter of justice. The Republican Party is true to its idea, the non-extension of slavery, while, at the same time, its guilt, its awful guilt, consists in giving its consent and support to the existence of slavery in fifteen States of the Union, under the constitutional pro-slavery compromises. I have said this again and again, and the party has nothing to say in reply, and cannot or will not complain that I am unjust, or that I utter an untruth, when I say, that between the Democratic and Republican parties, under the Constitution of the United States, in regard to slavery where it is now established, there is not a hair's-breadth of difference. That is, they agree to let slavery alone; they agree that slaves may be hunted all over the North; they agree that slave representatives may be permitted in Congress; they agree that the whole force of the nation may be pledged to put down a slave insurrection; and to that extent there is no difference between the parties. But in regard to the component parts, the men who make up the parties, there is a great difference. The Republican Party is only *pro tempore;* it is to be broken up, undoubtedly; and the men who compose it will, I trust, take a much higher position, and give, at last, a firm support to the only rational, consistent, and victorious doctrine in this conflict with the demon of slavery — 'No Union with Slaveholders, Governmentally or Religiously!'"

Lib. 29 : 85. The debate was renewed at the New England Anti-Slavery Convention in May, but the year gave promise of being a quiet one in anti-slavery annals when the setting up of a statue to Daniel Webster, procured by private subscriptions, in the State-House grounds, created in Boston an excitement almost comparable to that experienced in fugitive cases. Consistently with his opposition to Personal Liberty laws, Governor Banks had recommended that the Legislature receive the statue which above all others symbolized Northern subserviency to the Slave Power. Its removal, as the special anti-slavery duty of the hour, was called for by the abolitionists before it was set up, and petitions were quickly put in motion; Wendell Phillips attacked it in one of his most trenchant orations — but without avail. A larger agitation was impending, and interest in the brazen image of a Doughface was suddenly transferred to the living likeness of a Man.

Lib. 29 : 43, 142.

Lib. 29 : 146.

Lib. 29 : 146.

Lib. 29 : [158].

Lib. 30 : 19, 34.

Lib. 29 : 167; *Sanborn's Life of Brown, p.* 552.

On the night of October 16–17, 1859, John Brown, with eighteen companions, seized the United States armory at Harper's Ferry, Va. Twenty-four hours later, Col. Robert E. Lee, despatched from Washington with a company of marines, retook the building, and found Brown's band reduced to six, and the chief, a wounded and apparently dying prisoner. The *Liberator* of October 21 contained this brief editorial reference to an event which filled the South with consternation, and drove to its highest pitch the wave of anti-slavery sentiment in the North:

Lib. 29 : 166.

> "The particulars of a misguided, wild, and apparently insane, though disinterested and well-intended effort by insurrection to emancipate the slaves in Virginia, under the leadership of Capt. Brown, alias 'Osawatomie' Brown, may be found on our third page. Our views of war and bloodshed, even in the best of causes, are too well known to need repeating here; but let no one who glories in the Revolutionary struggle of 1776 deny the right of the slaves to imitate the example of our fathers."

Time has not invalidated this judgment, which was passed before Mr. Garrison could have seen the New York

Herald's report of the interview between Brown on his pallet, Senator J. M. Mason of Virginia, and C. L. Vallandigham, a Democratic Representative from Ohio. This report not only saved Brown's wrecked enterprise from moral fiasco, but first made public his real purpose, which "insurrection" did not fairly describe. On this point Mr. Garrison had no secret information. His non-resistant views had marked him as an impossible confidant. At the Massachusetts Society's anniversary meeting on January 27, 1859, he listened without suspicion to Mr. Higginson's mention of Brown's December raid from Kansas into Missouri — carrying off eleven slaves, whom he conducted to Canada — "as an indication of what may come before long"; the speaker himself only alluding at that time to "[Underground] Railroad business on a somewhat extended scale," to use Brown's own words to him. The nearest Mr. Garrison had come to accidental cognizance of Brown's designs, was the receipt, in June, 1858, of a letter from Sydney Howard Gay, asking his good offices with the Boston Kansas Committee on behalf of Col. Hugh Forbes — known neither to Mr. Gay nor to Mr. Garrison as Brown's "drill-master," whose betrayal of confidence had just caused a year's postponement of the invasion. To a son of Mr. Garrison's, his playmate, Francis Jackson Meriam, who presently enlisted under Brown, had vaguely confided his thought of embarking in the adventure of which he was one of the few uncaptured survivors. Garrison first met John Brown, to know him, and face to face,[1] one Sunday evening in January, 1857, in Theodore Parker's parlors. He saw in the famous Kansas chieftain a tall, spare, farmer-like man, with head disproportionately small, and that inflexible mouth which

Lib. 29:169, 170; *Sanborn's Life of Brown*, *p.* 562.

Lib. 29:175, 198.

Lib. 29:18.

Lib. 29:7, 18, 47, 55, 119; *Sanborn's Life of Brown*, *p.* 481.

Sanborn's Brown, *p.* 436.

MS. June 12.

Sanborn's Life of Brown, *pp.* 425–433.

Ibid., *p.* 460.

Ante, *p.* 424.

Sanborn's Brown, *p.* 445. *Jan.* 4, 11, 18?

Ibid., *p.* 628.

[1] John Brown wrote to his wife from the jail in Charlestown, Va., Nov. 26, 1859: "I once set myself to oppose a mob at Boston where she [Lucretia Mott] was. After I interfered, the police immediately took up the matter, and soon put a stop to mob proceedings. The meeting was, I think, in Marlboro' Street Church, or Hotel, perhaps" (Sanborn's Life of Brown, p. 605). Does this point to the dedication of the Marlboro' Chapel on May 24, 1838 *(ante,* 2 : 218, 219)?

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as yet no beard concealed. They discussed peace and non-resistance together, Brown quoting the Old Testament against Garrison's citations from the New, and Parker from time to time injecting a bit of Lexington into the controversy, which attracted a small group of interested listeners. In May, 1859, Brown attended the New England Anti-Slavery Convention in Boston, where "he was heard to say, at its conclusion — 'These men are all talk; what is needed is action — action!'"

May 25, 26.

Lib. 30:6, 90; *cf.* 30:15, *and Sanborn's Life of Brown, p.* 421.

The non-political abolitionists were generally passed over in the search for Brown's accomplices which immediately began after Harper's Ferry — through the Democratic press, and then through the Senatorial investigating committee directed by Senator Mason. The Republican leaders, especially Seward, for his "irrepressible conflict," were held responsible; and their organs were quick to repudiate the connection, and to shift the burden on to the Garrisonians. For the moment, their fears told them that John Brown had ruined their chances of success at the next Presidential election. In this state of mind Henry Wilson came, on the first tidings of the outbreak, to confer with Mr. Garrison at his home in Dix Place, and departed with cheering assurances that what had happened was all for the best.

Lib. 29:194, 207.

Lib. 29:177, 181, 185.

Lib. 29:169, 173, 177.

To the editor, the presentation of the news of the hour — the recording, "as fully as possible, the amazing outpouring of public sentiment, pro and con, in relation to John Brown" — seemed, in the stirring interval between the émeute and the executions at Charlestown, of far more consequence than any extended comments of his own — had there been room for them in the *Liberator*.

MS. Jan. 14, 1860, *W. L. G. to S. J. May.*

Lib. 29:170.

"As to Capt. Brown," he wrote in his paper of October 28, "all who know him personally are united in the conviction that a more honest, conscientious, truthful, brave, disinterested man (however misguided or unfortunate) does not exist; that he possesses a deeply religious nature, powerfully wrought upon by the trials through which he has passed; that he as sincerely believes himself to have been raised up by God to deliver the

oppressed in this country, in the way he has chosen, as did Moses in relation to the deliverance of the captive Israelites; that when he says he aims to be guided by the Golden Rule, it is no cant from his lips, but a vital application of it to his own soul, 'remembering those that are in bonds as bound with them'; that when he affirms, that he had no other motive for his conduct at Harper's Ferry except to break the chains of the oppressed, by the shedding of the least possible amount of human blood, he speaks 'the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth'; and that if he shall be (as he will speedily, beyond a peradventure) put to death, he will not die ignobly, but as a martyr to his sympathy for a suffering race, and in defense of the sacred and inalienable rights of man, and will therefore deserve to be held in grateful and honorable remembrance to the latest posterity, by all those who glory in the deeds of a Wallace or Tell, a Washington or Warren. Read his replies to the interrogatories propounded to him by Senator Mason and others! Is there another man, of all the thirty millions of people inhabiting this country, who could have answered more wisely, more impressively, more courageously, or with greater moral dignity, under such a trying ordeal? How many hearts will be thrilled and inspired by his utterances! Read, too, his replies in court with reference to his counsel! Where shall a more undaunted spirit be found? In vain will the sanguinary tyrants of the South, and their Northern minions, seek to cover him with infamy: —

Sanborn's Life of J. Brown, pp. 437, 441, 443.

Joseph Warren. Lib. 29: 169.

Lib. 29: 171.

> "'Courts, judges can inflict no brand of shame,
> Or shape of death, to shroud him from applause.'"

And, on November 25:

"In recording the expressions of sympathy and admiration which are so widely felt for John Brown, whose doom is so swiftly approaching, we desire to say — once for all — that, judging him by the code of Bunker Hill, we think he is as deserving of high-wrought eulogy as any who ever wielded sword or battle-axe in the cause of liberty; but we do not and cannot approve any indulgence of the war spirit. John Brown has, perhaps, a right to a place by the side of Moses, Joshua, Gideon, and David; but he is not on the same plane with Jesus, Paul, Peter, and John, the weapons of whose warfare were not carnal, though mighty to the pulling down of strongholds. But the professedly Christian church, with all Christendom, rejects

Lib. 29: 187.

Cf. ante, 2: 190.

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our peaceful interpretation of Christianity, and has no right, therefore, to measure him by any higher standard than its own."

Lib. 29: 174.

He joined with the Executive Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society in recommending a wide-spread observance of December 2, the day on which John Brown

Lib. 29: 194.

was to be hung. At the solemn Boston meeting at Tremont Temple, presided over by Samuel E. Sewall, he was greeted with great applause as he came forward to read Brown's address to the Court which had sentenced him to die for "treason" to Virginia. Every line of this address Mr. Garrison, both from principle and experience, was able to invest with a kindred feeling of moral elevation.

Lib. 29: 175.

"In the first place, I deny everything but what I have all along admitted — the design on my part to free the slaves. I intended, certainly, to have made a clean thing of that matter, as I did last winter, when I went into Missouri, and there took slaves without the snapping of a gun on either side, moved them through the country, and finally left them in Canada. I designed to have done the same thing again,[1] on a larger scale. That was all I intended. I never did intend murder, or treason, or the destruction of property, or to excite or incite slaves to rebellion, or to make insurrection.

"I have another objection: and that is, it is unjust that I should suffer such a penalty. Had I interfered in the manner which I admit, and which I admit has been fairly proved (for I admire the truthfulness and candor of the greater portion of the witnesses who have testified in this case) — had I so interfered in behalf of the rich, the powerful, the intelligent, the so-called great, or in behalf of any of their friends, either father, mother, brother, sister, wife, or children, or any of that class, and suffered and sacrificed what I have in this interference, it would have been all right, and every man in this court would have deemed it an act worthy of reward rather than punishment.

"This court acknowledges, as I suppose, the validity of the law of God. I see a book kissed here which I suppose to be the Bible, or at least the New Testament. That teaches me that all things whatsoever I would that men should do me, I should do

[1] *I. e.*, to free the slaves — not to run them off. See Brown's explanation to the prosecutor, Andrew Hunter, Nov. 22, 1859 (Sanborn's 'Life,' p. 584).

even so to them. It teaches me, further, to 'remember them that are in bonds as bound with them.' I endeavored to act up to that instruction. I say, I am yet too young to understand that God is any respecter of persons. I believe that to have interfered as I have done — as I have always freely admitted I have done — in behalf of his despised poor, was not wrong, but right. Now, if it is deemed necessary that I should forfeit my life for the furtherance of the ends of justice, and mingle my blood further with the blood of my children, and with the blood of millions in this slave country whose rights are disregarded by wicked, cruel, and unjust enactments — I submit: so let it be done!"[1]

From Mr. Garrison's speech on the same evening, we select the passage distinguishing himself from the subject of his eulogy:

"A word upon the subject of Peace. I am a non-resistant — a believer in the inviolability of human life, under all circumstances; I, therefore, in the name of God, disarm John Brown, and every slave at the South. But I do not stop there; if I did, I should be a monster. I also disarm, in the name of God, every slaveholder and tyrant in the world. For wherever that principle is adopted, all fetters must instantly melt, and there can be no oppressed and no oppressor, in the nature of things. How many agree with me in regard to the doctrine of the inviolability of human life? How many non-resistants are there here to-night? (A single voice — 'I.') There is *one!* Well, then, you who are otherwise, are not the men to point the finger at John Brown and cry 'traitor' — judging you by your own standard. Nevertheless, I am a non-resistant, and I not only desire, but have labored unremittingly to effect, the peaceful abolition of slavery, by an appeal to the reason and conscience of the slaveholder; yet, as a peace man — an 'ultra' peace man — I am prepared to say: 'Success to every slave insurrection at the South, and in every slave country.' And I do not see how I compromise or stain my peace profession in making that

Lib. 29 : 198.

Cf. Lib. 30 : 7.

[1] For the text of this fragment of the address we have followed Sanborn's 'Life of John Brown,' p. 584, which is in substantial agreement with R. D. Webb's 'Life,' p. 216. Some slight variations may be noticed in the contemporary reports as published in the *Liberator* (29 : 175), in the 27th annual report of the American A. S. Society ('The Anti-Slavery History of the John Brown Year,' of which C. C. Burleigh was the author), p. 109, and in the pamphlet compiled by Thomas Drew, 'The John Brown Invasion' (Boston, 1860), p. 32.

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declaration. Whenever there is a contest between the oppressed and the oppressor,— the weapons being equal between the parties,— God knows that my heart must be with the oppressed, and always against the oppressor. Therefore, whenever commenced, I cannot but wish success to all slave insurrections. I thank God when men who believe in the right and duty of wielding carnal weapons, are so far advanced that they will take those weapons out of the scale of despotism, and throw them into the scale of freedom. It is an indication of progress, and a positive moral growth; it is one way to get up to the sublime platform of non-resistance; and it is God's method of dealing retribution upon the head of the tyrant. Rather than see men wearing their chains in a cowardly and servile spirit, I would, as an advocate of peace, much rather see them breaking the head of the tyrant with their chains. Give me, as a non-resistant, Bunker Hill, and Lexington, and Concord, rather than the cowardice and servility of a Southern slave-plantation."

Their common human kindness and hatred of slavery, and their Old Testament inspiration, furnish grounds for an instructive parallel between Garrison and John Brown.

Lib. 29: 198.

"He was of the old Puritan stock," said the former at Tremont Temple; "a Cromwellian who 'believed in God,' and at the same time 'in keeping his powder dry.' He believed in 'the sword of the Lord and of Gideon,' and acted accordingly. Herein I differed from him. But, certainly, he was no 'infidel'— oh, no! How it would

Lib. 29: 177.

have added to the fiendish malignity of the New York *Observer* if John Brown had only been an 'infidel,' evangelically speaking!" On the other hand, Brown — in virtue of what, unless of bloodshed? — became at once a hero to clergymen who had long ago branded Garrison as an infidel because of his non-resistance. Both brought the Bible to bear against slavery; but the reformer who clung to the Christian doctrine of suffering, and laid the

Ante, 1: 409.

foundations of his policy in non-resistance, was reviled as the offscouring of earth by a Christian community. Again by way of contrast, we cannot imagine Garrison, in his attack upon slavery, going under assumed names, concealing his designs under false pretences, or shooting

innocent fellow-creatures in the dark. John Brown did this because there was a place in his Christianity for war, and such conduct is "fair in war." Both earned the name of fanatic, if only one the name of infidel. So far as fanaticism implies an inability to see things as they are, or to adapt one's means to one's ends, the epithet did not apply to Garrison. Had, moreover, the *Liberator* not preceded John Brown, the attempt on Harper's Ferry not only would have seemed the height of madness, but would have made hardly a ripple on the surface of American politics — exciting universal horror and reprobation in place of sentiments of pity and esteem. Had John Brown been, in action, a contemporary of Lovejoy, still more would the Austins have said of him, "He died as the fool dieth." "The sympathy and admiration now so widely felt for him," said Mr. Garrison, "prove how marvellous has been the change effected in public opinion during thirty years of moral agitation — a change so great, indeed, that whereas, ten years since, there were thousands who could not endure my lightest word of rebuke of the South, they can now easily swallow John Brown whole, and his rifle into the bargain. In firing his gun, he has merely told us what time of day it is. It is high noon, thank God!"

Lib. 7:202.

Speech at Mass. A. S. S. annual meeting, Jan. 27, 1860; *Lib.* 30:26.

CHAPTER XX.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.—1860.

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"THE lamentable tragedy at Harper's Ferry is clearly traceable" to the "unjustifiable attempt to force slavery into Kansas by a repeal of the Missouri Compromise." So thought and wrote, to a New York meeting of Union-savers, ex-President Fillmore, in the fortnight succeeding the hanging of John Brown. It was the historic truth; and the work of Nemesis had but begun.

Dec. 16, 1859; *Lib.* 29:205.

Directly after the attack on Harper's Ferry, the South initiated disunion by fortifying itself against domestic insurrection, both by extra vigilance and armed police, by legislative measures to force its free negro population back into slavery or into removal, and by renewed stringency in excluding Northern Republican papers from the mails. Moreover, the mobbing and expulsion of Northern residents or visitors was revived on an unparalleled scale, so that Mr. Garrison was led to compile a tract of 144 pages for publication by the Hovey Fund, called 'The New Reign of Terror,' and printed and distributed by thousands. These outrages grew with the aging year, and warranted a fresh compilation in November, when violence and suspicion, with the shadows of the impending civil disruption, had brought about a white exodus — when even, as in Georgia, Northerners coming by sea were kept from landing. Mr. Garrison, himself still in doubt whether the Southern menace of disunion was anything more than vaporing and bluster, marvelled that the North could view tranquilly — without the least outward manifestation of feeling — this barbarous negation of the commonest right of Federal citizenship.

Lib. 29:201, 207; 30:3, 6, 11, 31, 185, 187.
Lib. 29:201, 205; 30:71, 123, 137, 151.
Lib. 29:201, 202, 205, 206; 30:2, 5, 6, 10, 13, 14, 22, 25.
Lib. 30:63, 186.
Lib. 30:186.
Lib. 30:163, 167, 178, 179, 181, 183, 185.
Lib. 30:187, 191.
Lib. 30:186.

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On its face, however, the situation was not so much a crisis as a rather flagrant illustration of the "glorious Union" worshipped by all parties at the North. For a quarter of a century, with Government sanction, the Southern mails had been closed to Northern ideas; with Government and State indifference, Northerners had been lynched or driven out. The lapse of time had left no excuse for spontaneous heat over such trifles, any more than over a slave-burning like that in Georgia in October, or over the perennial fear of slave risings, such as infected the whole South after Harper's Ferry, and in the summer and autumn of 1860 raged afresh, so that, as President Buchanan said, in his annual message to Congress, "a sense of security no longer exists around the family altar." All these things were symptomatic, not of disunion, but of Union.

Ante, 1:488, 492.

Lib. 30:171.

Lib. 29:187, 191.

Lib. 30:137, 141, 146, 149, 163, 171, 177, 179, 185, 199.

A genuine sign of revolution was the centripetal movement of Southerners, as in the case of the two hundred medical students in Philadelphia who renounced Northern instruction and seceded to their homes. Governor Wise received them at Richmond as precursors of the break-up. The North bade them good-bye with a smile at their silliness, and turned an incredulous ear to the Southern echoes of Harper's Ferry in both Houses of Congress. Had not Frémont's possible election in 1856 been made the ground of threats of secession? Why, then, pay heed to similar talk now in view of Seward's probable nomination and election by the Republican Party? Henry Wilson, in a speech in the Senate on January 25, 1860, put on record what had already been said during the current session. Two examples will suffice. Senator Iverson of Georgia was ready to lead away the Southern delegation on the mere election of John Sherman to the speakership of the House — a contingency happily averted; and in any event saw "but one path of safety for the South, but one mode of preserving her institution of domestic slavery, and that is, a confederacy of States having no incongruous and opposing elements." The election of a Black Republican

Lib. 29:206, 207, 211; 30:1, 3.

Lib. 30:1.

Ante, p. 435.

Lib. 30:17.

Lib. 30:17.

Lib. 30:23.

Lib. 30:17.

President would furnish the occasion. In the House, Singleton of Mississippi declared he would never suffer the army and navy to pass into the hands of such an Executive (with control, too, as Governor Letcher of Virginia added, of the judiciary and the post-offices). His advice to his own State was: "The sooner we get out of the Union, the better. . . . A gallant son of the South, Jefferson Davis, led our forces into Mexico, and, thank God! he still lives, perhaps to lead a Southern army."

Lib. 30: 17.

Lib. 30: 17, 18.

Lib. 30: 9.

Davis, in spite of his having repeatedly pledged himself to disunion in case of Republican success, was the favorite "standard-bearer in 1860" with the more besotted Democrats of the North. And even as Singleton was nominating him commander-in-chief of a Confederate army, Davis was reading a letter from ex-President Pierce, marking him as "the coming man" for the national Democratic nomination, and confirming the writer's old assurance that a civil war would not rage solely on the border:

Ante, p. 469; *Lib.* 30: 17.

Jan. 6, 1860.

Ante, p. 469.

> "Without," said the ex-President, "discussing the question of right — of abstract power to secede, I have never believed that actual disruption of the Union can occur without blood. And if, through the madness of Northern abolitionism, that dire calamity must come, the fighting will not be along Mason's and Dixon's line merely: it [will] be within our own borders, in our own streets, between the two classes of citizens to whom I have referred. Those who defy law and scout constitutional obligations, will, if we ever reach the arbitrament of arms, find occupation enough at home."

Independent Democrat, Concord, N. H., Sept. 17, 1863; *Greeley's Am. Conflict*, 1: 513; *Lib.* 33: 158.

On the other hand, the acknowledged "coming man" of the Republican Party, William H. Seward, doubtless well content to have been absent in Europe during the John Brown excitement, landed in New York on December 27, 1859, to the sound of guns in the City Hall park, and made a triumphal progress to his home in Auburn. Resuming his place in the Senate, where he was shunned by his virtuous Southern colleagues, he made his first manifesto in a speech on his bill to admit Kansas. Instead of proclaiming afresh, with all the force of the latest evi-

Lib. 30: 3.

Lib. 30: 11.

Feb. 29, 1860; *Lib.* 30: 31, 37.

dence, the irrepressible conflict, he argued that there was no need of collision. Instead of justifying his Rochester speech with John Brown, he repudiated him and justified his punishment. Instead of pointing again to the inherent antagonism of slave and free society, he talked softly of "capital" (slave) and "labor" (free) States, and of the wise arrangement which assigned to each the exclusive care of its own institutions. The Constitution was no longer to be viewed as the leash of two irreconcilable social systems, but as a structure consisting of composite marbles, equally serviceable to the edifice, but in hue appealing to different tastes. The Republican Party was not sectional, but was truly a Union party; its motto (Webster's reversed, with a vengeance!) "Union and Liberty" — *i. e.*, Union *before* Liberty. It was not a propagandist of negro equality — witness the free States; it was, therefore, a white man's party.

Ante, p. 469.

Lib. 30:42.

Such was Seward's bid for the Presidency, seduced by that which led to Webster's fall. Calculating and heartless, Mr. Garrison found it, proceeding from a statesman whom, in spite of rare intellectual and rhetorical gifts, he had never regarded "as other than the incarnation of political circumspection — cold in blood, cautious in action, wholly indisposed to anything like 'ultraism' in any direction."

Lib. 30:38.

"Speaking defensively for the Republican Party, Mr. Seward says: 'I know of only *one* policy which it has adopted or avowed — namely, the saving of the Territories of the United States, if possible, by constitutional and lawful means, from being the homes for slavery and polygamy.' When or where that party has made any distinctive issue with polygamy, more than the Democratic Party, we do not know; the statement is obviously made for popular effect. 'Only *one* policy' — not the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, where it now exists by the consent and approval of Mr. Seward and his party; not the abolition of the revolting domestic slave trade; not the repeal, or even modification, of the Fugitive Slave Law; not the prohibition of slavery in any of the Territories — but only to save them, if possible, from its establishment upon their soil;

Lib. 30:38.

Ante, p. 276.

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so that if they determine not to incorporate it into their State organizations, their wishes shall be consulted — which is to leave no issue in Congress at all; for we see no intimation in this speech of any purpose or wish, by the Republican Party, to resist the admission of any new slave State into the Union. And, indeed, how can that party make any such resistance, on conscientious grounds, as a matter of principle, seeing it gives its sanction and support to fifteen slave States already in the Union? In fact, that party has virtually yielded to the atrocious dogma of 'popular sovereignty,' as inculcated by Senator Douglas; being willing, like himself, that the people of every Territory should decide in favor of slavery, or against it, for themselves, and only asking that they may be allowed entire freedom of choice."

At the most interesting and exciting epoch of his thirty years' warfare, Mr. Garrison was disabled by a complicated bronchial disorder from undertaking his customary share of public speaking. At the close of 1859, he was put under medical prohibition, and a journey abroad seemed desirable, and was even planned for the coming spring. When that season arrived, an appointment for the summer had been made, but also some relief had come of abstinence, and the trip was finally abandoned; a recreation with his family among the White Mountains in August being substituted. But throat and lungs and a slow fever confined him still, for the remainder of the year, to home and Boston. He wrote but little for the *Liberator*, for this reason and because he had, since 1857, had a very active editorial assistant in Charles K. Whipple; but above all because the mighty movement begun by him now swept irresistibly along without the need of any man. "Though the end is not yet," he said in his salutatory to the thirtieth volume of the *Liberator*, "surely it cannot be far distant — for the 'battle waxes to the gate,' and all the signs of the times are indicating that a great revolution is at hand." He pressed forward the renewal of the petitions to the Legislature for a law to make slave-catching impossible in Massachusetts, and addressed the Committee to whom they were referred, and who again

MS. Oct. 18, 1859, W. L. G. to E. P. Nichol.

MS. May 31, 1860, O. Johnson to J. M. McKim.

Lib. 30:123.

Lib. 30:2.

Lib. 30:2, 23, 50.

Lib. 30:27.

disappointed his hope, rather than his expectation. He knew that so long as the Republican Party continued its professions of loyalty to the existing Union, it was to be neither followed nor trusted. He so declared in resolutions which he presented at the annual meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society in January, 1860, and of which we quote textually the following: *Lib.* 30:50. *Jan.* 26, 27.

"12. Resolved, That the acme of impudence and profligacy is seen in the constant accusation of the Republican Party, by the Democratic leaders and organs, as disloyal in spirit, if not in action, to the Union — at the very moment *they* are threatening to rend it asunder, and overturn the Government by force, if a majority of the voters shall choose the Republican, instead of the Democratic candidate for the Presidency — thus proving themselves to be a most desperate faction, full of treasonable intentions if they are not allowed to have their own way. *Lib.* 30:18.

"13. Resolved, That we are ready to certify that the Republican party has never even menaced the existence of the Union in any contingency; and that, of all the political parties that have yet been organized in this country, none has ever surpassed the Republican Party in its slavish subserviency to the Union; for while it is outlawed in all the South, and can neither hold meetings nor nominate candidates in that part of the country, and while neither Mr. Seward, nor Mr. Sumner, nor any other of its prominent men, is permitted freedom of speech south of Mason and Dixon's line, it is still insanely engaged in glorifying the Union, and pledging itself to frown upon all attempts to dissolve it."

Though no member of the Republican Party could escape this just condemnation, subserviency was in some merely a logical attitude. While Governor Banks vetoed a revised code of Massachusetts rather than tolerate the omission of the word *white* from its militia law, and revetoed the bill introduced and passed as a separate measure; while Seward, equally with Douglas, dodged the vote on imprisoning Thaddeus Hyatt for refusing to testify before Mason's Harper's Ferry investigating committee, other Republican Congressmen were true to their anti-slavery integrity. Sumner, by the introduction of *Lib.* 30:10, 30. *Lib.* 30:43, [46]. *Lib.* 30:31, 34; *MS. Mar.* 24, 1860, *S. J. May to W. L. G.*

Lib. 30:63. petitions for the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law and the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia; Henry
Lib. 30:63. Wilson, by his bill for the more effectual suppression of the slave trade; but especially Owen Lovejoy, inviting
Lib. 30:62. by his speech of April 5 the fate of his martyr brother, redeemed the Republican Party from the stigma of universal cowardice. "If slavery is right in Virginia," said Lovejoy, "it is right in Kansas"—words of whose full logic he stopped short, indeed, but which confirmed the South in its habit of identifying the Republicans with the abolition propagandists. "The fault I find with the
Lib. 30:79. Republicans," said Wendell Phillips at New York in May, with a special reference to Mr. Seward, "is, that they are such children, that they are such infants, as to suppose that, with their past behind them, and with their future looking out of their eyes, the slaveholder, or the abolitionist either, believes the lies that they call speeches."[1]

Lib. 30:70. On the 23d of April, 1860, the Democratic National Convention met in Charleston, S. C., or, in other words, in the one city of the Union where the local feeling and influence would contribute the utmost possible to a pro-Southern determination of the candidates and destinies of the party. The Convention at once came under the municipal law of the "peculiar institution" which for-
Lib. 30:71. bade the military band brought from New York to play after ten o'clock at night in the streets, since its drums might be mistaken for the dread alarm-signal of a slave

[1] William Pinkney of Maryland, addressing the U. S. Senate on April 15, 1820, on the admission of Missouri, and repelling the intimation that the slave States did not possess "a republican form of government," as guaranteed by the Constitution, asked: "Do gentlemen perceive the consequences to which their arguments must lead if they are of any value? Do they reflect that they lead to emancipation in the old United States, or to an exclusion of Delaware, Maryland and all the South, and a great portion of the West, from the Union? . . . They have no disposition to meddle with slavery in the old United States. Perhaps not—but who shall answer for their successors? . . . It is the natural office of such a principle to wrestle with slavery wheresoever it finds it" ('Library of Am. Literature,' 4:188). This reasoning was applicable to the Republicans in 1860: the sentiment which was hostile to the extension of slavery into the Territories, could not rest quiet while slavery existed anywhere in the Union.

rising. Other conditions had been sought to be imposed by the cotton States. Months before, the Alabama Legislature had warned the South not to commit itself to a Presidential candidate who denied the equal right of slave property in the Territories, and to enter no Convention not pledged to this doctrine in advance. For ten days, amid scenes of turbulence and passion unparalleled in American political history, the battle raged over this point. Both wings of the party were agreed in reaffirming the Cincinnati platform of 1856, in denouncing the Personal Liberty laws of the North, in demanding the annexation of Cuba — which meant simply the revival of the slave trade.[1] The fire-eaters, however, called for Federal protection of the right to hold slaves in the Territories, while the Douglas faction wished to relegate the question to the Supreme Court. The latter triumphed, and the fire-eaters bolted the Convention, which, in default of any nominations after fifty-five ballots, was adjourned to Baltimore.

Lib. 30:13.

Lib. 30:70.

"I feel," said Mr. Garrison, to his fellow-members of the American Anti-Slavery Society at New York on May 8, "an 'irrepressible' desire to congratulate you all upon the triumphant progress of the 'irrepressible conflict' in all parts of our country. In the free States, undeniably, the conflict is going on; and may I not say that in all the slave States it is going on, with even more vehemence and zeal than among ourselves? For at last even the invincible Democratic Party have been reached; and, by the power which has been brought to bear upon it through the anti-slavery agitation, thank God! that party is no

Lib. 30:77.

[1] Mr. Gaulden, one of the delegates from Georgia, spoke openly (and humorously) on May 1 in favor of this revival, without which, he said, it would be impossible to colonize new slave States except by depleting the old ones and throwing them into the ranks of the North. The African slave trade, he insisted, was much more moral than that of the slave-breeders in Virginia, who trafficked not in the heathen raw product, but in the manufactured article — in civilized and Christian men! (*Lib.* 30 : 77.) At this time the participation of American ships in slave ventures for Cuba and the Southern U. S. seaboard was assuming flagrant proportions (*Lib.* 30 : 83, 103, 158, 167), though the Episcopal Convention in New York on Sept. 27 was much scandalized by John Jay's proposing a resolution condemning the trade (*Lib.* 30 : 158).

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longer a unit in behalf of slavery; it has been divided — I trust, never again to be united by any compromise whatsoever with the Slave Power. It seems to me to be one of the most striking proofs of the cheering progress of the movement in which we are engaged that have yet been given to us. Only think of it! The party which has, for so many years, cried out, 'There must be no agitation on this subject,' is now the most agitated of all the parties in the country! The party which declares that there ought not to be any sectionalism as against slavery, has now been sundered geographically, and on this very question! The party which has said, 'Let discussion cease for ever,' is busily engaged in the discussion, so that, possibly, the American Anti-Slavery Society might adjourn *sine die*, after we get through with our present meetings, and leave its work to be carried on in the other direction! The party which says that anti-slavery must be put down in this country, is itself divided, discomfited, and, I believe, overthrown. 'Oh, give thanks unto the Lord, for he is good; for his mercy endureth for ever.' 'To him that overthrew Pharaoh and his host in the Red Sea; for his mercy endureth for ever!'"

May 17, 1860; *Lib.* 30: 83.

A week later the Republican National Convention met in Chicago, and incorporated in its platform the Declaration of Independence (with a mental reservation) — resolving also against all schemes of disunion from any quarter (as if equally censurable), in favor of State rights, and against John Brown or Border-Ruffian invasions; against Judge Taney's doctrine that the Constitution carried slavery into the Territories; against the re-opening of the slave trade. To the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law, to the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, no allusion. In the vote for candidates, to the infinite surprise of the Eastern States, to the grief even of many abolitionists, the prize of leadership was denied to William H. Seward and given to Abraham Lincoln of Illinois.

Lib. 30: 102.

On the 18th of June, the dismembered Democratic Convention, attended and watched, without participation, by the cotton-State delegates, met at Baltimore and nominated Stephen A. Douglas for President. A secession

June 28.

followed, and a rump convention nominated John C.

Breckinridge of Kentucky as the "regular" Democratic candidate. CHAP. XX. 1860.

The triumph of the Republican Party was now a foregone conclusion, and all eyes were turned in scrutiny upon Lincoln. To the country at large he was an obscure, not to say an unknown man. His visit to New England in the fall of 1848, when, during the Congressional recess, he took the stump for Zachary Taylor, had made no impression.[1] "Who is this huckster in politics?" asked Wendell Phillips at the New England Convention on May 30. *Lib.* 30; 89. "Who is this county-court advocate? Who is this who does not know whether he has got any opinions [about slavery]?" It fell to Mr. Phillips, unhappily, to give the cue to the abolitionists concerning Mr. Lincoln. Such examination as he bestowed on the Illinois lawyer's brief Congressional career caused him to misinterpret and unjustly characterize a measure of Lincoln's intended to effect abolition in the District of Columbia, but accompanied by what seemed a necessary provision for the surrender of fugitive slaves — else had the District become a refuge for them from the adjoining States of Maryland and Virginia, and from the whole seaboard. Singling out this provision, Mr. Phillips published in the *Liberator* of June 22, 1860, a stinging article, headed, "Abraham Lincoln, the Slave-hound of Illinois," and beginning: "We gibbet a Northern hound to-day, side by side with the infamous Mason of Virginia." Mr. Garrison very reluctantly admitted both the caption and the text (of the justice of which he had no means of forming an opinion), and only in consideration of the article being signed. Mr. Lincoln did not lack defenders, and in the end Mr. Phillips pro-

Jan. 10, 1849; *Lib.* 30: 119.

Lib. 30: 99.

J. M. Mason.

Lib. 30: 119.

[1] At Worcester, Mass., on Sept. 13, 1848, he repeated Mr. Webster's remark, that the nomination of Van Buren by a professedly anti-slavery party was either a trick or a joke; and declared, on his own account, that, "of the three parties then asking the confidence of the country, the new one had less of principle than any other, adding, amid shouts of laughter, that the recently constructed, elastic Free-Soil platform reminded him of nothing so much as the pair of trousers offered for sale by a Yankee pedlar, which were 'large enough for any man and small enough for any boy'" (R. C. Winthrop, Jr.'s, 'Memoir of David Sears,' p. 16).

duced a transcript of the bill. Lincoln's debates with Douglas in 1858 were next overhauled by the abolitionists, with a not unfair emphasizing of expressions which showed how far the Whig Republican then was from acknowledging the brotherhood of man, or from objecting to the Dred Scott decision because of its disfranchising the free blacks. His anticipation of Seward's "irrepressible conflict" was quickly pointed out in mitigation — proof of his statesmanship if not of his humanity.

Lib. 30: 105, 134, 166.

Lib. 30: 166.

Ante, p. 470; *Lib.* 30: 102.

The language of his present supporters, even more than his own, furnished ground of abolition distrust of Lincoln. The Boston *Advertiser* said that to elect him was the shortest way to repeal the Massachusetts Personal Liberty Law — an end for which the Republican press of the State strove both before and after the election. Moreover, in Lincoln's own State, so cowardly were the Republicans that, Mr. Seward chancing to be in Chicago, and having recovered his tone in a late visit to Kansas, so as to be able to reaffirm the "irrepressible conflict," the party managers wanted their torchlight procession to avoid passing his hotel! In the same city, Mayor John Wentworth having helped pay the fine of men imprisoned for aiding a fugitive to escape, and presided at a public deliverance meeting, "The party is crushed!" was heard from the audience; "Lincoln is defeated!" "Long John is playing thunder with us!" "Long John has gone over to Douglas!"

Lib. 30: 145, 146.

Lib. 30: 145, 186, 189, 190.

Lib. 30: 161.

Lib. 30: 165.

Lib. 30: 165, 177.

Lib. 30: 177.

The Higher Power at the helm of affairs paid no attention to such trivialities. The October State elections in Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Indiana, following those in New England, clearly foreshadowed the result of the national contest. "Will the South be so obliging as to secede from the Union?" asked Mr. Garrison. And, "I salute your Convention with hope and joy," he wrote to his friend Johnston in Vermont, on October 15. "All the omens are with us. FORWARD!" On the sixth of November, Lincoln was elected by the vote of every Northern State save one; and that array of the North under one

Lib. 30: 163, 147.

Lib. 30: 163.

Lib. 30: 175.

N. R. Johnston.

Lib. 30: 178.

banner and the South under an opposing banner foreseen by Mr. Garrison in 1843 — with the issue sure, whether prudence or desperation ruled the counsels of the Slave Power — at length came to pass. "For the first time in our history," said Wendell Phillips, "the *slave* has chosen a President of the United States. . . . Lincoln is in *place*, Garrison in *power*." *Ante, p.* 87. *Lib.* 30:184.

The Governor of South Carolina, after the October handwriting on the wall, had called an extra session of the Legislature to provide for a disunion convention in case of Lincoln's election, and meanwhile to arm the militia, and to accept, organize, and drill volunteers. This action, with the signs of adhesion on the part of other States, threw the whole country into a vortex of agitation — the South arming against the Republican Administration not more than against its own fears (fed by a thousand idle rumors) of slave insurrections; the pro-slavery and halting Republican North in panic striving to stave off the inevitable by making every concession to the Slave Power, beginning with the surrender of the Personal Liberty laws, and by pursuing abolitionists with mob violence. In Boston, the "respectable" progeny of the "respectable" rioters of 1835 took possession of a meeting in Tremont Temple, commemorating John Brown's execution by its date, and discussing the trite question, "How can American slavery be abolished?"— a meeting, needless to say, not *called* by Garrisonian abolitionists. Turned out of doors by the Mayor, it adjourned for the evening to the Belknap-Street (colored) Church, where the spirit of violence was still more rampant, at least at the close, when Mrs. Chapman was thought to have saved Mr. Phillips's life by her companionship, and when he himself had to be escorted home by a body-guard. The orator's scarifying review of these proceedings, from Theodore Parker's pulpit, on Sunday, December 16,— his topic being "Mobs and Education,"— brought him a second (daylight) assault as he issued from the Music Hall, and made his return home a street fight. On the same day, *Lib.* 30:171, 181. *Lib.* 30:171, 175, 177, 179. *Lib.* 30:186, 190, 205; 31:5. *Dec.* 3, 1860; *Lib.* 30:193–195, 198–201. *Lib.* 30:186. *M. W. Chapman.* *Lib.* 30:202, 203.

Lib. 30:203. in Brooklyn, Henry Ward Beecher had to be guarded by police in Plymouth Church. In Philadelphia, George William Curtis, engaged to lecture on "Honesty" in a *Lib.* 30:209. lyceum course, was suppressed by the joint apprehensions of the Mayor and the owners of the hall.

For all this, the movement went on. On December 17 the Secession Convention opened its sessions with prayer in Charleston, and with the Palmetto flag flying over all the city and harbor save at Fort Moultrie. On December 20, it passed an ordinance of secession based primarily on the violation of Constitutional rights by the passage of Personal Liberty laws — *i. e.*, on the statutory achievements of the Garrisonian abolitionists. In place of quoting the language of the ordinance regarding the nature of the compact alleged to have been nullified by the North, let us take that of John Quincy Adams, from the familiar armory of the abolitionists:

Lib. 30:207, 209.

Address at N. Bridgewater, Mass., Nov. 6, 1844; *Phillips's Constitution a Pro-Slavery Compact, 3d ed., p.* 182; *Lib.* 30:150.

"Yes! it cannot be denied — the slaveholding lords of the South prescribed, as a condition of their assent to the Constitution, three special provisions to secure the perpetuity of their dominion over their slaves. The first was the immunity for twenty years of pursuing the African slave trade; the second was the stipulation to surrender fugitive slaves — an engagement positively prohibited by the laws of God delivered from Sinai; and thirdly, the exaction, fatal to the principles of popular representation, of a representation for slaves — for articles of merchandise, under the name of persons. . . .

"The delegates from South Carolina and Georgia distinctly avowed that, without this guarantee of protection to their property in slaves, they would not yield their assent to the Constitution; and the freemen of the North, reduced to the alternative of departing from the vital principles of their liberty, or of forfeiting the Union itself, averted their faces, and with trembling hand subscribed the bond."

And now let the secession ordinance itself be heard in its particular arraignment of the North — a hopeless mixture of truth, falsehood, and childishness:

McPherson's History of the Rebellion, 2d ed., p. 16.

"We affirm that these ends for which this Government was instituted have been defeated, and the Government itself has

been made destructive of them, by the action of the non-slave-holding States. *Those States have assumed the right of deciding upon the propriety of our domestic institutions,* and have denied the rights of property established in fifteen of the States and recognized by the Constitution. *They have denounced as sinful the institution of slavery; they have permitted the open establishment among them of societies whose avowed object is to disturb the peace and to eloign the property of the citizens of other States; they have encouraged and assisted thousands of our slaves to leave their homes, and those who remain have been incited by emissaries, books, and pictures to servile insurrection.* For twenty-five years this agitation has been steadily increasing, until it has now secured to its aid the power of the common Government. Observing the *forms* of the Constitution, a sectional party has found within that article establishing the executive department the means of subverting the Constitution itself. A geographical line has been drawn across the Union, and all the States north of that line have united in the election of a man to the high office of President of the United States whose opinions and purposes are hostile to slavery. He is to be entrusted with the administration of the common Government because he has declared that that '*government cannot endure permanently half slave, half free,*' and that the public mind must rest in the belief that slavery is in the course of ultimate extinction. This sectional combination for the subversion of the Constitution has been aided in some of the States by elevating to citizenship persons who, by the supreme law of the land, are incapable of becoming citizens; and their votes have been used to inaugurate a new policy hostile to the South, and destructive of its peace and safety. On the 4th of March next, this party will take possession of the Government. It has announced that the South shall be excluded from the common territory; that the judicial tribunals shall be made sectional; and that a war must be waged against slavery until it shall cease throughout the United States."

Ante, 1:484; 3:462.

Ante, 1:486.

Ante, 1:232, 241, 242, 309, 310, 485, 486. *Ante*, 2:59; 3:275.

Ante, 2:338; 3:420.

The lines we have italicized indicated the Southern ultimatum of compromise, if compromise could avert the impending catastrophe: the abolitionists must be suppressed — the American conscience on the subject of slavery must be extirpated. Already the respectable mob in Boston and other great cities had manifested

Ante, *pp.* 505, 506.

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Diary, 5 : 12.

> "I have favored this Missouri Compromise, believing it to be all that could be effected under the present Constitution, and from extreme unwillingness to put the Union at hazard. But perhaps it would have been a wiser as well as a bolder course to have persisted in the restriction upon Missouri, till it should have terminated in a convention of the States to revise and amend the Constitution. This would have produced a new Union of thirteen or fourteen States unpolluted with slavery, with a great and glorious object to effect, namely, that of rallying to their standard the other States by the universal emancipation of their slaves. If the Union must be dissolved, slavery is precisely the question upon which it ought to break."

As to the result of the breach, the great statesman's prevision was clear:

Quincy's Life of Adams, p. 114; *Lib.* 28 : 170.

> "If slavery be the destined sword, in the hand of the destroying angel, which is to sever the ties of this Union, the same sword will cut asunder the bonds of slavery itself."

Garrison's perception was identical with Adams's. He greeted his readers at the opening of the thirty-first volume of the *Liberator* with these words, suggested by the political situation: "All Union-saving efforts are simply idiotic. At last, 'the covenant with death' is annulled, and 'the agreement with hell' broken — at least by the action of South Carolina, and ere long by all the slaveholding States, for their doom is one."

Lib. 31 : [2].

Joy! But, alas! not by Northern manhood, conscience, church, and clergy; not by measures projected against slavery in the States, or even by the election of a President troubled by the compromises of the Constitution and eager to amend them away; not by one single act or threat of the political anti-slavery party, as a unit, in

contravention of the Constitution; but, on the one hand, by the simple fidelity of a remnant pledged to eternal hostility to slavery wherever found and legalized, and to incessant agitation — on the other, by the sheer wickedness and dementia of the short-sighted Slave Power — CHAP. XX. 1860.

"The bloody Writing is forever torn." *Wordsworth's Sonnet to Clarkson.*

END OF VOLUME THREE.

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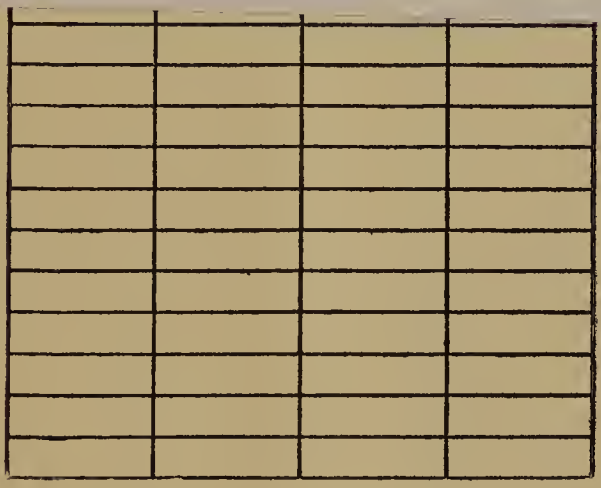
William Lloyd Garrison, 1805
-1879



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